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VOL. III. PART II.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DEBRETT, opposite *Burlington House*,
Piccadilly.

1796.

MARY WAM
WILHELM
WAGNER

INTRODUCTION.

IN laying before the Public the Fourth Volume of this collection, the Editor cannot refrain from expressing his grateful sense of the encouragement with which the former volumes have been honoured---a similar degree of encouragement he hopes the present volume will be found to merit. He has drawn his materials from the best sources, and collected the papers, of which the volume is composed, from the most authentic records. He has endeavoured to combine accuracy of detail with clearness of arrangement, and has attempted to execute his translations with that fidelity which is so peculiarly necessary in a work that aspires to the character of being official. Several of the papers have never appeared in any other publication in this country---of others, mutilated copies only have been published, which have of course led to very material errors; and these the Editor has diligently laboured to restore to their original meaning.

It was his intention to have brought the present volume to the close of the last year only---but yielding to the suggestions of several gentlemen, who represented to him, that it would be more acceptable to the public to postpone it till there was a sufficient quantity of materials to form a volume, he was induced to include the Parliamentary Papers to the dissolution in May last, and the other documents, to the present time.

INTRODUCTION.

The frequent references that have been made to the present Constitution of the French Republic have induced him to include it in the present collection. There have already appeared in this country, copies of the Constitution, as submitted by the Commission of Eleven to the National Convention---but considerable alterations having been made in the plan of the Commission, he obtained from Paris a correct copy of the Constitution, as it was finally decreed by the Convention, and accepted by the French Nation.

23d July, 1796.

ANONYME
AUGUST
1845

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E R R A T A.

In the note to page 1 of the French Constitution, for *has* read *have*.

In page 223 lines 13 and 14 date "on the peace between France and Prussia."

THE
FRENCH CONSTITUTION,*

DECREEED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, AUGUST 22,
1795, AND ACCEPTED BY THE PEOPLE.

Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, and of a Citizen.

The French People proclaim, in the presence of the Supreme Being, the following Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, and of a Citizen:

RIGHTS.

I. THE rights of man in society are—liberty, equality, security, property.

II. Liberty consists in the power of doing that which does not injure the rights of another.

III. Equality consists in this—that the law is the same for all, whether it protects or punishes.—Equality admits no distinction of birth, no hereditary power.

IV. Security results from the concurrence of all to secure the rights of each.

V. Property is the right of enjoying and disposing of a man's own goods, his revenues, the fruit of his labour, and his industry.

VI. The law is the general will expressed by the majority, either of the citizens, or of their representatives.

VII. That which is not forbidden by the law cannot be hindered.—No man can be constrained to that which the law ordains not.

VIII. No one can be cited, accused, arrested, or detained, but in the cases determined by the law, and according to the forms it has prescribed.

IX. Those who solicit, expedite, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be punished.

X. All rigour not necessary to secure the person of a man under charge, ought to be severely repressed by the law.

* The frequent references that are made to the present Constitution of the French Republic, has induced the editor to include it in this Collection of State Papers.

XI. No man can be judged until he has been heard, or legally summoned.

XII. The law ought not to decree any punishment but such as is strictly necessary, and proportioned to the offence.

XIII. All treatment that aggravates the punishment determined by the law is a crime.

XIV. No law, criminal or civil, can have a retroactive effect.

XV. Every man may engage his time and his services; but he cannot sell himself or be sold: his person is not an alienable property.

XVI. All contribution is established for general utility: it ought to be assessed upon the contributors in proportion to their means.

XVII. The sovereignty resides essentially in the universality of citizens.

XVIII. No individual, and no partial union of citizens, can arrogate the sovereignty.

XIX. No man can, without a legal delegation, exercise any authority, nor fill any public function.

XX. Each citizen has an equal right to concur immediately, or mediately in the formation of the law, the nomination of the representatives of the people, and the public functionaries.

XXI. Public functions cannot become the property of those who exercise them.

XXII. The social guarantee cannot exist, if the division of powers is not established, if their limits are not fixed, and if the responsibility of the public functionaries is not assured.

DUTIES.

I. The declaration of rights contains the obligations of legislators: the maintenance of society demands that those who compose it should equally know, and fulfil their duties.

II. All the duties of man, and of a citizen, spring from these two principles, engraved by nature in every heart:—"Do not to another that which you would not another should do to you."—"Do constantly to others the good you would receive from them."

III. The obligations of every one in society consist in defending it, in serving it, in living obedient to the laws, and in respecting those who are the organs of them.

IV. No man is a good citizen, if he is not a good son, a good father, a good brother, a good friend, a good husband.

V. No man is a good man, if he is not frankly and religiously an observer of the laws.

VI. He who openly violates the laws, declares himself in a state of war with society.

VII.

VII. He who, without openly infringing the laws, eludes them by craft or by address, hurts the interests of all : he renders himself unworthy of their benevolence and of their esteem.

VIII. Upon the maintenance of property rest the cultivation of the earth, all produce, all means of labour, and all social order.

IX. Every citizen owes his service to his country, and to the maintenance of liberty, of equality, and of property, as often as the law calls upon him to defend them.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The French Republic is one and indivisible.
2. The universality of French citizens is the sovereign.

HEAD I.

3. France is divided into — departments.—These departments are — L'Ain, L'Aisne, L'Allier, Les Basses-Alpes, Les Hautes-Alpes, Les Alpes-Maritimes, L'Ardèche, Les Ardennes, L'Arriège, L'Aube, L'Aude, L'Aveyron, Les Bouches du Rhône, Le Calvados, Le Cantal, La Charente, La Charente-Inférieure, Le Cher, La Corrèze, La Côte-d'Or, Les Côtes-du-Nord, La Creuse, La Dordogne, Le Doubs, La Drôme, L'Eure, L'Eure-et-Loire, Le Finistère, Le Gard, La Haut-Garonne, Le Gers, La Gironde, Le Golo, L'Hérault, L'Ille-et-Villaine, L'Indre, Indre-et-Loire, L'Isère, Le Jura, Les Landes, Le Liamone, Loir-et-Cher, La Loire, La Haute-Loire, La Loire-Inférieure, Le Loiret, Le Lot, Le Lot-et-Garonne, La Lozère, La Maine-et-Loire, La Manche, La Marne, La Haute-Marne, La Mayenne, La Meurthe, La Meuse, Le Mont-Blanc, Le Mont-Terrible, Le Morbihan, La Moselle, La Nièvre, Le Nord, L'Oise, L'Orne, Le Pas-de-Calais, Le Puy-de-Dôme, Les Basses-Pyrénées, Les Hautes-Pyrénées, Les Pyrénées-Orientales, Le Bas-Rhin, Le Haut-Rhin, Le Rhône, Le Haut-Saône, Saône-et-Loire, La Sarthe, La Seine, La Seine-Inférieure, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise, Les Deux Sèvres, La Somme, Le Tarn, Le Var, La Vaucluse, La Vendée, La Vienne, La Haute-Vienne, Les Vosges, L'Yonne.

4. The limits of departments may be changed or rectified by the legislative body ; but, in this case, the surface of a department cannot exceed one hundred square myriameters, (four hundred square leagues, of two thousand five hundred and sixty-six toises each.)

5. Each department is distributed into cantons, each canton into communes.—The cantons retain their present limits.—Their limits may, nevertheless, be changed or rectified by the legislative body ; but, in this case, there cannot be more than one myriameter (two leagues, of two thousand five hundred and sixty-six toises each.)

toises each) from the most distant commune to the chief place of canton.

6. The French colonies are integral parts of the Republic, and subject to the same constitutional law.

7. They are divided into departments as follow:—The island of St. Domingo, the legislative body of which shall settle the division into four departments at least, or six at most. Guadaloupe, Marie-Galante, Désiada, Les Saintes, and the French part of St. Martin; Martinico; French Guiana and Cayenne; St. Lucia and Tobago; the Isle of France, Les Seychelles, Roderigue, and the establishments of Madagascar. The isle of Re-union; the East Indies, Pondicherry, Chandernagor, Mahé, Karikal, and other establishments.

HEAD II.

Political State of Citizens.

8. Every man born and resident in France, who, being twenty-one years of age, has inscribed his name on the civic register of his canton, and who has lived afterward one year on the territory of the Republic, and who pays a direct contribution, real or personal, is a French citizen.

9. Frenchmen who have made one or more campaigns for the establishment of the Republic, are citizens without any condition of contribution.

10. A foreigner becomes a French citizen when, after having attained the age of twenty-one years, and having declared his intention of settling in France, he has resided there for seven years following, provided he pays a direct contribution, and moreover possesses a real property, or an establishment in agriculture or commerce, or has married a French woman.

11. French citizens alone can vote in the primary assemblies, and be called to the functions established by the constitution.

12. The exercise of the rights of a citizen is lost, 1st, by naturalization in a foreign country; 2d, by affiliation with any foreign corporation, which supposes distinctions of birth, or requires religious vows; 3d, by the acceptance of functions, or of pensions offered by a foreign government; 4th, by condemnation to corporal or infamous punishment, until recapacitation.

13. The exercise of the rights of citizens is suspended, 1st, by a judicial interdict on account of insanity, idiatism, or imbecility; 2d, by a state of bankruptcy, or being an immediate heir, and detaining gratuitously, the whole or part of the succession of a bankrupt; 3d, by being a domestic on wages, attending on the person, or serving in the house; 4th, by being under accusation; 5th, by a sentence of contumacy, until that sentence shall be annulled.

14. The exercise of the rights of citizens is neither lost nor suspended in the two preceding articles, but in cases pronounced upon.

15. Every citizen who has resided seven years following out of the territory of the Republic, without mission or authorization given in the name of the nation, is reputed a foreigner. He becomes not a French citizen until he has conformed to the conditions prescribed by article 10.

16. Young men cannot be inscribed on the civic register, unless they prove that they can read and write, and exercise a mechanical profession.—The manual operations of agriculture belong to mechanic professions.—This article not to operate till the twelfth year of the Republic.

HEAD III.

Primary Assemblies.

17. The primary assemblies are composed of citizens domiciliated in the same canton.—The domiciliation requisite for voting in these assemblies is acquired by simple residence during a year, and is lost by a year's absence.

18. No man can vote by deputy in the primary assemblies, or vote, for the same object, in more than one of these assemblies.

19. There is one primary assembly at least for every canton.—When there are several, each is composed of four hundred and fifty citizens at least, or nine hundred at most.—These numbers are understood of citizens present or absent, having a right to vote in them.

20. The primary assemblies are constituted provisionally, under the presidency of the oldest man; the youngest fills provisionally the office of secretary.

21. They are definitively constituted in nominating, by ballot, a president, a secretary, and three scrutineers.

22. If difficulties arise on the right of voting, the assembly decides provisionally, saving recourse to the civil tribunal of departments.

23. In every other case, the legislative body alone pronounces on the validity of the operations of the primary assemblies.

24. No man can appear in arms in the primary assemblies.

25. Their police belongs to themselves.

26. The primary assemblies meet—1. To accept or reject the constitution proposed by the assemblies of revision. 2. To make the elections which belong to them according to the constitution.

27. They assemble in full right on the 1st Germinal (March 21) of each year, and proceed, according as there may be occasion, to the election,—1. Of the members of the electoral assemblies.

2. Of the justice of peace and his assessors. 3. Of the president of

of the municipal administration of the canton, or of the municipal officers in communes of more than five thousand inhabitants.

28. Immediately after these elections, there are held, in communes of less than five thousand inhabitants, communal assemblies, which elect the agents of each commune and their assistants.

29. Whatever is done in a primary or communal assembly beyond the object of its convocation, and against the forms determined by the constitution, is null.

30. The assemblies, whether primary or communal, make no elections but those which are attributed to them by the constitution.

31. All the elections are made by secret ballot.

32. Every citizen who is legally convicted of having sold or bought a suffrage, is excluded from the primary and communal assemblies, and from all public functions, for twenty years; in case of a second offence, he is excluded for ever.

HEAD IV.

Electoral Assemblies.

33. Each primary assembly nominates one elector for two hundred citizens, present or absent, who have a right to vote in the said assembly. To the number of three hundred citizens inclusively, but one elector is nominated.—Two are nominated, for from three to five hundred.—Three, for from five hundred and one to seven hundred.—Four, for from seven hundred and one to nine hundred.

34. The members of the electoral assemblies are nominated every year, and cannot be re-elected till after an interval of two years.

35. No man can be nominated an elector, if he be not twenty-five years of age, and if he do not unite to the qualifications necessary for exercising the rights of a French citizen, one of the following conditions, viz.—In communes of more than six thousand inhabitants, that of being proprietor, or having the *usufruct* of a property, valued at a revenue equal to the local value of two hundred days labour; or being lessee, either of a habitation valued at a revenue equal to the value of one hundred and fifty days labour, or of a rural property, valued at one hundred and fifty days labour. In communes of less than six thousand inhabitants, that of being proprietor, or having the *usufruct* of a property, valued at a revenue equal to the local value of one hundred and fifty days labour; or of being lessee, either of a habitation, valued at a revenue equal to the value of one hundred days labour, or of a rural property, valued at one hundred days labour. And in the country, that of being proprietor, or having the *usufruct* of a property, valued at a revenue equal to the local value of one hundred and fifty days labour; or of being the *fermier*

(*fermier ou metayer*^{*}) of property valued at two hundred days labour. With respect to those who may be proprietors, or have the *usufruct* of one property, and be lessee, or renters of another, their means under both heads shall be taken cumulatively, to make out the necessary qualification for being eligible.

36. The electoral assembly of each department meets on the 20th Germinal (April 9) of each year, and terminates in one single session of ten days at most, and without the power of adjourning, all the elections to be made; after which it is dissolved of full right.

37. The electoral assemblies cannot employ themselves upon any object foreign to the election with which they are charged; they can neither send nor receive any address, any petition, any deputation.

38. The electoral assemblies cannot correspond with one another.

39. No citizen, having been a member of an electoral assembly, can take the title of elector, or meet in this quality with those who have been members of the same assembly with him.—The contravention of this article is an infringement of the general safety.

40. Articles 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 32, of the preceding title on the primary assemblies, are common to the electoral assemblies.

41. The electoral assemblies choose, as there may be occasion
—1. The members of the legislative body, viz. the members of the council of elders, afterwards the members of the council of five hundred. 2. The members of the tribunal of annulment.
3. The high jurors. 4. The administrators of departments.
5. The president, public accuser, and register of the criminal tribunal. 6. The judges of the civil tribunals.

42. When a citizen is elected by the electoral assemblies to replace a functionary who is dead, resigned, or removed, that citizen is elected only for the time that remained to the functionary replaced.

43. The commissary of the executive directory belonging to the administration of each department, is bound, on pain of removal, to inform the directory of the opening and closing of the electoral assemblies: this commissary can neither stop nor suspend the operations, nor enter the place of sitting of the assembly; but he has a right to demand communication of the minutes of each sitting within the twenty-four hours following, and he is bound to denounce to the directory infractions of the constitutional act. In all cases the legislative body alone pronounces on the validity of the operations of the electoral assemblies.

* Metayer, is a person who rents both a farm and the stock upon it.

HEAD V.

LEGISLATIVE POWER.

General Dispositions.

44. The legislative body is composed of a council of elders and a council of five hundred.

45. The legislative body cannot, in any case, delegate to one or more of its members, or to any one whomsoever, any of the functions attributed to it by the present constitution.

46. It cannot exercise, by itself or by delegates, the executive power or the judicial authority.

47. There is an incompatibility between the quality of member of the legislative body, and the exercise of any other public function, except that of *archivist of the Republic*.

48. The law determines the mode of the definitive or temporary replacing public functionaries who are elected members of the legislative body.

49. Each department concurs, in proportion to its population only, in the nomination of members of the council of elders, and of members of the council of five hundred.

50. Every ten years the legislative body, according to statements of population sent to it, determines the number of members of either council which each department ought to furnish.

51. No change can be made in this distribution during that interval.

52. The members of the legislative body are not representatives of the department which nominates them, but of the whole nation; and no injunction can be laid on them.

53. Both councils are renewed annually by thirds.

54. The members going out after three years may be immediately elected for the three years following, after which there must be an interval of two years to render them eligible again.

55. No man, in any case, can be a member of the legislative body during more than six years following.

56. If, by extraordinary circumstances, one of the two councils find itself reduced to less than two thirds of its members, it gives notice to the executive directory, which is bound to convocate, without delay, the primary assemblies of the departments which have members of the legislative body to replace in consequence of circumstances; the primary assemblies immediately nominate electors, who proceed to the necessary replacings.

57. The members newly elected for either council meet on the 1st Prairial (May 20) of each year, in the commune pointed out by the legislative body preceding, or in the commune where it held its last sittings, if another be not pointed out.

58. The two councils reside always in the same commune.

59. The

59. The legislative body is permanent; it may nevertheless adjourn itself for stated terms.

60. In no case can the same councils meet in the same hall.

61. The functions of president and of secretaries cannot exceed the duration of one month, either in the council of elders, or in that of fife hundred.

62. The two councils have respectively the right of police, in the place of their sittings, and its external circuit, such as they determine it.

63. They have respectively the right of police over their members; but they cannot pronounce a sentence more severe than censure, arrest for eight days, and imprisonment for three.

64. The sittings of both councils are public: the persons who attend cannot exceed the number of the half of the respective members of each council. The minutes of their sittings are printed.

65. Every vote is taken by sitting down and rising up: in case of doubt, their names are called over; but the individual votes are then secret.

66. On the demand of one hundred of its members, either council may form itself into a general and secret committee; but only to discuss, and not to vote.

67. Neither council can create, in its own body, a permanent committee. Only each council has the power, when a matter appears to it susceptible of a preparatory examination, to nominate, from among its members, a special commission, which confines itself solely to the object of its formation. This commission is dissolved as soon as the council has decided upon the object with which it was charged.

68. The members of the legislative body receive an annual indemnity: it is, in both councils, fixed at the value of three thousand myriagrammes of wheat (six hundred and thirteen quintals, thirty-two pounds.)

69. The executive directory cannot cause to pass, or stop, any body of troops within the distance of six myriameters (twelve mean leagues) of the commune where the legislative body holds its sittings, unless upon its requisition, or with its authority.

70. There is about the legislative body a guard of citizens, taken from the sedentary national guard of all the departments, and chosen by their brothers in arms. This guard cannot be less than one thousand five hundred men in activity of service.

71. The legislative body determines the mode and duration of this service.

72. The legislative body attends no public ceremony, and sends thither no deputation.

Council of Five Hundred.

73. The council of five hundred is invariably fixed at this number.

74. To be elected a member of the council of five hundred, a man must be thirty years of age complete, and have been domiciliated upon the territory of the Republic during the ten years which immediately preceded the election. The condition of being thirty years of age shall not be requireable before the seventh year of the Republic; till that period, the age of twenty-five years complete shall be sufficient.

75. The council of five hundred cannot deliberate, if its sitting be not composed of two hundred members at least.

76. The proposing of laws appertains exclusively to the council of five hundred.

77. No proposition can be debated or resolved upon in the council of five hundred without observing the following forms: —The proposition is read three times; the interval between two of these readings cannot be less than ten days. The discussion is opened after each reading; and, nevertheless, after the first or the second reading, the council of five hundred may declare that there is ground for adjournment, or, that there is not ground for deliberating. Every proposition must be printed and distributed two days before the second reading. After the third reading, the council of five hundred decides whether or not there be ground for adjournment.

78. No proposition, which, being submitted to discussion, has been definitively rejected after the third reading, can be reproduced till after the revolution of a year.

79. The propositions adopted by the council of five hundred are called resolutions.

80. The preamble of every resolution sets forth, 1. the dates of the sittings in which the three readings of the proposition took place; 2. the act by which it was declared, after the third reading, that there was not ground for adjournment.

81. Propositions recognised as urgent by a previous declaration of the council of five hundred, are exempted from the forms prescribed by article 77. This declaration sets forth the motives of urgency, and mention is made of it in the preamble to the resolution.

Council of Elders.

82. The council of elders is composed of two hundred and fifty members.

83. No man can be elected a member of the council of elders, if he be not forty years of age complete; if he be not married, or a widower, and if he has not been domiciliated on the territory of

of the Republic during the fifteen years which immediately preceded the election.

84. The condition of domiciliation required by this article; and that prescribed by article 74, do not concern the citizens who are gone out of the territory of the Republic with mission from government.

85. The council of elders cannot deliberate, if the sitting be not composed of one hundred and twenty-six members at least.

86. It appertains, exclusively, to the council of elders to approve or reject the resolutions of the council of five hundred.

87. As soon as a resolution of the council of five hundred comes to the council of elders, the president reads the preamble.

88. The council of elders refuses to approve the resolutions of the council of five hundred, which have not been come to according to the forms prescribed by the constitution.

89. If the proposition has been declared urgent by the council of five hundred, the council of elders deliberates upon approving or rejecting the act of urgency.

90. If the council of elders reject the act of urgency, it does not deliberate upon the principle of the resolution.

91. If the resolution be not preceded by an act of urgency, it is read three times: the interval between two of these readings cannot be less than five days. The discussion is opened after each reading. Every resolution is printed and distributed, two days at least before the second reading.

92. The resolutions of the council of five hundred, adopted by the council of elders, are called *laws*.

93. The preamble to laws sets forth the dates of the sittings of the council of elders, in which the three readings took place.

94. The decree by which the council of elders recognises the urgency of a law is mentioned, with the reasons assigned for it, in the preamble to that law.

95. The proposition of a law made by the council of five hundred is understood of all the articles of one plan; the council of elders must reject them all, or approve the whole.

96. The approbation of the council of elders is expressed on each proposition of law by this formula, signed by the president and secretaries: *the council of elders approves*.

97. The refusal to adopt on account of omission of the forms pointed out in article 77 of this head, is expressed by this formula, signed by the president and secretaries: *the constitution annuls*.

98. The refusal to approve the principle of a law proposed is expressed by this formula, signed by the president and secretaries: *the council of elders cannot adopt*.

99. In the case of the present article, the plan of the law rejected cannot be again presented by the council of five hundred, till after the revolution of a year.

100. The council of five hundred may, nevertheless, present, at any period whatever, a plan of a law which contains articles that made part of a plan which has been rejected.

101. The council of elders sends the laws it has adopted, within the day, both to the council of five hundred, and to the executive directory.

102. The council of elders may change the residence of the legislative body : it points out, in this case, a new place, and the period at which the two councils are bound to repair to it. The decree of the council of elders upon this subject is irrevocable.

103. On and after the day of this decree, neither of these councils can deliberate any more in the commune where they had till then resided. The members who would there continue their functions, will render themselves guilty of an offence against the surety of the Republic.

104. The members of the executive directory who shall retard, or refuse to seal, promulgate, and dispatch the decree of the translation of the legislative body, will be guilty of the same crime.

105. If, within twenty days after that fixed by the council of elders, the majority of each of the two councils has not made known to the Republic its arrival at the new place pointed out, or its meeting in some other place, the administrators of department, or, in their default, the civil tribunals of department, convoke the primary assemblies to nominate electors, who proceed immediately to the formation of a new legislative body, by the election of two hundred and fifty deputies for the council of elders, and of five hundred for the other council.

106. The administrators of department who, in the case of the preceding article, fail to convoke the primary assemblies, render themselves guilty of high treason, and of an offence against the surety of the Republic.

107. All citizens who oppose any obstacle to the convocation of the primary and electoral assemblies, in the case of article 106, are declared guilty of the same crime.

108. The members of the new legislative body assemble in the place to which the council of elders had transferred the sittings. If they cannot meet in that place, in whatever place the majority is, there is the legislative body.

109. Except in the case of article 102, no proposition of law can originate in the council of elders.

Of the Guarantee of the Members of the Legislative Body.

110. The citizens who are, or who have been, members of the legislative body, cannot be examined, accused, or tried at any time, for what they have said or written in the exercise of their functions.

111. The

111. The members of the legislative body, from the moment of their nomination to the thirtieth day after the expiration of their functions, cannot be brought to trial but according to the forms prescribed by the following articles.

112. They may, for criminal acts, be seized *in flagrante delicto*; but notice is given of it, without delay, to the legislative body; and the prosecution cannot be continued till after the council of five hundred has proposed the bringing to trial, and the council of elders has decreed it.

113. Except in the case of *flagrans delictum*, the members of the legislative body cannot be carried before the officers of police, or put in a state of arrest, before the council of five hundred has proposed the bringing to trial, and the council of elders has decreed it.

114. In the case of the two preceding articles, a member of the legislative body cannot be carried before any tribunal but the high court of justice.

115. They are carried before the same court for acts of treason, dilapidation, manœuvres to overturn the constitution, and offences against the internal security of the Republic.

116. No denunciation against a member of the legislative body can give room for a prosecution, if it be not drawn up in writing, signed, and addressed to the council of five hundred.

117. If after having there been deliberated upon in the form prescribed by article 77, the council of five hundred admit the denunciation, it declares it in these terms:

The denunciation against , for the act of
dated the , signed by
is admitted.

118. The person inculpated is then cited: he has for his appearance a delay of three days; and when he appears, he is heard in the interior of the place of sitting of the council of five hundred.

119. Whether the person inculpated be present or not, the council of five hundred declares, after this delay, if there be, or be not room for an examination of his conduct.

120. If it be declared by the council of five hundred, that there is room for an examination, the person under charge is cited by the council of elders; he has for his appearance a delay of two free days; and if he appear, he is heard in the interior of the place of sitting of the council of elders.

121. Whether the person under charge be present or not, the council of elders, after this delay, and after having deliberated according to the forms prescribed by article 91, pronounces the accusation, if there be room for it; and sends the person accused before the high court of justice, which is bound to proceed to trial without any delay.

122. Every

122. Every discussion, in either council, relative to charging or accusing a member of the legislative body, is had in general committee. Every vote upon the same subject is taken by calling over the names, and secret ballot.

123. The accusation pronounced against a member of the legislative body carries with it suspension. If he be acquitted by the judgment of the high court of justice, he resumes his functions.

Relations of the Two Councils with one another.

124. When the two councils are definitively constituted, they give mutual notice by a messenger of state.

125. Each council nominates four messengers of state for its service.

126. They carry, to each of the councils, and to the executive directory, the laws and acts of the legislative body; they have entrance to this effect into the place of sitting of the executive directory. They are preceded by two ushers in these messages.

127. One of the councils cannot adjourn itself beyond five days, without the consent of the other.

Promulgation of Laws.

128. The executive directory causes the laws, and other acts of the legislative body, to be sealed within two days after their reception.

129. It seals and promulgates within the day, the laws and acts of the legislative body, which are preceded by a decree of urgency.

130. The publication of the laws and acts of the legislative body is obtained in the following form:—*In the name of the French Republic (law) or (act) of the legislative body.*—The directory ordains, that the above law or act of the legislative body shall be published, executed, and the seal of the Republic affixed to it.

131. Laws of which the preamble does not attest the observance of the forms prescribed by articles 77 and 91, cannot be promulgated by the executive directory, and its responsibility in this respect lasts six years. The laws for which the act of urgency has been approved by the council of elders are excepted.

HEAD VI.

Executive Power.

132. The executive power is delegated to a directory of five members, nominated by the legislative body, performing the functions of an electoral assembly in the name of the nation.

133. The council of five hundred forms, by secret ballot, a list of ten times the numbers of the directory to be nominated, and presents

presents it to the council of elders, who choose, by secret ballot also, out of this list.

134. The members of the directory must be forty years of age, at least.

135. They cannot be taken but from among the citizens who have been members of the legislative body or ministers. The disposition of this article shall not be observed till the commencement of the ninth year of the Republic.

136. From the first day of the ninth year of the Republic, the members of the legislative body cannot be elected members of the directory, or ministers, either during the continuance of their legislative functions, or during the first year after the expiration of those functions.

137. The directory is partially renewed by the election of a new member every year. During the first four years, the successive going out of those nominated the first time, shall be decided by lot.

138. None of the members going out can be re-elected till after an interval of five years.

139. The ascendant and the descendant in direct line; the brother, the uncle, and the nephew, cousins in the first degree, and connections by marriage in the same degrees, cannot be members of the directory at the same time, nor succeed one another in it, till after an interval of five years..

140. In the case of vacancy, by the death or otherwise, of a member of the directory, his successor is elected by the legislative body within ten days at most. The council of five hundred is bound to propose the candidates within the first five days, and the council of elders must complete the election within the last five days. The new member is elected only for the remaining period of the person he succeeds. If, however, this does not exceed six months, he who is elected shall continue in office for five years and a half.

141. Each member of the directory is president of it in turn, for three months only. The president signs and keeps the seal. The laws and the acts of the legislative body are addressed to the directory in the person of its president.

142. The executive directory cannot deliberate if there be not three members present at least.

143. A secretary is chosen, not one of its members, who countersigns dispatches, and draws up the deliberations on a register, in which each member has a right of entering his opinion, with his reasons for it. The directory may, when it thinks proper, deliberate without the attendance of its secretary; in this case the deliberations are drawn up in a particular register by one of the members of the directory.

144. The

144. The directory provides, according to the laws, for the external or internal surety of the Republic ; it may make proclamations conformable to the laws, and for the execution of the laws. It disposes of the armed force, without in any case the directory collectively, or any of its members, being capable of commanding it either during the time of their functions, or during the two years which immediately follow the expiration of those functions.

145. If the directory is informed, that any conspiracy is plotting against the external or internal surety of the state, it may issue warrants of summons, or warrants of arrest, against the presumed authors or accomplices ; it may interrogate them ; but it is obliged, under the penalties against the crime of arbitrary detention, to send them before the officer of police, within the delay of two days, to proceed according to the laws.

146. The directory nominates the generals in chief ; it cannot chuse them among the relations or connections of its members within the degrees expressed by article 139.

147. It superintends and assures the execution of laws in the administrations and tribunals, by commissaries of its nomination.

148. It nominates, not of its own body, the ministers, and dismisses them when it thinks fit. It cannot chuse them under the age of thirty years, nor from among the relations or connections of its members, within the degrees set forth in article 139.

149. The ministers correspond immediately with the authorities subordinate to them.

150. The legislative body determines the attributions, and the number of ministers : this number is six at least, or eight at most.

151. The ministers do not form a council.

152. The ministers are respectively responsible both for the non-execution of laws, and the non-execution of orders of the directory.

153. The directory nominates the receiver of direct taxes in each department.

154. It nominates the superintendants in chief of indirect contributions, and of the administration of national domains.

155. All the public functionaries in the French colonies, except the departments of the isles of France and Re-union, shall be nominated by the directory till peace.

156. The legislative body may authorise the directory to send into all the French colonies, according to the exigency of the case, one or more particular agents nominated by it for a limited time. The particular agents shall exercise the same functions as the directory, and shall be subordinate to it.

157. No member of the directory can go out of the territory of the Republic, till two years after the cessation of its functions.

158. He is bound during that interval to prove his residence to the legislative body. Article 112, and the following, to article 123 inclusively, relative to the guarantee of the legislative body, are common to the members of the directory.

159. In case of more than two members of the directory being brought to trial, the legislative body shall provide, in the ordinary forms, for replacing them provisionally during the trial.

160. Except in the case of articles 119 and 120, neither the directory nor any of its members can be cited either by the council of five hundred, or by the council of elders.

161. The accounts and information demanded of the directory by either council are furnished in writing.

162. The directory is bound, every year, to present to both councils in writing, an estimate of the expences, the situation of the finances, the state of existing pensions, and the plan of those which it thinks it expedient to establish or create. It must point out the abuses that have come within its knowledge.

163. The directory may at all times invite the council of five hundred, in writing, to take a subject into consideration; it may propose to it measures, but not plans drawn up in form of laws.

164. No member of the directory can absent himself more than five days, or remove above four *myriameters* (eight mean leagues) from the place of residence of the directory, without being authorised by the legislative body.

165. The members of the directory cannot appear in the exercise of their functions, either without or within their houses, unless cloathed in their appropriate dres.

166. The directory has its constant guard, paid at the expence of the Republic, composed of one hundred and twenty infantry, and one hundred and twenty cavalry.

167. The directory is attended by its guards in public ceremonies and processions, in which it has always the first rank.

168. Each member of the directory is attended out of doors by two guards.

169. Every post of armed force owes to the directory, and to each of its members, the superior military honours.

170. The directory has four messengers of state, whom it nominates and whom it may remove:—they carry to the two legislative bodies the letters and memorials of the directory; they have entrance to this effect into the place of sitting of the legislative councils:—they march preceded by two ushers.

171. The directory resides in the same commune with the legislative body.

172. The members of the directory are lodged at the expence of the Republic, and in the same edifice.

173. The salary of each of them is fixed for each year at the
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value of one hundred and fifty thousand myriagrammes of wheat
(ten thousand two hundred and twenty-two quintals.)

HEAD VII.

Administrative and Municipal Bodies.

174. In each department there is a central administration ; and in each canton one municipal administration at least.
175. Every member of a departmental or municipal administration ought to be twenty-five years of age at least.
176. The ascendant and descendant in direct line, brothers, the uncle and nephew, and connections by marriage in the same degrees, cannot be members of the same administration at the same time, or succeed one another in it till after an interval of two years.
177. Each administration of department is composed of five members ; it is renewed by a fifth every year.
178. Every commune, of which the population is from five thousand to one hundred thousand inhabitants, has for itself alone a municipal administration.
179. In each commune, of which the population is less than five thousand inhabitants, there is a municipal agent and an assistant.
180. The union of the municipal agents of each commune forms the municipality of canton.
181. There is, moreover, a president of municipal administration chosen out of the whole canton.
182. In communes, of which the population is from five to ten thousand inhabitants, there are five municipal officers ; seven for from ten thousand to fifty thousand ; nine for from fifty thousand to an hundred thousand.
183. In communes, of which the population exceeds one hundred thousand inhabitants, there are three municipal administrations at least.—In these communes the division of municipalities is made in such a manner, that the population of the jurisdiction of each exceeds not fifty thousand individuals, and is not less than thirty thousand. The municipality of each jurisdiction is composed of seven members.
184. In communes divided into several municipalities, there is a central office for matters judged indivisible by the legislative body.—This office is composed of three members, nominated by the administration of department, and confirmed by the executive power.
185. The members of every municipal administration are nominated for two years, and renewed every year by one half, or by a part approximating the nearest to one half, and alternately by the larger and the smaller fraction.

186. The

186. The administration of departments and the members of municipal administrations may be re-elected once without an interval.

187. Every citizen who has been elected twice following administrator of department, or member of municipal administration, and who has discharged the functions in virtue of both elections, cannot be elected again till after an interval of two years.

188. In case of a departmental or municipal administration losing one or several of its members by death, resignation, or otherwise, the remaining administrators may add to their number temporary administrators, to act in that quality till the next elections.

189. The departmental and municipal administrations cannot modify the acts of the legislative body, or those of the executive directory, or suspend the execution of them. They cannot interfere in matters depending on the judicial order.

190. The administrators are essentially charged with the assessment of direct taxes, and the superintendance of money, arising from the public revenues in their territory. The legislative body determines the rules, and the mode of their functions, both upon these objects, and the other parts of the interior administration.

191. The executive directory nominates to each departmental and municipal administration a commissary, whom it recalls when it thinks expedient. This commissary superintends and requires the execution of the laws.

192. The commissary to each local administration must be taken from among the citizens domiciliated for a year in the department where that administration is established. He must be twenty-five years of age at least.

193. The municipal administrations are subordinate to the administrations of department, and the latter to the ministers. In consequence, the ministers (each in his department) may annul the acts of administrations of department, and the latter, the acts of municipal administrations, when those acts are contrary to the laws or to the orders of superior authorities.

194. The ministers may also suspend the administrators of departments who have contravened the laws, or the orders of superior authorities; and the administrations of department have the same right with respect to the members of municipal administrations.

195. No suspension or annulment is definitive without the formal confirmation of the executive directory.

196. The directory may also annul immediately the acts of department or municipal administration. It may also suspend or remove immediately, when it thinks necessary, the administrators either of department or canton, and send them before the tribunals of department when there is ground for it.

197. Every order importing an annulment of acts, suspension or removal of administrators, must have reasons assigned for it.

198. When the five members of a departmental administration are removed, the executive directory provides for replacing them till the following election; but it cannot chuse their provisional successors but among the ancient administrators of the same department.

199. The administrations either of department or of canton cannot correspond with one another but upon the affairs which are attributed to them by the law, and not upon the general interests of the Republic.

200. Every administration must give an annual account of its management. The accounts rendered by the departmental administrations are printed.

201. All the acts of the administrative bodies are rendered public by a register, in which they are entered, and which is opened to all persons under their administration. This register is closed every six months, and is not deposited for inspection till the day on which it is closed. The legislative body may prolong, according to circumstances, the delay fixed for this deposit.

HEAD VIII.

JUDICIAL POWER.

General Dispositions.

202. The judicial functions cannot be exercised either by the legislative body or by the executive power.

203. The judges cannot interfere in the exercise of the legislative power, or make any regulation; they cannot stop or suspend the execution of any law, or summon before them administrators on account of their functions.

204. No man can be withdrawn from the judges whom the law assigns him, by any commission, or by any other attributions than those which are determined by an anterior law.

205. Justice is administered gratuitously.

206. The judges cannot be removed, but by forfeiture legally pronounced; or suspended, but by an admitted accusation.

207. The ascendant and descendant in direct line, brothers, uncle, or nephew, cousins in the first degree, and connections by alliance in these several degrees, cannot be members of the same tribunal at the same time.

208. The sittings of the tribunals are public; the judges deliberate in secret; judgments are pronounced with a loud voice; reasons for them are assigned, and the terms of the law applied set forth.

209. No citizen, if he be not thirty years of age complete, can be elected judge of a tribunal of department, or justice of peace,

peace, or assessor to a justice of peace, or judge of a tribunal of commerce, or member of the tribunal of annulment, or juror, or commissary of the executive directory with the tribunals of civil justice.

Civil Justice.

210. There can be no infringement of the right to CIVIL JURISPRUDENCE pronounced upon differences by arbitrators at the choice of the parties.

211. The decision of these arbitrators is without appeal, and without recourse to annulment, if the parties have not made an express reserve.

212. There is in each district determined by the law a justice of peace and his assessors; they are all elected for two years, and may be immediately and indefinitely re-elected.

213. The law determines the objects of which justices of peace and their assessors take cognizance *en dernier ressort*. It attributes to them other matters, of which they judge, subject to appeal.

214. There are particular tribunals for commerce by land and sea: the law determines the places where it is useful to establish them:—their power of judging *en dernier ressort* cannot be extended beyond the value of five hundred myriagrammes of wheat (one hundred and two quintals twenty-two pounds).

215. The affairs of which judgment belongs not to justices of peace, or tribunals of commerce, either in *dernier ressort*, or subject to appeal, are carried immediately before the justice of peace and his assessors to be conciliated. If the justice of peace cannot conciliate them, he sends them before the civil tribunal.

216. There is a civil tribunal for every department: Each civil tribunal is composed of twenty judges at least, of a commissary and a substitute nominated and removable by the executive directory, and of a register. Every five years the election of all the members of the tribunals is proceeded to. The judges may be always re-elected.

217. At the time of electing the judges five *suppléans* are nominated, of whom three are taken from among the citizens resident in the commune where the tribunal sits.

218. The civil tribunal pronounces in *dernier ressort*, in all cases determined by the law, on appeals from justices of peace, arbitrators, or tribunals of commerce.

219. The appeal from judgments pronounced by the civil tribunal is carried before the civil tribunal of one of the three nearest departments, as is determined by the law.

220. The civil tribunal is divided into sections; a section cannot judge under the number of five judges.

221. The whole of the judges of each tribunal nominate among themselves, by secret ballot, the president of each section.

Of Correctional and Criminal Justice.

222. No man can be seized, but to be carried before the officer of police; and no man can be put under arrest or detained, but by virtue of a warrant from the officers of police, or of the executive directory, in the case of article 145, or of an order of caption from a tribunal or the director of a jury of accusation, of a decree of accusation by the legislative body, in the case in which it belongs to it to pronounce such a decree, or of a sentence of condemnation to prison, or correctional detention.

223. In order that the act which ordains arrest may be executed, it is requisite—first, that it express formally the motive of arrest, and the law in conformity to which it is ordered; secondly, that it has been notified to him who is the object of it, and a copy of it left with him.

224. Every person seized and conducted before the officers of police, shall be examined immediately, or, at farthest, within the day.

225. If it result from the examination that there is no ground of crimination against him, he shall immediately be set at liberty; or, if there be ground to send him to the house of arrest, he shall be conducted thither in as short a space of time as possible, which, in no case, can exceed three days.

226. No person arrested can be detained, if he give sufficient bail, in every case where the law admits the remaining at liberty upon bail.

227. No person, in cases where his detention is authorised by law, can be conducted to, or confined in, any places but those legally and publicly appointed as houses of arrest, houses of justice, or of detention.

228. No keeper or jailor can receive or detain any person, except by virtue of a warrant of arrest, according to the forms prescribed by articles 222 and 223, an order of caption, a decree of accusation, or a sentence of condemnation to prison, or correctional detention, which shall be transcribed upon his register.

229. Every keeper or jailor is bound, without any order being capable of dispensing with his so doing, to present the person of the prisoner to the civil officer having the police of the house of detention, as often as shall be required by that civil officer.

230. The production of the person confined cannot be refused to his relations and friends who have an order of the civil officer, which he shall be bound to grant, except the keeper or jailor present a direction from the judge, transcribed upon his register, to detain the person arrested in secret custody.

231. Every man, whatever be his place or employment, except those to whom the law gives the right of arrest, who shall give, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, an order to arrest

an individual, or whoever, even in the case of arrest authorised by the law, shall conduct, receive, or detain an individual in a place of detention not publicly and legally appointed, and all keepers and jailors who shall contravene the regulations of the above articles, will be found guilty of the crime of arbitrary detention.

232. All rigours employed in arrests, detentions, or executions, other than those prescribed by the law, are crimes.

233. There are in each department for the trial of offences three correctional tribunals at least, or six at most, the punishment of which is neither corporeal nor infamous:—these tribunals cannot pronounce heavier punishments than imprisonment for two years. The cognizance of offences, the punishment of which exceeds not the value of three days labour, or imprisonment for three days, is delegated to the justice of peace who pronounces in *dernier ressort*.

234. Each correctional tribunal is composed of a president, two justices of peace, or assessors to a justice of peace of the commune in which it is established, of a commissary of the executive power, nominated and removable by the executive directory, and of a register.

235. The president of each correctional tribunal is taken every six months, and by turn, from among the members of the sections of the civil tribunal of department, the presidents excepted.

236. There is an appeal from the judgments of the correctional tribunal to the criminal tribunal of department.

237. In matters of offences subject to corporal or infamous punishment, no person can be tried but upon an accusation admitted by the jurors, or decreed by the legislative body, in the case in which it belongs to it to decree accusation.

238. A first jury declares, if the accusation ought to be admitted or rejected; the fact is tried by a second jury, and the punishment determined by the law is applied by the criminal tribunals.

239. The juries vote only by secret ballot.

240. There are in each department as many juries of accusation as correctional tribunals:—the presidents of the correctional tribunals are the directors of the juries, each in his district:—in communes of more than fifty thousand souls, there may be established by law, besides the president of the correctional tribunal, as many directors of juries of accusation as the dispatch of trials may require.

241. The functions of commissary of executive power, and of register to the jury of accusation, are discharged by the commissary and the register of the correctional tribunal.

242. Each director of a jury of accusation has the immediate superintendance of all the officers of police in his district.

243. The

243. The director of the jury prosecutes immediately, as officer of police, upon the denunciations made to him by the public accuser, either officially, or by order of the executive directory :—
 1. Offences against the liberty or individual surety of citizens.
 2. Those committed against the right of persons. 3. Resistance to the execution of judgments, and of all executive acts issuing from the constituted authorities. 4. Troubles occasioned, and acts of violence committed, to impede the collection of contributions, the free circulation of provisions, and other objects of commerce.

244. There is a criminal tribunal for each department.

245. The criminal tribunal is composed of a president, a public accuser, four judges taken from among those of the civil tribunal, the commissary of the executive power at the same tribunal, or his substitute, and a register :—there are in the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine a vice-president, and a substitute of the public accuser : this tribunal is divided into two sections : eight members of the civil tribunal exercise in it the functions of judges.

246. The presidents of sections of the civil tribunals cannot discharge the functions of judges in the criminal tribunal.

247. The other judges do the duty in it, each in turn for six months, in the order of their nomination, and cannot, during that period, exercise any function in the civil tribunal.

248. The public accuser is charged :—1. With prosecuting offences on acts of accusation admitted by the first juries. 2. With transmitting to the officers of police denunciations addressed to him directly. 3. With superintending the officers of police of the department, and acting against them according to the law, in case of negligence or more grave offences.

249. The commissary of the executive power is charged :—1. With requiring, in the course of process, the regularity of forms, and, before judgment, the application of the law. 2. With following up the execution of judgments passed by the tribunal.

250. The judges cannot propose any complex question to the jury.

251. The jury to try, consists of twelve jurors at least ; the person accused may challenge, without assigning any reason, a number determined by the law.

252. The process before the jury to try is public ; and persons accused cannot be refused the aid of council, whom they may choose, or who are nominated officially.

253. No person acquitted by a legal jury can be apprehended or accused again upon account of the same fact.

Of the Tribunal of Annulment.

254. There is one tribunal of annulment for the whole Republic; it pronounces:—1. On demands of annulment against decisions in the last resort given by the tribunals. 2. On demands of reference from one tribunal to another, on grounds of lawful suspicion, or public security. 3. On the regulations of the judges, and exceptions taken to a whole tribunal.

255. The tribunal of annulment can never investigate the merits of the case, but it annuls sentences passed on trials, in which the forms have been violated, or which have been attended with any deviation from the express terms of the law, and refers the merits of the process to the tribunal which ought to take cognizance of them.

256. When, after one annulment, the second judgment on the merits is attacked by the same means as the first, the question can be no longer agitated in the tribunal of annulment without having been submitted to the legislative body, which passes a law to which the tribunal of annulment is bound to conform.

257. Every year the tribunal of annulment is bound to send to each of the sections of the legislative body a deputation to present to it a statement of the sentences passed, with a notice on the margin, and the text of the law which determined the sentence.

258. The number of the judges of the tribunal of annulment cannot exceed two-thirds of the number of departments.

259. One-fifth of this tribunal is renewed every year. The electoral assemblies of departments nominate successively and alternately, the judges who are to succeed those who go out of the tribunal of annulment. The judges of this tribunal may always be re-elected.

260. Each judge of the tribunal of annulment has a *suppléan* elected by the same electoral assembly.

261. There are with the tribunal of annulment a commissary and substitutes, nominated and removable by the executive directory.

262. The executive directory denounces to the tribunal of annulment, through the national commissary, and without prejudice to the right of parties interested, the acts by which the judges have exceeded their powers.

263. The tribunal annuls these acts; and if they afford a ground of crimination, the act is denounced to the legislative body, who pass a decree of accusation, after having heard or cited the parties under charge.

264. The legislative body cannot annul the judgments of the tribunal of annulment without prosecuting personally the judges who have been guilty of the offence.

High Court of Justice.

265. There is a high court of justice, to try accusations admitted by the legislative body, either against its own members, or those of the executive directory.

266. The high court of justice is composed of five judges, and of two national accusers, taken from the tribunal of annulment, and of high jurors, nominated by the electoral assemblies of departments.

267. The high court of justice is not formed till after a proclamation of the legislative body, drawn up and published by the council of five hundred.

268. It is formed and holds its sittings in the place appointed by the proclamation of the council of five hundred. This place cannot be nearer than twelve myriameters to that where the legislative body resides.

269. When the legislative body has proclaimed the formation of the high court of justice, the tribunal of annulment draws by lot fifteen of its members in a public sitting; it afterwards, in the same sitting, nominates five of those fifteen by a secret ballot; the five judges thus nominated are the judges of the high court of justice; they choose among them a president.

270. The tribunal of annulment nominates, in the same sitting, by ballot, with the absolute majority, two of its members to exercise in the high court of justice the functions of national accusers.

271. The acts of accusation are prepared and drawn up by the council of five hundred.

272. The electoral assemblies of each department nominate every year a juror for the high court of justice.

273. The executive directory causes to be printed and published, a month after the date of the election, a list of all the jurors nominated for the high court of justice.

HEAD IX.

Of the Public Force.

274. The public force is instituted to defend the state against enemies abroad, and to secure at home the maintenance of order, and the execution of the laws.

275. The public force is essentially obedient; no armed body can deliberate.

276. It is divided into national guard sedentary, and national guard in activity.

Of the National Guards, sedentary.

277. The national guard sedentary is composed of all the citizens and sons of citizens capable of bearing arms.

278. Its

278. Its organization and discipline are the same through all the Republic ; determined by the law.

279. No Frenchman can exercise the rights of citizen, if he is not inscribed on the roll of the national guard sedentary.

280. The distinction of ranks and subordination subsist only with relation to the service, and for the period of its duration.

281. The officers of the national guard sedentary are chosen for a time by the citizens who compose it, and cannot be re-elected till after an interval.

282. The command of a national guard of a whole department cannot be constantly entrusted to one citizen.

283. If it be judged necessary to assemble all the national guard of a department, the executive directory may nominate a temporary commandant.

284. The command of the national guard sedentary in cities of an hundred thousand souls and upwards, cannot be constantly entrusted to one man.

Of the National Guard in Activity.

285. The Republic maintains in its pay, even in time of peace, under the name of national guards in activity, an army by land and sea.

286. The army is formed by voluntary enrolment, and in case of necessity, by the mode which the law determines.

287. No foreigner who has not acquired the rights of French citizen can be admitted into the French armies, unless he has made one or more campaigns for the establishment of the Republic.

288. The commanders in chief, by land and sea, are only nominated in case of war ; they receive commissions revocable at pleasure from the executive power. The duration of these commissions is limited to one campaign, but they may be renewed.

289. The general command of the armies of the Republic cannot be confided to a single man.

290. The army by land and sea is subject to particular laws, with respect to its discipline, the form of sentences, and the nature of punishments.

291. No part of the national guard sedentary, or of the national guard in activity, can act for the service of the interior of the Republic, except on the requisition in writing, of the civil authority, according to forms prescribed by law.

292. The public force cannot be called out by the civil authorities, except in the extent of their territory. It cannot be removed from one canton to another, without being authorised by the administration of department, or from one department to another, without the orders of the executive directory.

293. The legislative body, nevertheless, determines the means of securing by the public force, the execution of sentences, and

the prosecution of accused persons throughout all the French territory.

294. In case of imminent danger, the municipal administration of one canton may call out the national guard of the neighbouring cantons; in that case the administration which has so called out, and the chiefs of the national guard called out, are equally bound to render an account, at the same moment, to the departmental administration.

295. No foreign troops can be introduced upon the French territory, without the previous consent of the legislative body.

HEAD X.

Public Instruction.

296. There are in the Republic primary schools, where the pupils learn to read, to write, the elements of arithmetic and those of morality. The public provides only for the expence of the lodging of the instructors appointed for these schools.

297. There are, in different parts of the Republic, schools superior to the primary schools, and to such a number, that there shall be at least one for every two departments.

298. There is a national institution charged to collect discoveries, and to improve the arts and sciences for the whole Republic.

299. The different establishments of public instruction have not, with respect to each other, any connection of subordination, or administrative correspondence.

300. Citizens have a right to form particular establishments of education and instruction, as well as free societies, to promote the progress of the sciences of letters and of arts.

301. There shall be established, to keep alive fraternity among the citizens, and to attach them to the constitution, to their country, and to the laws, national festivals.

HEAD XI.

Finances—Contributions.

302. The public contributions are discussed and fixed every year by the legislative body: to it alone it belongs to establish them; they cannot subsist beyond that period, if they are not expressly renewed.

303. The legislative body may create such kind of contributions as it shall judge necessary; but it must establish every year an imposition upon land, and a personal imposition.

304. Every individual, who, not coming within articles 12 and 13 of the constitution, is not included in the roll of direct contributions, has the right of presenting himself to the municipal administration of his commune, and to inscribe himself for a per-

sonal

fonsal contribution, equal to the local value of three day's agricultural labour.

305. The inscription mentioned in the preceding article cannot be made but during the month of Messidor every year.

306. Contributions of every description are assessed upon those who contribute in proportion to their means.

307. The executive directory orders and superintends the receipt and the paying in of contributions, and gives all the necessary orders for that purpose.

308. The detailed accounts of the expences of ministers signed and certified by them, are made public at the commencement of each year. The same shall be done with all the statements of the receipt of different contributions, and of all the public revenues.

309. The statements of these expences and receipts are distinguished according to their nature; they express the sums received and expended, year by year, in each part of the general administration.

310. There are also published, accounts of the expences particular to the departments, and relative to the tribunals, to the administrations, to the promotion of the sciences, and to all public works and establishments.

311. The administrations of department, and the municipalities, cannot make any assessment beyond the sums fixed by the legislative body, nor discuss nor permit, without being authorised by it, any local loan at the charge of the citizens of the department, of the commune, or of the canton.

312. To the legislative body alone belongs the right of regulating the coining and issuing of all kinds of money, fixing the value, the weight, and the impression.

313. The directory superintends the coining of money, and nominates the officers charged immediately with the inspection of it.

314. The legislative body determines the contributions of the colonies, and their commercial connections with the mother country.

National Treasury and its Account.

315. There are five commissaries of the national treasury chosen by the council of elders from a treble list presented by that of five hundred.

316. The duration of their functions is for five years, and one of them is renewed every year, and may be re-elected indefinitely without interval.

317. The commissaries of the treasury are charged to superintend the receipt of all the national money :—to order the movements of funds, and the payment of all public expences consented to by the legislative body :—to keep an open account of receipt and expence with the receiver of direct contributions for each.

each department ; with the different national boards, and with the payers established in the departments :—to maintain with the said receivers and payers, with the boards and administrations, the correspondence necessary for assuring the exact and regular paying in of money.

318. They can pay nothing under penalty of forfeiture, but by virtue, first, of a decree of the legislative body, and to the amount of the sum decreed by it for each object : second, of a decision of the directory : third, of the signature of the minister who directs the expence.

319. They cannot, under penalty of forfeiture, approve of any payment, if the mandate signed by the minister who directs the expence, does not set forth the date, the decision of the executive directory, and the decrees of the legislative body which authorise the payment.

320. The receivers of direct contributions in each department, the different national boards, and the payers in the departments, give in to the national treasury, their respective accounts ; the treasury audits and passes them.

321. There are five commissaries of national accounts elected by the legislative body, at the same periods, and according to the same forms and conditions as the commissaries of the treasury.

322. The general account of receipt and expenditure of the Republic, with the particular accounts and documents, is presented by the commissaries of the treasury to the commissaries of accounts, who audit and pass them.

323. The commissaries of accounts give notice to the legislative body, of abuses, malversations, and all cases of responsibility, which they discover in the course of their operations ; they propose measures agreeable to the interests of the Republic.

324. The result of the accounts passed by the commissaries of accounts is printed and made public.

325. The commissaries of the national treasury and accounts cannot be suspended or removed, but by the legislative body :—but during the adjournment of the legislative body, the executive directory may suspend and replace provisionally the commissaries of the national treasury, to the number of two at the most, and is bound to refer them to both councils of the legislative body, as soon as they have resumed their sittings.

HEAD XII.

External Relations.

326. War cannot be decided upon but by a decree of the legislative body, upon the formal and necessary proposition of the executive directory.

327. The

327. The two legislative councils concur according to the ordinary forms in the decree by which war is decided upon.

328. In case of hostilities, imminent, or actually commenced, of menaces, or preparation for war against the French Republic, the executive directory is bound to employ, for the defence of the state, the means at its disposal, charged, however, with communicating without delay to the legislative body. It may even, in that case, point out the augmentation of force, and the new legislative regulations which circumstances may require.

329. The directory alone can maintain political relations abroad, conduct negotiations, distribute the land and naval forces as it judges necessary, and regulate their directions in case of war.

330. It is authorised to make preliminary stipulations, such as armistices, treaties of neutrality; it may likewise agree upon secret conventions.

331. The executive directory agrees to sign, or causes to be signed with foreign powers, all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions, which it may judge to be necessary for the interest of the state. These treaties and conventions are negotiated in the name of the French Republic by diplomatic agents, nominated by the executive directory, and charged with its instructions.

332. In the case of a treaty containing secret articles, the regulations of these articles cannot be subversive of the open articles, or contain any alienation of the territory of the Republic.

333. Treaties are not binding till after having been examined and ratified by the legislative body; nevertheless, the secret conditions provisionally receive their execution from the moment they shall have been agreed upon by the executive directory.

334. Neither of the legislative councils deliberates upon war or peace, but in general committee.

335. Foreigners, whether established in France or not, succeed to their foreign or French relations; they may contract for, acquire, and receive property situated in France, and dispose of it in the same manner as French citizens, by all the means authorised by the laws.

HEAD XIII.

Revision of the Constitution.

336. If experience should prove the inconvenience of some articles of the constitution, the council of elders proposes the revision of them.

337. The proposition of the council of elders is in that case submitted to the ratification of the council of five hundred.

338. When, in a period of nine years, the proposition of the council of elders, ratified by the council of five hundred, has been

been made at three intervals of at least two years each, an assembly of revision is convened.

349. This assembly is formed of two members by department, all chosen in the same manner as members of the legislative body, and possessing the same qualifications as those required for the council of elders.

350. The council of elders points out for the meeting of the assembly of revision a place distant twenty myriameters at least from that where the legislative body sits.

351. The assembly of revision has a right to change the place of its residence, observing the distance prescribed by the preceding article.

352. The assembly of revision exercises no function of legislation or government; it confines itself to the revision of the constitutional articles pointed out to it by the legislative body.

353. All the articles of the constitution, without exception, continue to be in vigour as long as the changes proposed by the assembly of revision are not accepted by the people.

354. The members of the assembly of revision deliberate in common.

355. The citizens who are members of the legislative body at the time of convoking an assembly of revision, cannot be elected members of that assembly.

356. The assembly of revision addresses immediately to the primary assemblies the plan of reform it has agreed upon.—It is dissolved the moment the plan is addressed to it.

357. The duration of the assembly of revision can in no case exceed three months.

358. The members of the assembly of revision cannot be examined, accused, or tried at any time, for what they have said or written in the exercise of their functions.—During the continuance of those functions they cannot be put upon trial, except by a decision of the members of the assembly of revision.

359. The assembly of revision attends no public ceremony; its members receive the same indemnity as the members of the legislative body.

360. The assembly of revision has the right of exercising, or causing to be exercised, the police of the commune in which it resides.

HEAD XIV.

General Dispositions.

361. There exists among the citizens no superiority, but that of public functionaries, and relative to the exercise of their functions.

362. The

352. The law acknowledges neither religious vows, nor any other engagement contrary to the natural rights of man.

353. No man can be hindered from speaking, writing, printing, and publishing his thoughts. Writings cannot be subject to any censure before their publication. No man can be responsible for what he has written or published, but in cases provided for by the law.

354. No man can be hindered from exercising the form of worship he has chosen, while he conforms to the laws. No man can be forced to contribute to the expences of any form of worship.—The Republic pays for none.

355. There is neither privilege nor right of companies, nor corporation, nor limitation to the freedom of the press, of commerce, and exercise of industry and arts of every kind. Every prohibitory law in this sort, when circumstances render it necessary, is essentially provisional, and has no effect beyond a year at most, unless it be formally renewed.

356. The law watches particularly the professions which interest public morals, the safety and the health of citizens; but admission to the exercise of these professions cannot be made to depend upon any pecuniary security.

357. The law ought to provide for the recompence of inventors, or for the maintenance of the exclusive property of their discoveries or productions.

358. The constitution guarantees the inviolability of all property, of a just indemnity for that of which public necessity, legally proved, may require the sacrifice.

359. The house of every citizen is an inviolable asylum: during the night no one has a right to enter it, except in case of fire, inundation, or a call from within the house. During the day the orders of the constituted authorities may be executed in it. No domiciliary visit can be made but in virtue of a law, and for the person or object expressly stated in the act which orders the visit.

360. No corporation or association contrary to public order can be formed.

361. No assembly of citizens can call itself a popular society.

362. No particular society itself, employed upon political questions, can correspond with any other, or affiliate with it, or hold public sittings, composed of members and auditors, distinguished from one another, or impose conditions of admission and eligibility, or arrogate rights of the exclusion, or make its members wear any external mark of their association.

363. The citizens cannot exercise their political rights but in the primary or communal assemblies.

364. All the citizens are free to address petitions to the public authorities, but the petitions must be individual: no association

can present collective petitions, except the constituted authorities, and that only upon subjects appertaining to their functions.—The petitioners must never forget the respect due to the constituted authorities.

365. Every armed assemblage is an offence against the constitution; it ought to be instantly dispersed by force.

366. Every assemblage not armed ought also to be dispersed, at first by means of verbal command, and, if necessary, by the calling out of the armed force.

367. Several constituted authorities cannot meet to deliberate together; no act issuing from such a meeting can be executed.

368. No man can wear distinctive marks which call to mind functions formerly exercised, or services performed.

369. The members of the legislative body, and all the public functionaries, wear, in the exercise of their functions, the dress or sign of the authority with which they are invested; the law determines the form of it.

370. No citizen can renounce, in whole or in part, the indemnity or salary allowed him by the law on account of public functions.

371. There is uniformity of weights and measures in the Republic.

372. The French era commences on the 22d of September, 1792, the day of the foundation of the Republic.

373. The French nation declares, that in no case will it suffer the return of the French, who having abandoned their country since the 15th of July, 1789, are not comprehended in the exceptions made to the laws against emigrants: and the nation interdicts the legislative body from creating new exceptions upon this point.—The property of emigrants is irrevocably confiscated to the benefit of the Republic.

374. The French nation proclaims also, as guarantee of the public faith, that after an adjudication legally completed of national property, whatever might have been its origin, the legitimate holder cannot be dispossessed of it, but a person reclaiming it may, if there be reason, be indemnified by the national treasury.

375. None of the powers instituted by the constitution has the right to change it, in whole or in part, saving the reforms that may be made in it by means of revision, conformably to the dispositions of HEAD XIII.

376. The citizens will call to mind incessantly, that it is upon the wisdom of choice in the primary and electoral assemblies, the duration, preservation, and prosperity of the Republic principally depend.

377. The French people commit the deposit of the present constitution to the fidelity of the legislative body, of the executive directory, of the administrators and judges; to the vigilance of

2 fathers

fathers of families ; to wives and to mothers ; to the affection of the young citizens, and to the courage of all the French.

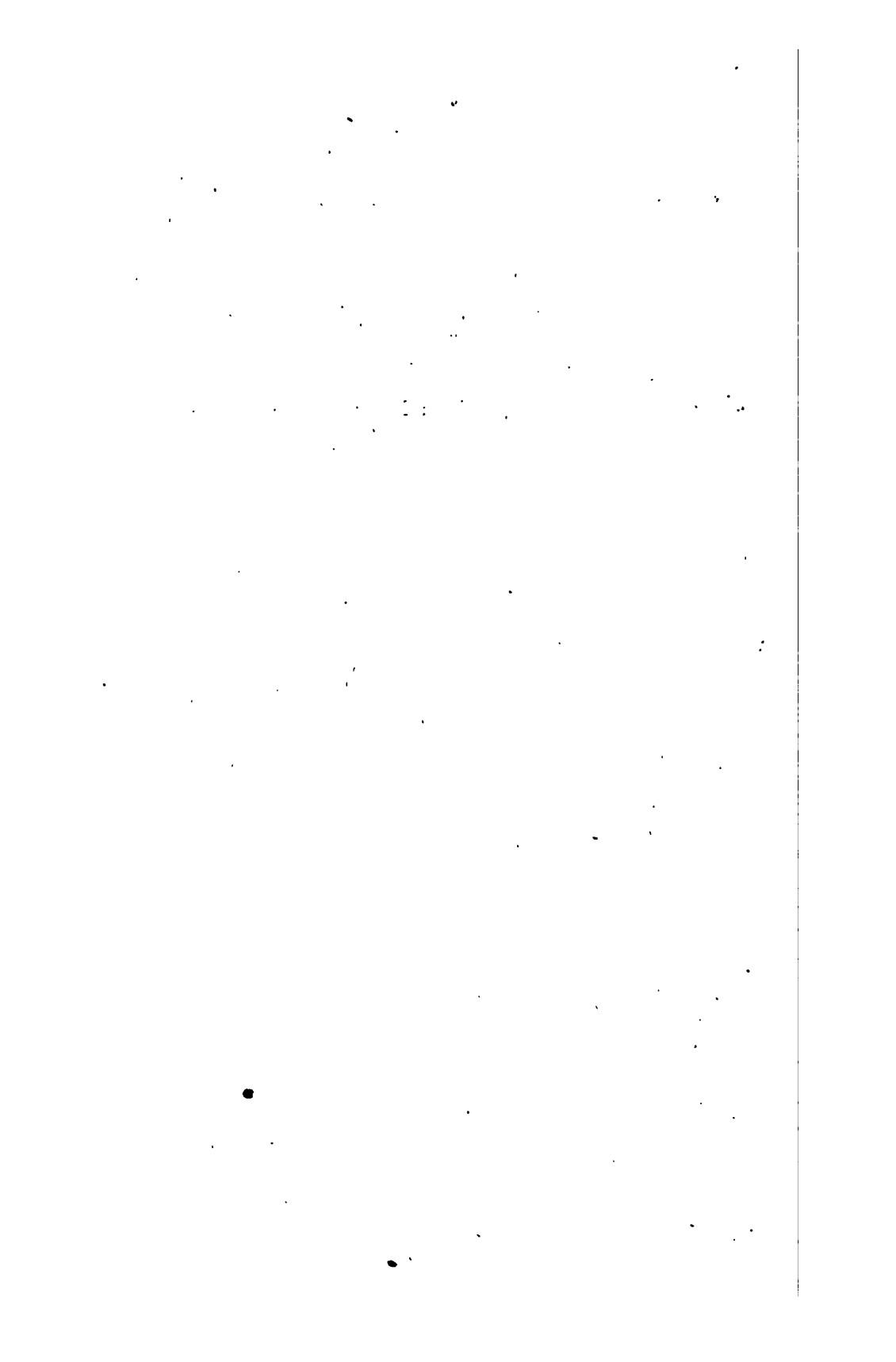
Inspected by the representatives of the people, inspectors of the minutes.

Signed LEHAULT, ENJUBAULT.

Collated with the original, by us, president and secretaries of the National Convention, at Paris, the 5th Fructidor (Aug. 22, 1795), third year of the French Republic.

Signed, M. J. CHENIER, president ; DARASEY, SOULIGNAC, BERNIER, LAURENCEOT, DENTZELL, QUIROT, secretaries.

STATE



STATE PAPERS.

PART II.

TREATIES.

Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America.*

By their President, with the Advice and Consent of their Senate.

HIS Britannic Majesty and the United States of America being desirous, by a Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, to terminate their differences in such a manner as, without reference to the merits of their respective complaints and pretensions, may be the best calculated to produce mutual satisfaction and good understanding: and also to regulate the commerce and navigation between their respective countries, territories, and people, in such a manner as to render the same reciprocal, beneficial, and satisfactory; they have respectively named their plenipotentiaries, and given them full power to treat of, and conclude the said treaty; that is to say, his Britannic Majesty has named for his plenipo-

* The Treaty as ratified by his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America has not yet been made public.—The following conditional ratification was agreed to by the Senate of the United States, on the 24th of January, 1795.

Resolved, That the Senate do consent to, and advise the President of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, concluded at London the 19th of November, 1794, on condition that there be added to the said Treaty, an article whereby it shall be agreed to suspend the operation of so much of the 12th article, as respects the trade which his said Majesty thereby consents may be carried on between the United States and his Islands in the West Indies, in the manner, and on the terms and conditions therein specified.

And the Senate recommends to the President to proceed without delay to further friendly negotiations with his Majesty on the subject of the said trade, and of the terms and conditions in question.

tentiary the Right Hon. Wm. Windham, Baron Grenville of Wotton, one of his Majesty's Privy Council, and his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs: and the President of the said United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, hath appointed for their plenipotentiary the Hon. John Jay, Chief Justice of the said United States, and their Envoy Extraordinary to his Majesty, who have agreed on, and concluded the following

ARTICLES:

Art. I. There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship between his Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors, and the United States of America; and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people of every degree, without exception of persons or places.

II. His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation shall take place on or before the first day of June, 1796, and all the proper measures shall, in the interval, be taken by concert between the government of the United States and his Majesty's Governor-general in America, for settling the previous arrangements which may be necessary respecting the delivery of the said posts: the United States, in the mean time, at their discretion, extending their settlements to any part within the said boundary line, except within the precincts or jurisdiction of any of the said posts. All settlers and traders within the precincts or jurisdiction of the said posts shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, all their property of every kind, and shall be protected therein. They shall be at full liberty to remain there, or to remove with all or any part of their effects; and it shall also be free to them to sell their lands, houses, or effects, or to retain the property thereof, at their discretion: such of them as shall continue to reside within the said boundary lines shall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take any oath of allegiance to the government thereof; but they shall be at full liberty so to do if they think proper, and they shall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation aforesaid. And all persons who shall continue there after the expiration of the said year without having declared their intention of remaining subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the United States.

III. It is agreed, that it shall at all times be free to his Majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians dwelling on either side of the said boundary line, freely to pass and repass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two parties on the continent of

of America (the country within the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company only excepted), and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade or commerce with each other. But it is understood that this article does not extend to the admission of vessels of the United States into the sea-ports, harbours, bays, or creeks, of his Majesty's said territories; nor into such parts of the rivers in his Majesty's said territories as are between the mouth thereof and the highest port entry from the sea, except in small vessels trading *bona fide* between Montreal and Quebec, under such regulations as shall be established to prevent the possibility of any frauds in this respect; nor to the admission of British vessels from the sea into the rivers of the United States, beyond the highest ports of entry for foreign vessels from the sea. The river Mississippi shall, however, according to the treaty of peace, be entirely open to both parties; and it is further agreed, that all the ports and places on its eastern side, to which soever of the parties belonging, may freely be resorted to, and used by both parties, in as ample a manner as any of the Atlantic ports or places of the United States, or any of the ports or places of his Majesty in Great Britain.

All goods and merchandise, whose importation into his Majesty's said territories in America shall not be entirely prohibited, may freely, for the purpose of commerce, be carried into the same, in the manner aforesaid, by the citizens of the United States, and such goods and merchandise shall be subject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by his Majesty's subjects on the importation of the same from Europe into the said territories. And in like manner all goods and merchandise, whose importation into the United States shall not be wholly prohibited, may freely, for the purpose of commerce, be carried into the same, in the manner aforesaid, by his Majesty's subjects; and such goods or merchandise shall be subject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by the citizens of the United States on the importation of the same, in American vessels, into the Atlantic ports of the said States. And all goods not prohibited to be exported into the said territories respectively, may in like manner be carried out of the same by the two parties respectively, paying duty as aforesaid.

No duty of entry shall ever be levied by either party, on peltries brought by land or inland navigation into the said territories respectively; nor shall the Indians, passing or re-passing with their own proper goods and effects, of whatever nature, pay for the same any impost or duty whatever. But goods in bales, or other large packages unusual among Indians, shall not be considered as goods belonging *bona fide* to Indians.

No higher or other tolls or rates of ferriage than what are or shall be payable by natives, shall be demanded on either side; and no duties shall be payable on any goods which shall merely be carried

pled over any of the portages or carrying places on either side, for the purpose of being immediately re-embarked and carried to some other place or places. But as by this stipulation it is only meant to secure to each party a free passage across the portages on both sides, it is agreed, that this exemption from duty shall extend only to such goods as are carried in the usual and direct road across the portage, and are not attempted to be in any manner sold or exchanged during their passage across the same, and proper regulations may be established to prevent the possibility of any frauds in this respect.

As this article is intended to render in a great degree the local advantages of each party common to both, and thereby to promote a disposition favorable to friendship and good neighbourhood, it is agreed, that the respective governments will mutually promote this amicable intercourse, by causing speedy and impartial justice to be done, and necessary protection to be extended to all who may be concerned therein.

IV. Whereas it is uncertain whether the river Mississippi extends so far to the northward as to be intersected by a line to be drawn due west from the lake of the woods in the manner mentioned in the treaty of peace between his Majesty and the United States, it is agreed, that measures shall be taken to concert with his Majesty's government in America, and the government of the United States, for making a joint survey of the said river from one degree of latitude below the falls of St. Anthony, to the principal source or sources of the said river, and also of the parts adjacent thereto; and that if on the result of such survey, it should appear that the said river would not be intersected by such a line as is above-mentioned, the two parties will thereupon proceed by amicable negotiation to regulate the boundary line in that quarter, as well as all other points to be adjusted between the said parties, according to justice and mutual convenience, and in conformity to the intent of the said treaty.

V. Whereas doubts have arisen what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the said treaty of peace, and forming a part of the boundary therein described, that question shall be referred to the final decision of the commissioners to be appointed in the following manner, viz.

One commissioner shall be named by his Majesty, and one by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the said two commissioners shall agree on the choice of a third; or if they cannot so agree, they shall each propose one person, and of the two names so proposed, one shall be drawn by lot in the presence of the two original commissioners. And the three commissioners so appointed, shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide the said question according to such evidence as shall respectively be laid before them on the

the part of the British Government and of the United States. The said commissioners shall meet at Halifax, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. They shall have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. The said commissioners shall, by a declaration under their hands and seals, decide what river is the river St. Croix intended by the treaty. The said declaration shall contain a description of the said river, and shall particularize the latitude and longitude of its mouth, and of its source. Duplicates of this declaration, and of the statements of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agent of his Majesty, and to the agent of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorised to manage the business on behalf of the respective governments. And both parties agree to consider such decision as final and conclusive, so as that the same shall never thereafter be called into question, or made the subject of dispute or difference between them.

VI. Whereas it is alledged by divers British merchants and others, his Majesty's subjects, that debts to a considerable amount, which were *bana fide* contracted before the peace, still remain owing to them by citizens or inhabitants of the United States, and that by the operation of various lawful impediments since the peace, not only the full recovery of the said debts has been delayed, but also the value and security thereof have been in several instances impaired and lessened, so that by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the British creditors cannot now obtain, and actually have and receive full and adequate compensation for the losses and damages which they have thereby sustained: it is agreed, that in all such cases where full compensation for such losses and damages cannot, for whatever reason, be actually obtained, had, and received by the said creditors in the ordinary course of justice, the United States will make full and complete compensation for the same to the said creditors: but it is distinctly understood, that this provision is to extend to such losses only as have been occasioned by the lawful impediments aforesaid, and is not to extend to losses occasioned by such insolvency of the debtors, or other causes as would equally have operated to produce such loss, if the said impediments had not existed, nor to such losses or damages as have been occasioned by the manifest delay or negligence, or wilful omission of the claimant.

For the purpose of ascertaining the amount of any such losses and damages, five commissioners shall be appointed, and authorised to meet and act in manner following, viz.—Two of them shall be appointed by his Majesty, two of them by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the fifth by the unanimous voice of the other four;

and

and if they should not agree in such choice, then the commissioners named by the two parties, shall respectively propose one person, and of the two names so proposed, one shall be drawn by lot in the presence of the four original commissioners.

When the five commissioners thus appointed shall first meet, they shall, before they proceed to act, respectively take the following oath or affirmation, in the presence of each other, which oath or affirmation being so taken, and duly attested, shall be entered on the record of their proceedings, viz. I, A. B. one of the commissioners appointed in pursuance of the 6th Article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, do solemnly swear or affirm, that I will honestly, diligently, impartially, and carefully examine, and to the best of my judgment, according to justice and equity, decide all such complaints, as under the said article shall be preferred to the said commissioners; and that I will forbear to act as a commissioner in any case in which I may be personally interested.

Three of the said commissioners shall constitute a board, and shall have power to do any act appertaining to the said commission, provided that one of the commissioners named on each side, and the fifth commissioner shall be present, and all decisions shall be made by the majority of the voices of the commissioners then present; eighteen months from the day on which the said commissioners shall form a board, and be ready to proceed to business, are assigned for receiving complaints and applications; but they are nevertheless authorised in any particular cases, in which it shall appear to them to be reasonable and just, to extend the said term of eighteen months for any term not exceeding six months, after the expiration thereof. The said commissioners shall first meet at Philadelphia, but they shall have power to adjourn from place to place as they shall see cause.

The said commissioners, in examining the complaints and applications so preferred to them, are empowered and required, in pursuance of the true intent and meaning of this article, to take into their consideration all claims, whether of principal or interest, or balances of principal and interest, and to determine the same respectively, according to the merits of the several cases, due regard being had to all the circumstances thereof, and as equity and justice shall appear to them to require. And the said commissioners shall have power to examine all such persons as shall come before them on oath or affirmation, touching the premises; and also to receive in evidence, according as they may think most consistent with equity and justice, all written depositions, or books, or papers, or copies, or extracts thereof; every such deposition, book, or paper, or extract being duly authenticated, either according to the legal forms now respectively existing

in the two countries, or in such other manner as the said commissioners shall see cause to require or allow.

The award of the said commissioners, or of any three of them as aforesaid, shall in all cases be final and conclusive, both as to the justice of the claim, and to the amount of the sum to be paid to the creditor or claimant, and the United States undertake to cause the sum so awarded to be paid in specie to such creditor or claimant without deduction, and at such time or times, and at such place or places, as shall be awarded by the said commissioners; and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the creditor or claimant, as by the said commissioners may be directed: provided always that no such payments shall be fixed by the said commissioners to take place sooner than twelve months, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

VI. Whereas complaints have been made by divers merchants and others, citizens of the United States, that during the course of the war in which his Majesty is now engaged, they have sustained considerable losses and damage by reason of irregular or illegal captures or condemnations of their vessels and other property, under colour of authority or commissions from his Majesty; and that from various circumstances belonging to the said cases, adequate compensation for the losses and damages so sustained cannot now be actually obtained, had, and received by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings; it is agreed in all such cases where adequate compensation cannot, for whatever reason, be now actually obtained, had, and received by said merchants or others in the ordinary course of justice, full and complete compensation for the same will be made by the British Government to the said complainants. But it is distinctly understood that this provision is not to extend to such losses or damages as have been occasioned by the manifest delay or negligence, or wilful omission of the claimants.

That for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of any such losses or damages, five commissioners shall be appointed and authorised to act in London, exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the preceding article, and after having taken the same oath or affirmation (*mutatis mutandis*), the same term of eighteen months is also assigned for the reception of claims, and they are in like manner authorised to extend the same in particular cases. They shall receive testimony, books, papers, and evidence in the same latitude, and exercise the like discretion and powers respecting that subject; and shall decide the claims in question according to the merits of the several cases, and to justice, equity, and the laws of nations. The award of the commissioners, or any such three of them as aforesaid, shall in all cases be final and conclusive, both as to the justice of the claim, and the amount of the sum to be paid to the claimant; and his Britannic Majesty undertakes to cause the same to be paid to such claimant.

claimant in specie, without any deduction, at such place or places, and at such time or times, as shall be awarded by the same commissioners, and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants, as by the said commissioners may be directed.

And whereas certain merchants and others, his Majesty's subjects, complain, that in the course of the war, they have sustained loss and damage by reason of the capture of the vessels and merchandize taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the States, and brought into the ports of the same, or taken by vessels originally armed in ports of the said States,

It is agreed, that in all such cases where restitution shall not have been made agreeably to the tenor of the letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hammond, dated at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1793, a copy of which is annexed to this treaty; the complaints of the parties shall be, and hereby are referred to the commissioners to be appointed by virtue of this article, who are hereby authorized and required to proceed in the like manner relative to these as to the other cases committed to them; and the United States undertake to pay to the complainants, or claimants, in specie, without deduction, the amount of such sums as shall be awarded to them respectively by the said commissioners, and at the times and places which in such awards shall be specified; and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants as in the said awards may be directed. And it is further agreed, that not only the new existing cases of both descriptions, but also all such as shall exist at the time of exchanging the ratifications of this treaty, shall be considered within the provisions, intent, and meaning of this article.

VIII. It is further agreed, that the commissioners mentioned in the two preceding articles shall be respectively paid in such a manner as shall be agreed between the two parties; such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. And all other expences attending the said commissioners shall be defrayed jointly by the two parties, the same being previously ascertained and allowed by the majority of the commissioners. And in the case of death, sickness, or necessary absence, the place of every such commissioner respectively shall be supplied in the same manner as such commissioner was appointed, and the new commissioners shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties.

IX. It is agreed that British subjects, who now hold lands in the territories of the United States; and American citizens, who now hold lands in the dominions of his Majesty, shall continue to hold them according to the nature and tenure of their respective states and titles therein; and may grant, sell, or devise the same to whom they please, in like manner as if they were natives; and that

that neither they, nor their heirs or assigns, shall, so far as may respect the said lands, and the legal remedies incident thereto, be regarded as aliens.

X. Neither the debts due from individuals of the one nation to individuals of the other, nor shares, nor monies which they may have in the public funds, or in the public or private banks, shall ever in any event of war or national differences, be sequestered or confiscated, it being unjust and impolitic, that debts and engagements contracted, and made by individuals, having confidence in each other, and in their respective governments, should ever be destroyed or impaired by national authority, on account of national differences and discontents.

XI. It is agreed between his Majesty and the United States of America, that there shall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between their respective people, in the manner, under the limitations, and on the conditions specified in the following articles.

XII. His Majesty consents, that it shall and may be lawful, during the time hereinafter limited, for the citizens of the United States to carry to any of his Majesty's islands and ports in the West Indies from the United States, in their own vessels, not being above the burthen of seventy tons, any goods or merchandizes, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the said States, which it is or may be lawful to carry to the said islands or ports from the said States in British vessels; and that the said American vessels shall be subject there to no other or higher tonnage duties or charges than shall be payable by British vessels in the ports of the United States; and that the cargoes of the said American vessels shall be subject there to no other or higher duties or charges than shall be payable on the like articles, if imported there from the said States in British vessels.

And his Majesty also consents that it shall be lawful for the said American citizens to purchase, load, and carry away in their said vessels, to the United States, from the said islands and ports, all such articles, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the said islands, as may now by law be carried from thence to the said States in British vessels, and subject only to the same duties and charges on exportation to which British vessels and their cargoes are or shall be subject in similar circumstances.

Provided always that the said American vessels do carry and land their cargoes in the United States only, it being expressly agreed and declared, that during the continuance of this article, the United States will prohibit and restrain the carrying any molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, or cotton, in American vessels, either from his Majesty's islands or from the United States, to any part of the world, except the United States, reasonable sea stores excepted.

Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful, during the same period, for British vessels to import from the said islands into the United States, and to export from the United States to the said islands, all articles whatever, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said islands, or of the United States respectively, which now may by the laws of the said States be so imported and exported. And that the cargoes of the said British vessels shall be subject to no other or higher duties or charges, than shall be payable on the same articles, if so imported or exported in American vessels.

It is agreed that this article, and every matter and thing therein contained, shall continue to be in force during the continuance of the war in which his Majesty is now engaged; and also for two years, from and after the day of the signature of the preliminary or other articles of peace by which the same may be terminated.

And it is further agreed, that at the expiration of the said term, the two contracting parties will endeavour further to regulate their commerce in this respect, according to the situation in which his Majesty may then find himself with respect to the West Indies, and with a view to such arrangements as may best conduce to the mutual advantage and extension of commerce.

And the said parties will then also renew their discussions, and endeavour to agree, whether in any or what cases, neutral vessels shall protect enemy's property; and in what cases, provisions and other articles, not generally contraband, may become such. But in the mean time, their conduct towards each other in these respects shall be regulated by the articles hereinafter inserted on those subjects.

XIII. His Majesty consents that the vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States of America shall be admitted and hospitably received in all the sea ports and harbours of the British territories in the East Indies. And that the citizens of the said United States may freely carry on a trade between the said territories and the said United States in all articles of which the importation or exportation respectively to or from the said territories, shall not be entirely prohibited. Provided only, that it shall not be lawful for them, in any time of war between the British government and any other power or state whatever, to export from the said territories, without the special permission of the British government there, any military stores or naval stores or rice. The citizens of the United States shall pay for their vessels, when admitted into the said ports, no other or higher tonnage duty than shall be payable on British vessels when admitted into the ports of the United States. And they shall pay no other or higher duties or charges on the importation or exportation of the cargoes of the said vessels, than shall be payable on the same articles when imported or exported in British vessels. But it is expressly agreed,

that the vessels of the United States shall not carry any of the articles exported by them from the said British territories to any port or place, except to some port or place in America, where the same shall be unladen, and such regulations shall be adopted by both parties, as shall from time to time be found necessary to enforce the due and faithful observance of this stipulation.

It is also understood, that the permission granted by this article is not to extend to allow the vessels of the United States to carry on any part of the coasting trade of the said British territories; but vessels going with their original cargoes, or part thereof, from one port of discharge to another, are not to be considered as carrying on the coasting trade. Neither is this article to be construed to allow the citizens of the said States to settle or reside within the said territories, or to go into the interior parts thereof, without the permission of the British government established there; and if any transgression should be attempted against the regulations of the British government in this respect, the observance of the same shall and may be enforced against the citizens of America, in the same manner as against British subjects or others transgressing the same rule. And the citizens of the United States, whenever they arrive in any port or harbour in the said territories, or if they should be permitted in manner aforesaid to go to any other place therein, shall always be subject to the laws, government, and jurisdiction of what nature established in such harbour, port, or place, according as the same may be; the citizens of the United States may also touch for refreshment at the island of St. Helena, but subject in all respects to such regulations as the British government may from time to time establish there.

XIV. There shall be between all the dominions of his Majesty in Europe, and the territories of the United States, a reciprocal and perfect liberty of commerce and navigation. The people and inhabitants of the two countries respectively shall have liberty freely and securely, and without hindrance and molestation, to come with their ships and cargoes to the lands, countries, cities, ports, places, and rivers within the dominions and territories aforesaid, to enter into the same, to resort there, and to remain and reside there without any limitation of time: and also to hire and possess houses and warehouses for the purposes of their commerce, and generally the merchants and traders on each side shall enjoy the most complete protection and security for their commerce, but subject always as to what respects this article to the laws and statutes of the two countries respectively.

XV. It is agreed that no other or higher duties shall be paid by the ships or merchandize of the one party in the ports of the other, than such as are paid by the like vessels or merchandize of all other nations. Nor shall any other or higher duty be imposed in one country on the importation of any articles, the growth, pro-

duce, or manufacture of the other, than are or shall be payable on the importation of the like articles, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country. Nor shall any prohibition be imposed on the exportation or importation of any articles to or from the territories of the two parties respectively, which shall not equally extend to all other nations.

But the British government reserves to itself the right of imposing on American vessels entering into the British ports in Europe a tonnage duty equal to that which shall be payable by British vessels in the ports of America; and also such duty as may be adequate to countervail the difference of duty now payable on the importation of European and Asiatic goods, when imported into the United States in British or in American vessels.

The two parties agree to treat for the more exact equalization of the duties on the respective navigation of their subjects and people in such manner as may be most beneficial to the two countries. The arrangements for this purpose shall be made at the same time with those mentioned at the conclusion of the twelfth article of this treaty, and are to be considered as a part thereof. In the interval it is agreed, that the United States will not impose any new or additional tonnage duties on British vessels, nor increase the now subsisting difference between the duties payable on the importation of any articles in British or in American vessels.

XVI. It shall be free for the two contracting parties respectively to appoint consuls for the protection of trade, to reside in the dominions and territories aforesaid, and the said consuls shall enjoy those liberties and rights which belong to them by reason of their function. But before any consul shall act as such, he shall be in the usual forms approved and admitted by the party to whom he is sent; and it is hereby declared to be lawful and proper, that in case of illegal or improper conduct towards the laws or government, a consul may either be punished according to law, if the laws will reach the case, or be dismissed, or even sent back, the offended government assigning to the other their reasons for the same.

Either of the parties may except from the residence of consuls such particular places as such party shall judge proper to be so excepted.

XVII. It is agreed, that in all cases where vessels shall be captured or detained on just suspicion of having on board enemy's property, or of carrying to the enemy any of the articles which are contraband of war; the said vessel shall be brought to the nearest or most convenient port; and if any property of an enemy should be found on board such vessel, that part only which belongs to the enemy shall be made prize, and the vessel shall be at liberty to proceed with the remainder without any impediment. And it is agreed, that all proper measures shall be taken to prevent delay in deciding

deciding the cases of ships or cargoes so brought in for adjudication, and in the payment or recovery of any indemnification adjudged or agreed to be paid to the masters or owners of such ships.

XVIII. In order to regulate what is in future to be deemed contraband of war, it is agreed, that under the said denomination shall be comprised all arms and implements serving for the purposes of war, by land or by sea, such as cannon, musquets, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, carcasses, saucisses, carriages for cannon, musquet-rests, bandoliers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head-pieces, cuirasses, halberts, lances, javelins, horse furniture, holsters, belts, and generally all other implements of war; as also timber for ship-building, tar or rosin, copper in sheets, falls, hemp and cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly to the equipment of vessels, unwarbought iron and fir-planks only excepted; and all the above articles are hereby declared to be just objects of confiscation, whenever they are attempted to be carried to an enemy.

And whereas the difficulty of agreeing on the precise cases in which alone provisions and other articles not generally contraband, may be regarded as such, renders it expedient to provide against the inconveniences and misunderstandings which might thence arise; it is further agreed, that whenever any such articles so becoming contraband according to the existing laws of nations, shall for that reason be seized, the same shall not be confiscated, but the owners thereof shall be speedily and completely indemnified: and the captors, or in their default the government under whose authority they act, shall pay to the masters or owners of such vessels the full value of all articles, with a reasonable mercantile profit thereon, together with the freight, and also the demurrage incident to such detention.

And whereas it frequently happens that vessels sail for a port or place belonging to an enemy, without knowing that the same is either besieged, blockaded, or invested; it is agreed, that every vessel so circumstanced may be turned away from such port or place, but she shall not be detained, nor her cargo, if not contraband, be confiscated, unless after notice she shall again attempt to enter; but she shall be permitted to go to any other port or place she may think proper; nor shall any vessel or goods of either party that may have entered into such port or place before the same was besieged, blockaded, or invested by the other, and be found therein after the reduction or surrender of such place, be liable to confiscation, but shall be restored to the owners or proprietors thereof.

XIX. And that more abundant care be taken for the security of the respective subjects and citizens of the contracting parties, and to prevent their suffering injuries by the men of war or privateers of either party, all commanders of ships of war and privateers,

and

and all others the said subjects and citizens, shall forbear to do any damage to those of the other party, or committing any outrage against them ; and if they act to the contrary, they shall be punished, and shall also be bound in their persons and estates to make satisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the interest thereof, of whatever nature the said damages may be.

For this cause, all commanders of privateers before they receive their commissions, shall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, sufficient security by at least two responsible sureties, who have no interest in the said privateer, each of whom, together with the said commander, shall be jointly and severally bound in the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, or if such ship be provided with above one hundred and fifty seamen or soldiers, in the sum of three thousand pounds sterling, to satisfy all damages and injuries which the said privateer, or officers, or men, or any of them, may do or commit during their cruise, contrary to the tenor of this treaty, or to the laws and instructions for regulating their conduct ; and further, that in all cases of aggression, the said commissions shall be revoked and annulled.

It is also agreed, that whenever a judge of a court of admiralty of either of the parties shall pronounce sentence against any vessel of goods or property belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other party, a formal and duly authenticated copy of all the proceedings in the cause, and of the said sentence, shall, if required, be delivered to the commander of the said vessel without the smallest delay, he paying all legal fees and demands for the same.

XX. It is further agreed, that both the said contracting parties shall not only refuse to receive any pirates into any of their ports, havens, or towns, or permit any of their inhabitants to receive, protect, harbour, conceal, or assist them in any manner, but will bring to condign punishment all such inhabitants as shall be guilty of such acts or offences.

And all their ships, with the goods or merchandizes taken by them, and brought into the port of either of the said parties, shall be seized as far as they can be discovered, and shall be restored to the owners, or the factors or agents duly deputed and authorised in writing by them, (proper evidence being first in the court of admiralty for proving the property,) even in case such effects should have passed into other hands by sale, if it be proved that the buyers knew or had good reason to believe or suspect that they had been piratically taken.

XXI. It is likewise agreed, that the subjects and citizens of the two nations shall not do any acts of hostility or violence against each other, nor accept commissions or instructions so to act from any foreign prince or state, enemies to the other party : nor shall the enemies of one of the parties be permitted to invite, or endeavour to enlist in the military service any of the subjects or citizens of

of the other party ; and the laws against all such offences shall be punctually executed. And if any subject or citizen of the said parties respectively shall accept any foreign commission or letters of marque for arming any vessel to act as a privateer against the the other party, and be taken by the other party, it is hereby declared to be lawful for the said party to treat and punish the said subject or citizen having such commission or letters of marque, as a pirate.

XXII. It is expressly stipulated that neither of the said contracting parties will order or authorise any acts of reprisal against the other, on complaints of injuries or damages, until the said party shall first have presented to the other a statement thereof, verified by competent proof and evidence, and demanding justice and satisfaction, and the same shall either have been refused or unreasonably delayed.

XXIII. The ships of war of each of the contracting parties shall at all times be hospitably received into the ports of the other, their officers and crews paying due respect to the laws and government of the country. The officers shall be treated with that respect which is due to the commissions which they bear ; and if any insult should be offered to them by any of the inhabitants, all offenders in this respect shall be punished as disturbers of the peace and amity between the two countries. And his Majesty consents that in case an American vessel should, by stress of weather, danger from enemies, or other misfortunes, be reduced to the necessity of seeking shelter in any of his Majesty's ports, into which such vessel could not in ordinary cases claim to be admitted, she shall, on manifesting that necessity to the satisfaction of the government of the place, be hospitably received and permitted to refit and to purchase at the market price such necessaries as she may stand in need of, conformably to such orders and regulations as the government of the place, having respect to circumstances of each case, shall prescribe. She shall not be allowed to break bulk or unload her cargo, unless the same shall be *bona fide* necessary to her being refitted ; nor shall she be permitted to sell any part of her cargo, unless so much only as may be necessary to defray her expences, and then not without the express permission of the government of the place ; nor shall she be obliged to pay any duties whatever, except only on such articles as she may be permitted to sell for the purpose aforesaid.

XXIV. It shall not be lawful for any foreign privateers (not being subjects or citizens of either of the said parties) who have commissions from any other prince or state in enmity with either nation, to arm their ships in the ports of either of the said parties, nor sell what they have taken, nor in any other manner to exchange the same ; nor shall they be allowed to purchase more provisions than shall be necessary for their going to the nearest port of

of that prince or state from whom they obtained their commissions.

XXV. It shall be lawful for the ships of war and privateers belonging to the said parties respectively, to carry whithersoever they please the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the admiralty, or to any judges whatever; nor shall the said prizes, when they arrive at, and enter the ports of the said parties, be detained or seized; neither shall the searchers or other officers of those places visit such prizes, (except for the purpose of preventing the carrying of any part of the cargo thereof on shore in any manner contrary to the established laws of revenue, navigation, or commerce,) nor shall such officers take cognizance of the validity of such prizes; but they shall be at liberty to hoist sail and depart as speedily as may be, and carry the said prizes to the place mentioned in their commissions or patents, which the commanders of the said ships of war or privateers shall be obliged to shew.

No shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as have made a prize upon the subjects or citizens of either of the said parties; but if forced by stress of weather, or the danger of the sea, to enter therein, particular care shall be taken to hasten their departure, and to cause them to retire as soon as possible. Nothing in this treaty contained shall however be construed or operate contrary to former existing public treaties with other sovereigns or states. But the two parties agree, that while they continue in amity, neither of them will in future make any treaty that shall be inconsistent with this or the preceding article.

Neither of the said parties shall permit the ships or goods belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other to be taken within cannon shot of the coast, nor in any of the bays, ports, or rivers of their territories, by ships of war or others having commission from any prince, republic, or state whatever. But in case it should so happen, the party whose territorial rights shall thus have been violated, shall use his utmost endeavours to obtain from the offending party full and ample satisfaction for the vessel or vessels so taken, whether the same be vessels of war or merchant vessels.

XXVI. If at any time a rupture should take place (which God forbid) between his Majesty and the United States, the merchants and others of each of the two nations, residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade, so long as they behave peaceably and commit no offence against the laws; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should think proper to order them to remove, the term of twelve months, from the publication of the order, shall be allowed them for that purpose, to remove with their families, effects, and property; but this favour shall not be extended to those who shall act contrary to the

the established laws : and for greater certainty, it is declared that such rupture shall not be deemed to exist while negotiations for accommodating differences shall be depending, nor until the respective ambassadors or ministers, if such there shall be, shall be recalled or sent home on account of such differences, and not on account of personal misconduct, according to the nature and degrees of which both parties retain their rights, either to request the recal, or immediately to send home the ambassador or minister of the other, and that without prejudice to their mutual friendship and good understanding.

XXVII. It is further agreed, that his Majesty and the United States, on mutual requisitions, by them respectively, or by their respective ministers or officers authorised to make the same, will deliver up to justice all persons who being charged with murder or forgery committed within the jurisdiction of either, shall seek an asylum within any of the countries of the other, provided that this shall only be done on such evidence of criminality, as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had there been committed. The expence of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make the requisition and receive the fugitive.

XXVIII. It is agreed that the first ten articles of this treaty shall be permanent, and that the subsequent articles, except the twelfth, shall be limited in their duration to twelve years, to be computed from the day on which the ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged, but fully subject to this condition : that whereas the said twelfth article will expire by the limitation therein contained, at the end of two years from the signing the preliminary or other articles of peace, which shall terminate the present war in which his Majesty is engaged, it is agreed that proper measures shall by concert be taken for bringing the subject of that article into amicable treaty and discussion so early before the expiration of the said term, as that new arrangements on that head may by that time be perfected and ready to take place ; but if it should unfortunately happen that his Majesty and the United States should not be able to agree on such new arrangements, in that case all the articles of this treaty, except the first ten, shall then cease and expire together.

Lastly. This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified by his Majesty and by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their Senate, and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding and obligatory on his Majesty and on the said States, and shall be by them respectively executed and observed with punctuality and the most sincere regard to good faith ; and whereas it will be expedient, in order the better to facilitate intercourse and obviate difficulties, that other articles be proposed and added to this treaty, which articles, from want of time and

other circumstances, cannot now be perfected—it is agreed, that the said parties will, from time to time, readily treat of and concerning such articles, and will sincerely endeavour to form them as that they may conduce to mutual convenience, and tend to promote mutual satisfaction and friendship; and that the said articles, after having been duly ratified, shall be added to, and make a part of this treaty. In faith whereof, we, the undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and the United States of America, have signed this present treaty, and have caused to be affixed thereto the seal of our arms.*

Done at London, this 19th day of November, 1794.

GRENVILLE. (Seal.)
JOHN JAY. (Seal.)

Treaty of Defensive Alliance between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Germany. Signed at Vienna, the 20th of May, 1795.

HIS Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Great Britain, being desirous to renew and to cement the ancient relations of friendship and intimacy between their crowns and their respective dominions, as well as to provide, in a solid and permanent manner, for their future safety, and for the general tranquillity of Europe, have determined; In consequence of these salutary views, to proceed to the conclusion of a new treaty of alliance; and they have nominated for that purpose, viz. his Majesty the Emperor, his actual privy counsellor and Minister for foreign affairs, Baron de Thugut, and his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Sir Morton Eden, one of his Majesty's privy counsellors, knight of the Bath, envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary of his said Majesty, at the court of Vienna; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. There shall be between his Imperial Majesty and his Britannic Majesty, their heirs and successors, and between all the respective dominions, provinces, and subjects of their said Majesties, a perfect and sincere good understanding, friendship, and defensive alliance. The high contracting parties shall use all their endeavours for the maintenance of their common interests, and shall employ all the means in their power to defend and guarantee each other mutually against every hostile aggression.

II. The high contracting parties shall act in perfect concert in every thing which relates to the re-establishment and to the maintenance of general peace; and they shall employ all their efforts to prevent, by the means of friendly negotiation, the attacks

* For the letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hammond, mentioned in the seventh article of the treaty, refer to the papers relative to neutral powers.

with which they may be threatened, either separately or conjointly.

III. In case either of the high contracting parties should be attacked, molested, or disturbed in the possession of its dominions, territories, or cities whatsoever, or in the exercise of its rights, liberties, or franchises wheresoever, and without any exception, the other will exert all its endeavours to succour its ally without delay, and in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

IV. Their Imperial and Britannic Majesties reciprocally guaranteed to each other, and in the most express manner, all their dominions, territories, cities, rights, liberties, and franchises whatsoever, such as they at present possess, and such as they shall possess at the conclusion of a general peace, made by their common agreement and consent, in conformity to their mutual engagements in that respect in the convention of the 30th of August, 1793. And the case of this defensive alliance shall exist from the moment whenever either of the high contracting parties shall be disturbed, molested, or disquieted in the peaceable enjoyment of its dominions, territories, cities, rights, liberties, or franchises whatsoever, according to the state of actual possession, and according to the state of possession which shall exist at the above-mentioned epoch.

V. The succours to be mutually furnished, in virtue of this treaty, shall consist in twenty thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry, which shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall continue to be at its disposition during the whole course of the war in which it shall be engaged. These succours shall be paid and maintained by the power required, wherever its ally shall employ them; but the power requiring shall provide them with the necessary bread and forage, upon the same footing with its own troops.

If the party requiring prefers, it may demand the succours to be furnished in money; and in that case the succours shall be computed at the following rate, that is to say, ten thousand Dutch florins per month for every thousand infantry, and thirty thousand Dutch florins per month for every thousand cavalry; and this money shall be paid monthly, in equal portions, throughout the whole year.

If these succours should not suffice for the defence of the power requiring, the other party shall augment them according as the occasion shall require, and shall even succour its ally with its whole forces, if the circumstances should render it necessary.

VI. It is agreed that, in consideration of the intimate alliance, established by this treaty between the two crowns, neither the one nor the other of the high contracting parties shall permit the vessels, or merchandise belonging to its ally, or to the people or subjects of its ally, and which shall have been taken at sea by any

ships of war or privateers whatsoever, belonging to enemies or rebels, to be brought into its harbours ; nor any ship of war or privateer to be therein armed, in any case or under any pretext whatsoever, in order to cruise against the ships and property of such ally, or of his subjects ; nor that there be conveyed by its subjects, or in their ships, to the enemies of its ally, any provisions, or military or naval stores. For these ends, as often as it shall be required by either of the allies, the other shall be bound to renew express prohibitions, ordering all persons to conform themselves to this article, upon pain of exemplary punishment, in addition to the full restitution and satisfaction to be made to the injured parties.

VII. If, notwithstanding the prohibition and penalties above-mentioned, any vessels of enemies or rebels should bring into the ports of either of the high contracting parties any prizes taken from the other, or from its subjects, the former shall oblige them to quit its ports in the space of twenty-four hours after their arrival, upon pain of seizure and confiscation; and the crews and passengers, or other prisoners, subjects of its ally, who shall have been brought into the said ports, shall, immediately after their arrival, be restored to their full liberty, with their ship and merchandize, without delay or exception. And if any vessel whatsoever, after having been armed or equipped, wholly or partially, in the ports of either of the allies, should be employed in taking prizes, or in committing hostilities, against the subjects of the other, such vessel, in case of its returning into the said ports, shall, at the regulation of the injured parties, be seized and confiscated for their benefit.

The high contracting parties do not intend that the stipulations in these two articles should derogate from the execution of anterior treaties actually existing with other powers ; the high contracting parties not being, however, at liberty to form new engagements hereafter to the prejudice of the said stipulations.

VIII. Their Imperial and Britannic Majesties engage to ratify the present treaty of alliance, and the ratification thereof shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic Majesties, have signed the present treaty in their names, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th day of May, in the year 1795.

(L. S.) LE BARON DU THUGUT.
(L. S.) MORTON EDEN.

Separate Article.

In case the establishment, in general limited, of the land forces of Great Britain should not permit his Britannic Majesty to furnish,

nish, within the term specified, the succour in men stipulated by the fifth article of the present treaty of alliance, and that consequently his Imperial Majesty should be obliged to supply that succour by an equal number of other troops to be taken into his pay, the confidence which the Emperor reposes in the friendship and equity of the King of Great Britain, leaves him no room to doubt but his Britannic Majesty will readily grant him an indemnification for the difference, which, according to a just valuation at the time, shall exist between the expences of the taking into pay and subsistence of those troops, and the estimate in Dutch florins, which, in order to avoid every delay of discussion, has been adopted in the above-mentioned fifth article, in conformity to the estimate contained in ancient treaties.

The separate article, making part of the treaty of alliance, signed this day in the name of their Imperial and Britannic Majesties, shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the said treaty of alliance.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic Majesties, have, in their names, signed the present separate article, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of May, 1795.

(L. s.) MORTON EDEN.

(L. s.) LE BARON DU THUGUT.

Separate Article.

Their Imperial and Britannic Majesties shall concert together upon the invitation to be given to her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, in order to form, by the union of the three courts, in consequence of the intimate connections which exist already between them, a system of triple alliance, proper for the re-establishment and maintenance in future of peace and general tranquillity in Europe.

This article shall have the same force as if it were inserted in the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic Majesties, have in their names signed the present separate article, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of May, 1795.

(L. s.) MORTON EDEN.

(L. s.) LE BARON DU THUGUT.

Treaty of Defensive Alliance between his Britannic Majesty and the Empress of Russia. Signed at St. Petersburg, the 18th of February, 1795.

In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity.

HIS Britannic Majesty, and her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, animated with a desire equally sincere to strengthen more and more the ties of friendship and good understanding which so happily subsist between them and their respective monarchies, have thought that nothing would more effectually contribute to this salutary end than the conclusion of a treaty of defensive alliance, concerning which they should occupy themselves forthwith, and which should have for basis the stipulations of similar treaties which have already been heretofore concluded, and have made the objects of the most intimate union between the two empires. For this purpose their said Majesties have named for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his Britannic Majesty, Sir Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, knight of the order of the Bath ; and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, the Sieur John Count Osterman, her vice-chancellor, &c. &c. &c. who, after having mutually exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles :

Article I. There shall be a sincere and constant friendship between his Britannic Majesty and her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, their heirs and successors, and, in consequence of this intimate union, the high contracting parties shall have nothing more strongly at heart than to promote, by all possible means, their mutual interests, to avert from each other whatever might cause them any injury, damage, or prejudice, and to maintain themselves reciprocally in the undisturbed possession of their dominions, rights, commerce, and prerogatives whatsoever, by guaranteeing reciprocally for this purpose all their countries, dominions, and possessions, as well such as they actually possess, as those which they may acquire by treaty.

II. If, notwithstanding the efforts which they shall employ, by common consent, in order to obtain this end, it should nevertheless happen that one of them should be attacked by sea or land, the other shall furnish him, immediately on the requisition being made, the succours stipulated by the following articles of this treaty.

III. His Britannic Majesty, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias declare, however, that in contracting the present alliance, their intention is by no means to give offence thereby, or to injure any one, but that their sole intention is to provide by these

these engagements for their reciprocal advantage and security, as well as for the re-establishment of peace, and for the maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe, and above all, that of the North.

IV. As the two high contracting parties profess the same desire to tender to each other their mutual succours as advantageous as possible, and as the natural force of Russia consists in land troops, whilst Great Britain can principally furnish ships of war, it is agreed upon, that if his Britannic Majesty should be attacked or disturbed by any other power, and in whatever manner it might be, in the possession of his dominions and provinces, so that he should think it necessary to require the assistance of his ally, Her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias shall send him immediately ten thousand infantry, and two thousand horse. If, on the other hand, her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias should find herself attacked or disturbed by any other power, and in whatever manner it may be, in the possession of her dominions and provinces, so that she should think it necessary to require the assistance of her ally, his Britannic Majesty shall send her forthwith a squadron of twelve ships of war and of the line, carrying 708 guns, according to the following list: two ships of 74 guns, making together 148 guns, and the crews 960 men; six ships of 60 guns, making 360 guns, and the crews 2400 men; four ships of 50 guns, making 200 guns, and the crews 1200 men. In the whole, twelve ships, 708 guns, and the crews 4560 men. This squadron shall be properly equipped and armed for war. These succours shall be respectively sent to the places which shall be specified by the requiring party, and shall remain at his free disposal as long as hostilities shall last;

V. But if the nature of the attack were such, as that the party attacked should not find it to his interest to demand the effective succours, such as they have been stipulated for in the preceding article, in that case the two high contracting powers have resolved to change the said succour into a pecuniary subsidy; that is to say, if his Britannic Majesty should be attacked, and should prefer pecuniary succours, her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, after the requisition having been previously made, shall pay to him the sum of five hundred thousand rubles yearly, during the whole continuance of hostilities, to assist him to support the expences of the war; and if her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias should be attacked, and should prefer pecuniary succours, his Britannic Majesty shall furnish her with the same sum yearly, as long as hostilities shall last.

VI. If the party required, after having furnished the succour stipulated in the fourth article of this treaty, should be himself attacked, so as to put him thereby under the necessity of re-calling his troops for his own safety, he shall be at liberty to do so, after having

having informed the requiring party thereof two months before-hand. In like manner, if the party required were himself at war at the time of the requisition, so that he should be obliged to retain near himself, for his own proper security and defence, the forces which he is bound to furnish to his ally in virtue of this treaty; in such case the party required shall be dispensed from furnishing the said succour, so long as the said necessity shall last.

VII. The Russian auxiliary troops shall be provided with field artillery, ammunition, and every thing of which they may stand in need, in proportion to their number. They shall be paid and recruited annually by the requiring court. With regard to the ordinary rations and portions of provisions and forage, as well as quarters, they shall be furnished to them by the requiring court, the whole on the footing upon which his own troops are or shall be maintained in the field or in quarters.

VIII. In case the said Russian auxiliary troops required by his Britannic Majesty should be obliged to march by land, and to traverse the dominions of any other powers, his Britannic Majesty shall use his endeavours jointly with her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, to obtain for them a free passage, and shall supply them on their march with the necessary provisions and forage in the manner stipulated in the preceding article; and when they shall have to cross the sea, his Britannic Majesty shall take upon himself either to transport them in his own ships, or to defray the expences of their passage; the same is also to be understood, as well with regard to the recruits which her Imperial Majesty will be obliged to send to her troops, as respecting their return to Russia whenever they shall either be sent back by his Britannic Majesty, or recalled by her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias for her own defence, according to article VI. of the treaty. It is further agreed upon, that in case of recalling or sending back the said troops, an adequate convoy of ships of war shall escort them for their security.

IX. The commanding officer, whether of the auxiliary troops of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, or of the squadron which his Britannic Majesty is to furnish Russia with, shall keep the command which has been intrusted to him, but the command in chief shall belong most certainly to him whom the requiring party shall appoint for that purpose, under the restriction, however, that nothing of importance shall be undertaken, that shall not have been before hand regulated and determined upon in council of war, in the presence of the general and commanding officers of the party required.

X. And in order to prevent all disputes about rank, the requiring party shall give due notice of the officer to whom he shall give the command in chief, whether of a fleet or of land forces, to the end that the party required may regulate, in consequence the rank

rank of him who shall have to command the auxiliary troops or ships.

XI. Moreover, these auxiliary forces shall have their own chaplain, and the entirely free exercise of their religion, and shall not be judged in whatever appertain to military service, otherwise than according to the laws and articles of war of their own sovereign. It shall likewise be permitted for the general, and rest of the auxiliary forces, to keep up a free correspondence with their country, as well by letters as expresses.

XII. The auxiliary forces, on both sides, shall be kept together as much as possible; and in order to avoid their being subjected to greater fatigue than the others, and to the end that there may be in every expedition and operation a perfect equality, the commander in chief shall be bound to observe, on every occasion, a just proportion, according to the force of the whole fleet or army.

XIII. The squadron which his Britannic Majesty is to furnish by virtue of this alliance, shall be admitted into all the ports of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias; and the said squadron shall be allowed to return every year to the ports of Great Britain, as soon as the season will no longer permit it to keep the sea; but it is formally, and from this time forward stipulated, that this squadron shall return every year to the Baltic sea, about the beginning of the Month of May, and to quit it again before the month of October, and that as often as the exigency of the treaty shall require it.

XIV. The requiring party, in claiming the succour stipulated by this treaty, shall point out at the same time, to the required party, the place where he shall wish that it may in the first instance repair, and the said acquiring party shall be at liberty to make use of the said succour during the whole time it shall be continued to him, in such manner, and at such places, as he shall judge to be most suitable for his service against the aggressor.

XV. The conditions of this treaty of alliance shall not be applicable to the wars which may arise between her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, and the powers and people of Asia, respecting whom, his Britannic Majesty shall be dispensed with from furnishing the succours stipulated by the present treaty; except in case of an attack made by any European power against the rights and possessions of her Imperial Majesty, in whatever part of the world it may be. As also on the other hand, her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias shall not be bound to furnish the succours stipulated by the treaty, in any case whatever, excepting that of an attack made by any European power against the rights and possessions of his Britannic Majesty, in whatever part of the world it may be.

XVI. It has been in like manner agreed upon, that, considering the great distance of places, the troops which her Imperial

Majesty of all the Russias will have to furnish, by virtue of this alliance, for the defence of his Britannic Majesty, shall not be sent to Spain, Portugal, or Italy, and still less out of Europe.

XVII. If the succours stipulated in the fourth article of this treaty should not be sufficient, in that case, the contracting parties reserve to themselves to make a further provision between themselves, with respect to the additional succours which they should give to each other.

XVIII. The requiring party shall make neither peace nor truce with the common enemy, without including the required party, to the end, that the latter may not suffer any injury, in consequence of the succours he shall have given to his ally.

XIX. The present defensive alliance shall in no way derogate from the treaties and alliances which the high contracting parties may have with other powers; inasmuch as the said treaties shall not be contrary to this, nor to the friendship and good understanding which they are resolved constantly to keep up between them.

XX. If any other power would accede to their present alliance, their said Majesties have agreed to concert together upon the admission of such power.

XXI. The two high contracting parties, desiring mutually, and with eagerness to strengthen and consolidate, as much as possible, the friendship and union already happily subsisting between them, and to protect and extend the commerce between their respective subjects, promise to proceed without delay to the formation of a definitive arrangement of commerce.

XXII. As circumstances may render it necessary to make some changes in clauses of the present treaty, the high contracting parties have thought proper to fix the duration of it to eight years, counting from the day of exchanging the ratifications; but, before the expiration of the eight years, it shall be renewed according to existing circumstances.

XXIII. The present treaty of alliance shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged here, in the space of two months, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof, the above-mentioned ministers plenipotentiaries, on both sides, have signed the present treaty and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at St. Petersburg, this seventeenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

(L. S.) CHARLES WHITWOTH.

(L. L.) CTE. JEAN OSTERMAN.

(L. S.) ALEX. AT. DE BEZBORODKO.

(L. S.) ARCADE DE MORCOFF.

Treaty of Peace between the Republic of France, and his Majesty the King of Spain.

THE French Republic and his Majesty the King of Spain, equally animated with a desire to put a stop to the calamities of the war which now disunites them, strongly convinced that there exist between the two nations respective interests, which demand a reciprocal return of friendship and good understanding, and wishing by a solid and durable peace to re-establish that desirable harmony which had for a long time been the constant basis of the relations subsisting between the two countries, have charged with this negociation, viz. The French Republic, citizens Francis Bartbelemi, their ambassador in Switzerland; and his Catholic Majesty, his minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the King and Republic of Poland, Don Domingo d'Yriarte, who, after having exchanged their powers have agreed upon the following articles :

I. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding between the French Republic and the kingdom of Spain.

II. In-consequence, all the hostilities between the two contracting powers shall cease from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty ; and none of them shall, from that period, furnish against the other, in any quality or under any title, any aid or contingent, either in men, horses, provisions, money, warlike stores, ships, or other articles.

III. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through their territories to any troops at war with the other.

IV. The French Republic restores to the King of Spain all the conquests which she has made from him in the course of the present war ; the conquered places and territories shall be evacuated by the French troops within a fortnight after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. The fortified places, of which mention is made in the preceding article, shall be restored to Spain, with the cannon, warlike stores, and other articles belonging to those places, which shall have been in them at the moment of the signing of this treaty.

VI. All sort of military contributions, requisitions, and payments, shall entirely cease from the date of a fortnight after the signing of the present pacification ; all the arrears due at that period, even bills and promissory notes, given for these objects, shall be of no effect : what shall have been taken or received after the above-named period, shall be gratuitously restored, or paid for to the amount of its value.

VII. There shall immediately be named by both sides, commissioners, for the purpose of adjusting a treaty of limits between the two powers : they shall, as much as possible, take as the basis

of this treaty with respect to the territories which were disputed before the present war, the tops of the mountains which are the sources of the rivers of France and Spain.

VIII. Neither of the contracting powers can, at the expiration of a month after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, maintain on their respective frontiers more than the number of troops they had usually been accustomed to have stationed there previous to the present war.

IX. In exchange for the places restored by the fourth article, the King of Spain, for himself and his successors, gives up and abandons to the French Republic all right of property in the Spanish part of St. Domingo, one of the Antilles, a month after the ratification of the present treaty shall be known in that island, the Spanish troops shall be in readiness to evacuate the places, ports, and establishments which they at present occupy, in order to give them up to the troops of the French Republic, as soon as they shall arrive to take possession of them: the places, ports, and establishments, of which mention is made above, shall be delivered up to the French Republic with the cannon, warlike stores, and articles necessary for their defence, which shall be in them at the moment when the present treaty shall be known at St. Domingo: the inhabitants of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, who from inducements of interest or other motives shall prefer removing with their property into the dominions of his Catholic Majesty, shall be able to do so within the space of a year from the date of the treaty; the respective generals and commanders of the two nations shall concert the measures necessary to be taken for execution of the present article.

X. There shall be respectively granted to the individuals of the two nations, restitution of the effects, revenues, and property of all sorts, detained, seized, or confiscated on account of the war, which has subsisted between the French Republic and his Catholic Majesty; and likewise the most speedy justice with respect to the particular claims which these individuals may have in the states of the two contracting powers.

XI. In the mean time, till there shall be a new treaty of commerce between the contracting parties, all correspondencies and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and Spain, on the footing on which they stood before the present war.

All French merchants shall be allowed to pass into Spain, there to resume their commercial establishments. They shall make new ones according to their convenience, submitting, in common with all other individuals, to the laws and usages of the country.

The Spanish merchants shall enjoy the same privileges, subject to the same conditions, in France.

XII. All the prisoners respectively made since the commencement of the war, without regard to the difference of number and rank, comprehending the seamen and marines captured on board French or Spanish vessels, or those of other nations, as well as in general all those imprisoned on either side on account of the war, shall be delivered up within the space of two months at latest, after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, without any appeal on either part, discharging, however, the private debts which the prisoners may have contracted during their captivity. The same mode shall be adopted with respect to the sick and wounded, immediately after their recovery or cure.

Commissioners on either side shall be immediately appointed to proceed to the execution of the present article.

XIII. The Portuguese prisoners making a part of the troops of Portugal, who have served with the armies, and on board the ships of his Catholic Majesty, shall be in like manner comprehended in the above-mentioned exchange. It shall be the same with respect to the French troops taken by the Portuguese troops in question.

XIV. The same peace, amity, and good understanding, stipulated by the present treaty between France and the King of Spain, shall take place between the King of Spain and the Republic of the United Provinces, allies of the French Republic.

XV. The French Republic wishing to give a testimony of amity to his Catholic Majesty, accepts his mediation in favour of the kingdom of Portugal, the King of Spain, the King of Sardinia, the Infants Duke of Parma, and the other States of Italy, for the re-establishment of peace between the French Republic and each of these Princes and States.

XVI. The French Republic, sensible of the interest which his Catholic Majesty takes in the general pacification of Europe, consents likewise to accept of his good offices in favour of other belligerent powers, who shall apply to him, in order to enter into negotiation with the French government.

XVII. The present treaty shall not have effect till after having been ratified by the contracting parties; and the ratification shall be exchanged within the space of a month or sooner, from the date of this day.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, and of his Majesty the King of Spain, in virtue of our full powers, have signed this present treaty of peace and amity, and have put to it our respective seals.*

Done

* The above treaty was ratified by the National Convention on the 1st of August, and by the King of Spain on the 4th of the same month in the following terms:

Ratification,

Done at Basle the 4th of the month of Thermidor, the third year of the French Republic (22d July 1795).

(Signed)

FRANÇOIS BARTHELEMI,
DOMINGO D'YRIARTE.

Treaty of Peace concluded at Basle, on the 11th Fructidor, between Citizen Barthelemy, Ambassador from the Republic, to the Swiss Cantons, and Mr. Frederick Sigismond Waitz d'Eschen, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

" THE French Republic having accepted of the good offices of the King of Prussia in favour of his most serene highness the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and being animated with the same sentiments as the Landgrave, to make a solid and permanent peace succeed to a war which had dis-united them, in consequence of which, the contracting powers have appointed, as follows :

" The French Republic, on her part, citizen Francis Barthelemy, her ambassador in Switzerland, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, his privy-counsellor, Frederick Sigismond, Baron of Waitz d'Eschen.

Ratification, on the part of his Catholic Majesty, of the Treaty of Peace between France and Spain.

" Don Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Castille, Leon, Arragon, the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Navarre, Grenada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Cadiz, Murcia, Jaen, Algarves, Algeires, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, the Eult and Welt-Indies, and the Islands and Continents of the Ocean ; Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, and Milan ; Count of Habsbourg, Flanders, Tyrol, and Barcelona ; Lord of Biscay, and Molina, &c.

As by virtue of the full powers we have conferred on Don Domingo d'Yriarte, knight of the royal order of distinguished Spaniards of Charles III. and our minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the King and Republic of Poland, to treat of the conditions of peace with the French Republic, and of those alike given by the French Republic to her ambassador in Switzerland, Don Francisco Barthelemy, these plenipotentiaries have determined on, concluded, and signed on the 22d of July, of the present year, the definitive treaty of peace, which consists of a preamble and seventeen articles, the whole in the French language.

For these causes, having seen and examined the aforesaid seventeen articles, I have approved of and ratified all they contain, as, by virtue of these presents, I approve and ratify them with all my power, and in the best and most extensive form ; promising, on the faith and word of a king, to observe and accomplish them, and to cause them to be completely observed and accomplished, as if I myself had signed them.

In faith of which, I have sent off these presents, signed with my hand, sealed with my own secret seal, and countersigned by my counsellor and first secretary of state and dispatches.

Given at Ildephonso, the 4th day of August, 1795.

(Signed)

(Countersigned)

YO EL REY.

EMMANUEL GODOY.

Great Secret Seal of Spain.

Which ministers, after having exchanged their respective powers, agreed upon the following articles :

Article I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French Republic and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

II. In consequence of which, all hostilities between the two parties shall cease from the date of the ratifications of the present treaty, and none of the two powers shall, after that period, furnish against each other, under whatever quality or condition it may be, succours or contingent, either in men, horses, provisions, money, ammunition, or other things.

III. As long as the war shall be continued between the French Republic and England, the Landgrave shall neither prolong nor renew the two subsidiary treaties existing between him and England.

This disposition will begin to have its effect from the date of the present treaty.

IV. With respect to the passing of any troops whatever through his states, the Landgrave shall strictly conform himself to the dispositions stipulated in the convention concluded at Basle, on the 17th of May, 1795, between the French Republic and the King of Prussia.

V. The French Republic will continue to occupy the fortress of Rheinfeldt ; the town of St. Gour, and the part of the county of Karzenellanbogen, situated on the left bank of the Rhine ; the definitive arrangements with respect to those countries remain suspended, until a general pacification between the French Republic and the parts of Germany which are yet at war with the Republic.

VI. All commercial communications and relations shall be re-established between France and the States of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the footing on which they were previous to the war.

VII. But the respective governments and the individuals of the two nations all grant to each other a restoration of all goods and property of any kind whatever, detained, seized, or confiscated on account of the war which has taken place between France and Hesse Cassel, as also, speedy justice, with respect to debts existing in the states of the respective contracting parties.

VIII. All the prisoners made respectively since the beginning of the war, without consideration of the number or rank, shall be delivered up to each other within two months, at the latest, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, without any reclamation of expences, paying, however, any debts of the privates, which might have been contracted during their captivity. The same shall be observed with respect to the sick and wounded, immediately after their recovery.

Com-

Commissioners shall be appointed on both parts, to proceed to the execution of the articles: the dispositions of which shall be applied to the Hessian troops in the service of England, and who have been made prisoners of war.

IX. The present treaty to have no effect until it is ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications to be exchanged in this town of Basle, within a month from this day, or sooner, if possible.*

We, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, and of his Most Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in virtue of our respective powers, have signed this present treaty of peace, and have sealed it with our respective seals.

Done at Basle, the 11th of the month Fructidor, the third year of the French Republic, and the 28th of August, 1795.

(Signed) FRANCIS BARTHELEMI.
FREDERIC SIGISMOND,
Baron of Waitz d'Esibben.

Substance of the Treaty between Great Britain and the Dey of Algiers, concluded in January, 1796.

THE Algerines shall be permitted to carry their prizes to Corsica and to sell them publicly there.

There shall be sent monthly from Corsica a vessel, which shall fetch from Algiers private letters or commercial advices.

The English shall not, under any pretext, obtain possession of what shall be found on board an Algerine ship. In case the property of the ship become the object of dispute it shall be referred to the Dey to decide.

The Algerines grant freedom to all the Corsican slaves, and permission to fish in the environs of the coast. In consequence of this arrangement the Dey is allowed to draw a draft upon the Vice-roy of Corsica for the sum of 179,000 piastres of Algiers, independently of another sum of 24,000 piastres for the payment of a cargo of grain taken by the English, which was Algerine property under Swedish colours.

* The treaty was ratified by the National Convention on the 4th of September, and by the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel a few days afterwards.

Treaty of Peace and Amity, concluded this present Day, Lima Artasi, the twenty-first of the Safer Year of the Hegira, 1210, corresponding with Saturday, the 5th of September, 1795, between HASSAN BA-SHAW, Dey of Algiers, his Divan and Subjects, and GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States of North America, and the Citizens of the said United States.

ART. I. FROM the date of the present treaty there shall subsist a firm and sincere peace and amity between the President and citizens of the United States of North America, and Hafsan Bashaw, Dey of Algiers, his divan and subjects; the vessels and subjects of both nations reciprocally treating each other with civility, honour and respect.

II. All vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States of North America shall be permitted to enter the different ports of the regency, to trade with our subjects, or any other persons residing within our jurisdiction, on paying the usual duties at our custom-house that are paid by all nations at peace with this regency; observing, that all goods disembarked, and not sold here, shall be permitted to be reembarked, without paying any duty whatever, either for disembarking or embarking. All naval and military stores, such as gun-powder, lead, iron, plank, sulphur, timber for building, tar, pitch, rosin, turpentine, and any other goods denominated naval and military stores, shall be permitted to be sold in this regency, without paying any duties whatever at the custom-house of this regency.

III. The vessels of both nations shall pass each other without any impediment or molestation; and all goods, monies, or passengers, of whatsoever nation, that may be on board of the vessels belonging to either party, shall be considered as inviolable, and shall be allowed to pass unmolested.

IV. All ships of war belonging to this regency, on meeting with merchant vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, shall be allowed to visit them with two persons only besides the officers; these two only permitted to go on board said vessel, without obtaining express leave of the commander of said vessel, who shall compare the passport, and immediately permit said vessel to proceed on her voyage unmolested. All ships of war belonging to United States of North America, on meeting with an Algerine cruiser, and shall have seen her passport and certificate from the consul of the United States of North America, resident in this regency, shall be permitted to proceed on her cruise unmolested; no passport to be issued to any ships but such as are absolutely the property of citizens of the United States; and eighteen months shall be the term allowed for furnishing the ships of the United States with passports.

the said States, shall have leave to embark themselves and property unmolested, on board of whatever vessel or vessels they shall think proper.

XIX. Should the cruisers of Algiers capture any vessel, with citizens of the United States of North America on board, they having papers to prove they are really so, they and their property shall be immediately discharged. And should the vessels of the United States capture any vessels of nations at war with them, having subjects of this regency on board, they shall be treated in like manner.

XX. On a vessel of war belonging to the United States of North America anchoring in our ports, the consul is to inform the Dey of her arrival; and she shall be saluted with 21 guns; which she is to return in the same quantity or number; and the Dey will send fresh provisions on board, as is customary, gratis.

XXI. The consul of the United States of North America shall not be required to pay duty for any thing he brings from a foreign country, for the use of his house and family.

XXII. Should any disturbance take place between the citizens of the United States and the subjects of this regency, or break an article of this treaty, war shall not be declared immediately; but every thing shall be searched into regularly: the party injured shall be made reparation.

ON the 21st of the Luna of Safer, 1210, corresponding with the 5th of September, 1795, Joseph Donaldson, junior, on the part of the United States of North America, agreed with Hassan Bashaw, Dey of Algiers, to keep the articles contained in this treaty sacred and inviolable; which we, the Dey and Divan, promise to observe, on consideration of the United States paying annually the value of twelve thousand Algerine sequins in maritime stores. Should the United States forward a larger quantity, the overplus shall be paid for in money, by the Dey and regency. Any vessel that may be captured from the date of this treaty of peace and amity, shall immediately be delivered up on her arrival in Algiers.

(Signed) } Seal of Algiers stamped
Vizier HASSAN BASHAW, } at the foot of the ori-
JOSEPH DONALDSON, jun. } ginal treaty in Arabic.

To all whom these Presents shall come, or be made known.

WHEREAS the under-written David Humphreys hath been duly appointed commissioner plenipotentiary, by letters patent under the signature of the President, and seal of the United States of America,

America, dated the 30th of March, 1795, for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace with the Dey and governors of Algiers; whereas, by instructions given to him on the part of the executive, dated the 28th of March, and 4th of April, 1795, he hath been further authorised to employ Joseph Donaldson, jun. on an agency in the said business; whereas, by a writing under his hand and seal, dated the 21st of May, 1795, he did constitute and appoint Joseph Donaldson, jun. agent in the business aforesaid; and the said Joseph Donaldson, jun. did, on the 5th Day of September, 1795, agree with Hassan Bashaw, Dey of Algiers, to keep the articles of the preceding treaty sacred and inviolable.

Now, know ye, That I, David Humphreys, commissioner plenipotentiary aforesaid, do approve and conclude the said treaty, and every article and clause therein contained; reserving the same, nevertheless, for the final ratification of the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the senate of the said United States.

In testimony whereof I have signed the same with my hand and seal, at the city of Lisbon, this 28th of November,
1795.

(Seal)

DAVID HUMPHREYS.

NOW be it known, that I, George Washington, President of the United States of America, having seen and considered the said treaty, do, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, accept, ratify, and confirm the same, and every clause and article thereof. And to the end that the said treaty may be observed and performed with good faith on the part of the United States, I have ordered the premises to be made public; and I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, faithfully to observe and fulfil the said treaty, and every clause and article thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Philadelphia, the 7th day of March, 1796,
and of the independence of the United States of America,
the 20th.

(Seal)
By the President,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, Secretary of State.

Treaty concluded between the United States of America and his Catholic Majesty.

HIS Catholic Majesty and the United States of America, desirous to consolidate on a permanent basis, the friendship and good correspondence which happily prevails between the two parties, have determined to establish by a convention, several points, the settlement whereof will be productive of general advantage and reciprocal utility to both nations.

With this intention his Catholic Majesty has appointed the Most Excellent Lord Don Manuel de Godoy, and Alvarez de Faria, Prince de Paz, Duke de la Alcudia, grandee of Spain, of the first class, &c. &c. &c. And the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of their senate, has appointed Thomas Pinckney, a citizen of the United States, and their envoy extraordinary to his Catholic Majesty. And the said plenipotentiaries have agreed upon and concluded the following articles.

Art. I. There shall be a firm and inviolable peace, and sincere friendship between his Catholic Majesty, his successors and subjects, and the United States, and their citizens, without exception of persons or places.

II. To prevent all dispute on the subject of the boundaries which separate the territories of the two high contracting parties, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows, to wit. The southern boundary of the United States, which divides their territory from the Spanish colonies of East and West Florida, shall be designated by a line, beginning on the river Mississippi, at the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of latitude, north of the equator, which from thence shall be drawn due east, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Carahsucche, thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint; then straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down the middle thereof to the Atlantic ocean. And it is agreed, that if there should be any troops, garrisons, or settlements of either party on the territory of the other according to the abovementioned boundaries, they shall be withdrawn from the said territory within the term of six months after the ratification of this treaty, or sooner, if it be possible; and that they shall be permitted to take with them all the goods and effects which they possess.

III. In order to carry the preceding article into effect, one commissioner and one surveyor shall be appointed by each of the contracting parties, who shall meet at Natches on the left side of the river Mississippi, before the expiration of six months from the ratification of this convention, and they shall proceed to run and make this boundary, according to the stipulations of the said article. They shall make plans, and keep journals of their proceedings,

ings, which shall be considered as part of this convention, and shall have the same force as if this were inserted therein. And, if on any account it should be found necessary that the said commissioners and surveyors should be accompanied by guards, they shall be furnished in equal proportion by the commanding officer of his Majesty's troops in the two Floridas, and the commanding officer of the troops of the United States in the south western territory, who shall act by common consent, and amicably, as well with respect to this point, as to the furnishing of provisions and instruments, and making every other arrangement which may be necessary or useful for the execution of this article.

IV. It is likewise agreed, that the western boundary of the United States, which separate them from the Spanish colony of Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Mississippi, from the northern boundary of the said states to the completion of the thirty-first degree of latitude north of the equator. And his Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed, that the navigation of the said river from its source to the ocean shall be free only to his subjects, and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by a special convention.

V. The two high contracting parties shall, by all means in their power, maintain peace and harmony amongst the several Indian nations who inhabit the country adjacent to the lines and rivers which, by the preceding article, form the boundaries of the two Floridas; and the better to attain this effect, both parties oblige themselves expressly to restrain by force, all hostilities on the part of the Indian nations living within their boundary; so that Spain will not suffer their Indians inhabiting their territory, nor will the United States permit their last-mentioned Indians to commence hostilities against his Catholic Majesty, or his Indians, in any manner whatsoever.

And whereas several treaties of friendship exist between the two contracting parties and the said nations of Indians, it is hereby agreed, that in future no treaty of alliance, or other whatsoever (except treaties of peace) shall be made by either party, with the Indians living within the boundary of the other; but both parties will endeavour to make the advantages of the Indian trade common and mutually beneficial to their respective subjects and citizens, observing in all things the most complete reciprocity, so that both parties may obtain the advantages arising from a good understanding with the said nations, without being subject to the expence which they have hitherto occasioned.

VI. Each party shall endeavour, by all means in their power, to protect and defend all vessels and other effects belonging to the citizens or subjects of the other, which shall be within the extent of their jurisdiction by sea, or by land, and shall use all their efforts

to recover, and cause to be recovered, to their right owners, their vessels and effects which may have been taken from them within the extent of their said jurisdiction, whether they are at war or not with the subjects who have taken possession of the said effects.

VII. And it is agreed, that the subjects or citizens of each of the contracting parties, their vessels or effects, shall not be liable to any embargo or detention on the part of the other, for any military expedition, or other public or private purpose whatsoever. And in all cases of seizure, detention, or arrest, for debts contracted, or offences committed by any citizen or subject of the one party within the jurisdiction of the other, the same shall be made and prosecuted by order and authority of law only, and according to the regular course of proceedings usual in such cases. The citizens and subjects of both parties shall be allowed such advocates, solicitors, notaries, agents, and factors, as they judge proper in all their affairs, and in all their trials at law, in which they may be concerned, before the tribunal of the other party, and such agents shall have free access to be present at the proceedings in such causes, and at the taking of examinations and evidence which may be exhibited in the said trials.

VIII. In case the subjects and inhabitants of either party, with their shipping, whether public and of war, or private and of merchants, be forced, through stress of weather, pursuit of pirates or enemies, or any other urgent necessity for taking shelter or harbour, to retreat and enter into any of the rivers, bays, roads, or ports belonging to the other party, they shall be received and treated with all humanity, and enjoy all favour, protection, and help; and they shall be permitted to provide themselves, at reasonable rates, with victuals, and all things needful for the sustenance of their persons, or reparation of their ships, and prosecution of their voyage; and they shall no ways be hindered from returning out of the said ports or roads, but may remove and depart when and whither they please, without any let or hindrance.

IX. All ships and merchandize, of whatever nature soever, which shall be rescued out of the hands of any pirates or robbers on the high seas, shall be brought into some port of either state, and shall be delivered to the custody of the officers of that port, in order to be taken care of, and restored to the true proprietor, as soon as due and sufficient proof shall be made concerning the property thereof.

X. When any vessel of either party shall be wrecked, foundered, or otherwise damaged, on the coast, or within the dominions of the other, their respective subjects and citizens, shall receive, as well for themselves as for their vessels and effects, the same assistance which would be due to the inhabitants of the country where the damage happens, and shall pay the same charges and duties only as the said inhabitants would be subject to pay in a like case:

case : and if the operation of repairs would require that the whole, or any part of the cargo be unladen, they shall pay no duties, charges, or fees, on the part which shall relade and carry away.

XI. The citizens and subjects of each party shall have power to dispose of their personal goods within the jurisdiction of the other by testaments, donation, or otherwise ; and their representatives, being subjects or citizens of the other party, shall succeed to their said personal goods, whether by testament or *ab intestato*, and they may take possession thereof, either by themselves or others acting for them, and dispose of the same at their will, paying sole duties only, as the inhabitants of the country where the same goods are, or shall be subject to pay in like cases. And in case of the absence of the representative, such care shall be taken of the said goods as of a native in like case, until the lawful owner may take measures for receiving them. And if questions should arise among several claimants, to which of them the goods belong, the same shall be decided by the laws and judges of the land wherein the said goods are. And where on the death of any person holding real estate within the territories of the one party, each real estate would, by the law of the land, descend on a citizen or subject of the other, were he not disqualified by being an alien, such subject shall be allowed a reasonable time to sell the same, and to withdraw the proceeds without molestation, and exempt from all right of detraction on the part of the government of the respective states.

XII. The merchant ships of either parties which shall be making into ports, or into a port belonging to the enemy of the other party, and concerning whose voyage, and the species of goods on board her, there shall be just grounds of suspicion, shall be obliged to exhibit as well upon the high seas as in the ports and havens, not only her passport, but likewise certificates, expressly shewing that her goods are not of the number of those which have been prohibited as contraband.

XIII. For the better promoting of commerce on both sides, it is agreed, that if a war shall break out between the two said nations, one year, after the proclamation of war, shall be allowed to the merchants in the cities and towns where they shall live, for collecting and transporting their goods and merchandizes ; and if any thing be taken from them, or any injury done them, within that term, by either party, or the people or subjects of either, full satisfaction shall be made by the government.

XIV. No subject of his Catholic Majesty shall apply for, or take any commission or letters of marque, for arming any ship or ships to act as privateers against the United States, or against the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the said United States, or against the property of any of the inhabitants of any of them, from any prince or state, with which the United States shall be at war. Nor shall any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of the said United States,

apply for, or take any commission or letters of marque, for arming any ship or ships to act as privateers against the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, or the property of any of them, from any prince or state with which the said King shall be at war. And if any person of either nation shall take such commission or letters of marque, he shall be punished as a pirate.

XV. It shall be lawful for all and singular subjects of his Catholic Majesty, and the citizens, people, and inhabitants of the United States, to sail with their ships, with all manner of liberty and security, no distinction being made, who are the proprietors of the merchandizes laden therein, from any port to the places of those who now are, or hereafter shall be, at enmity with his Catholic Majesty or the United States. It shall be likewise lawful for the subjects and inhabitants aforesaid to sail with the ships and merchandizes afore-mentioned, and to trade with the same liberty and security from the places, ports, or havens of those who are enemies of both, or either party, without any opposition or disturbance whatsoever, not only from the places of the enemy aforesaid mentioned to neutral places, but also from one place, belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the jurisdiction of the same prince, or under several: and it is hereby stipulated, that free ships shall also give freedom to goods, and that every thing shall be deemed free and exempt which shall be found on board the ships belonging to the subjects of either of the contracting parties, although the whole lading, or any part thereof, should appertain to the enemy of either, contraband goods being always excepted. It is also agreed, that the same liberty be granted to persons who are on board a free ship, so that although they may be enemies to either party, they shall not be made prisoners, or taken out of that free ship, unless they are soldiers, and in actual service of the enemies.

XVI. This liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandizes, excepting only those which are distinguished by the name of contraband; and under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, shall be comprehended arms, great guns, bombs, with their fuses, and the other things belonging to them; cannon-balls, gun-powder, match, pikes, swords, lances, spears, halberds, mortars, petards, grenades, salt-petre, muskets, musket-balls, bucklers, helmets, breast-plates, coats of mail, and the like kind of arms, proper for arming soldiers; musket-rests, belts, horses with their furniture, and all other warlike instruments whatever. These merchandizes which follow, shall not be reckoned amongst contraband or prohibited goods; that is to say, all sorts of cloths, and all other manufactures woven of any wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials whatever, all kinds of wearing apparel, together with all species whereof they are used to be made; gold and silver, as well coined as uncoined, tin, iron, latten, brass, copper, coals; as also wheat, barley, and oats, and any other kind of

of corn and pulse; tobacco, and likewise all manner of spices, salted and smoaked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oils, wines, sugar, and all sorts of salt; and in general, all provisions which serve for the sustenance of life: furthermore, all kinds of cotton, hemp, flax, tar, pitch, ropes, sails, sail-cloths, anchors, or any part of anchors, also ship-masts, planks, and wood of all kinds, and all things proper either for building or repairing ships, and all other goods whatever which have not been worked into the form of any instrument prepared for war by land or by sea, shall not be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other use; all which shall be wholly reckoned amongst free goods; as likewise all other merchandizes and things which are not comprehended, and particularly mentioned in the foregoing enumeration of contraband goods; so that they may be transported and carried in the freest manner by the subjects of both parties, even to places belonging to an enemy, such towns or places being only excepted as are at that time besieged, blocked up, or invested. And except the places in which any ship of war or squadron shall, in consequence of storms or other accidents at sea, be under the necessity of taking the cargo of any trading vessel or vessels, in which case they may stop the said vessel or vessels, and furnish themselves with necessaries, giving a receipt, in order that the power to whom the said ship of war belongs, may pay for the article so taken, according to the price thereof, at the port to which they may appear to have been destined by the ship's papers; and the two contracting parties engage, that the vessels shall not be detained longer than may be absolutely necessary for their said ships to supply themselves with necessaries; that they will immediately pay the value of the receipts, and indemnify the proprietor for all losses which he may have sustained in consequence of such transaction.

XVII. To the end that all manner of dissensions and quarrels may be avoided and prevented on one side and on the other, it is agreed, that in case either of the parties hereto should be engaged in a war, the ships and vessels belonging to subjects or people of the other party, must be furnished with sea letters of passports, expressing the same, property, and bulk of the ship, as also the name and place of habitation of the master or commander of the said ships, that it may appear thereby that the ships really and truly belong to subjects of one of the parties; which passport shall be made out and granted according to the form annexed to this treaty. They shall likewise be recalled every year, that is, if the ship happens to return home within the space of a year.

It is likewise agreed, that such ships being laden, are to be provided not only with passports, as above-mentioned, but also with certificates, containing the several particulars of the cargo, the place whence the ship sailed, that so it may be known whether any forbidden or contraband goods be on board the same; which certifi-

cates shall be made out by the officers of the place whence the ship sailed in the accustomed form ; and if any one shall think it fit or adviseable to express in the said certificates the person to whom the goods on board belong, he may do so ; without which requisites they may be sent to one of the ports of the other contracting party, and adjudged by the competent tribunal, according to what is above set forth, that all the circumstances of this omission having been well examined, they shall be adjudged to be legal prizes, unless they shall give legal satisfaction of their property by testimony equally equivalent.

XVIII. If the ships of the said subjects, people or inhabitants of either of the parties, shall be met with, either sailing along the coasts, or on the high seas, by any ships of war of the other, or by any privateer, the said ship of war, or privateer, for avoiding any disorder, shall remain out of cannon shot, and may send their boats on board the merchant ship which they shall so meet with, and may enter her, to the number of two or three men only, to whom the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall exhibit his passports concerning the property of the ship, made out according to the form inserted in this present treaty ; and the ship, when she shall have shewn such passport, shall be free and at liberty to pursue her voyage, so as it shall not be lawful to molest or give her chace in any manner, or force her to quit her intended course.

XIX. Consuls shall be reciprocally established, with the privileges and power which those of the most favoured nations enjoy in the ports where their consuls reside, or are permitted to be.

XX. It is also agreed, that the inhabitants of the territories of each party shall respectively have free access to the courts of justice of the other ; and they shall be permitted to prosecute suits for the recovery of their property, the payment of their debts, and for obtaining satisfaction for the damages which they may have sustained, whether the persons whom they may sue be subjects or citizens of the country in which they may be found, or any other persons whatever who may have taken refuge therein ; and the proceedings and sentences of the courts, shall be the same as if the contending parties had been subjects or citizens of the said country.

XXI. In order to terminate all differences on account of the losses sustained by the citizens of the United States, in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of His Catholic Majesty during the late war between Spain and France, it is agreed that all such cases shall be referred to the final decision of commissioners to be appointed in the following manner. His Catholic Majesty shall appoint one commissioner, and the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint another ; and the said two commissioners shall agree on the choice of a third, or if they cannot so agree, they shall each propose one person, and of the two names so proposed, one shall be drawn by lot in the presence of the two original commissioners.

missioners ; and the person whose name shall be drawn shall be the third commissioner ; and the three commissioners so appointed shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide the claims in question, according to the merit of the several cases, and to justice, equity, and the laws of nations. The said commissioners shall meet and sit at Philadelphia ; and in case of the death, sickness, or necessary absence of any such commissioner, his place shall be supplied in the same manner as he was first appointed, and the new commissioner shall take the same oaths, and do the same duties. They shall receive all complaints and applications authorised by this article during eighteen months from the day on which they shall assemble. They shall have power to examine all such persons as come before them on oath or affirmation touching the complaints in question, and also to receive in evidence all written testimony authenticated in such a manner as they shall think proper to require or admit. The award of the said commissioners, or any two of them, shall be final and conclusive, both as to justice of the claim, and the amount of the sum to be paid to the claimants ; and his Catholic Majesty undertakes to cause the same to be paid in specie, without deduction, at such time and places, and under such conditions, as shall be awarded by the same commissioners.

XXII. The two high contracting parties, hoping that the good correspondence and friendship which happily reigns between them, will be further increased by this treaty, and that it will contribute to augment their prosperity and opulence, will in future give to their mutual commerce all the extension and favour which the advantages of both countries may require.

And in consequence of the stipulations contained in the fourth article, his Catholic Majesty will permit the citizens of the United States, for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandizes and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores ; and his Majesty promises, either to continue this permission, if he finds during that time that it is not prejudicial to the interest of Spain, or if he should not agree to continue, he will assign to them on another part of the banks of the Mississippi an equivalent establishment.

XXIII. The present treaty shall not be in force until ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in six months from that time, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten plenipotentiaries of his Catholic Majesty and of the United States of America have signed this present treaty of friendship, limits, and navigation, and have thereunto affixed our seals respectively.

Done at San Lorenzo et Real, this seven and twentieth day
of October, 1795. THOMAS PINCKNEY, (L. S.)
PRINCE DE LA PAZ, (L. S.)
ARMI-

ARMISTICE.

Head-quarters of the Piedmontese Army, the 26th of April, 1796.

Conditions of a Suspension of Arms, agreed upon between the French and Piedmontese Armies; between Buonaparte, General in Chief of the French Army in Italy, and Baron de la Tour, Lieutenant General of Horse in the service of the King of Sardinia, and the Marquis Costa, Colonel in Chief of the Staff, commissioned by the King of Sardinia to treat with the General in Chief of the French Army.

Head-quarters at Cherasco, the 9th Floreal, 4th Year.

ALL hostilities shall cease between the French army in Italy and the army of the King of Sardinia, from the day that the under-mentioned conditions shall be fulfilled until the expiration of five days after the end of the negotiations, which are to be set on foot to attain the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the two powers, viz.

The fortress of Coni shall be occupied by the French on the 9th Floreal, or the 28th of April, of this present year; the fortress of Alessandria shall likewise be taken possession of by the French as soon as possible, and at the latest the 11th Floreal, or 30th of April, until the fortress of Tortona can be surrendered to them.

II. The French army shall remain in possession of its conquests, that is to say, of all the country situated between the right banks of the Sture, and its confluence with the Tanaro, and from thence along the banks of that river, as far as the point where it joins the river Po, as long as the French shall remain in the possession of Alessandria; but after this place shall have been restored to the King of Sardinia, in consequence of the fortress of Tortona being occupied by the French, the boundaries shall extend farther from the confluence of the Sture and Tanaro, to the height of Asty, on the right banks of the said river; from this point, the high road which leads to Nizza de la Paille, and from that place to Cassigny, is to serve as a line of demarcation; from thence crossing the Bormida under Cassigny, the French army shall remain in possession of the right banks of the Bormida to its discharge into the Tanaro, and from thence to the confluence of this river and the Po.

III. The town and citadel of Coni, as well as the town and citadel of Tortona, shall be surrendered up to the French, together with the artillery, ammunition, and provisions, existing in those places; of which an inventory is to be drawn up; the same shall be done with regard to the town and citadel of Alessandria, which are

provisionally to be occupied by the French, until they shall be put in possession of the town and citadel of Tortona.

IV. The French army shall be at liberty to cross the Po under Valence.

V. All extraordinary couriers, aides de camp, or other officers, whom the commander in chief may think fit to send to Paris, shall be allowed to pass and repass by the shortest way.

VI. All the troops and officers in the pay of the King of Sardinia, who serve in the Austrian army in Italy, are to be comprised in the said suspension of hostilities.

VII. The citadel of Ceva shall be surrendered, together with all its artillery, ammunition, and provisions, and its garrison is to retreat into Piedmont.

VIII. In the fortress of Coni and Tortona, as well as in that of Alessandria, inventories shall be drawn up of all the artillery, ammunition, and provisions delivered up to the French troops, for which the French Republic shall remain answerable to the King of Sardinia, by restoring the artillery, and paying the value of such part of the ammunition and provisions as shall have been consumed.

The same shall be done respecting the citadel. The troops who occupy these places, shall withdraw into Piedmont with their arms, baggage, and all the honours of war.

(Signed in the minutes,) .

LIEUTENANT GENERAL DE LA TOUR,
COLONEL COSTA,
BUONAPARTE.

Treaty of Peace, concluded between the King of Sardinia and the French Republic.

THE French Republic and his Majesty the King of Sardinia, equally animated by the desire of making a happy peace succeed to the war which divides them, have appointed, viz. the executive directory, in the name of the French Republic, Citizen Charles Delacroix, minister of foreign affairs, and his Majesty the King of Sardinia, M. M. the Chevaliers de Revel and de Tonso, to negotiate the clauses and conditions proper for re-establishing and consolidating good harmony between the two states, who, after having exchanged their full and respective powers, have agreed to the following articles:

I. There shall be peace and good neighbourhood between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia. All hostilities shall cease between the two powers, reckoning from the time of signing the present treaty.

II. The

II. The King of Sardinia revokes all adhesion, consent, or accession, public or secret, given by him to the armed coalition against the French Republic; and all the treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, which he may have concluded against the said Republic with any power whatsoever. He shall not furnish any contingent in men or money to any powers armed against France, upon any pretence, or under any authority whatsoever.

III. The King of Sardinia fairly and entirely renounces for ever, for himself or his successors, in favour of the French Republic, all the rights which he can pretend to have to Savoy, and the counties of Nice, Tenda, and Breuil.

IV. The limits between the states of the King of Sardinia and the departments of the French Republic shall be marked by a line through the most advanced points of the frontier of Piedmont, the summits, *plateaux* (flat tops of hills) mountains, and other places hereafter described, as well as the intermediate summits and *plateaux*, viz. from the point where the frontiers of *ci-devant* Francigny, Duchy of Aoste and Valais, unite to the extremity of the Glaciers, or Monts-Maudits.

1st. The summits or *plateaux* of the Alps at the rising of the Col-Mayor.

2d. Little Saint Bernard, and the hospital situated there.

3d. The summits or *plateaux* of Mont-Alban, of the Col-de-Cresfance, and of Mont-Iseran.

4th. Turning a little towards the south, the summits or *plateaux* of Cerat and of Gros-Caval.

5th. Great Mont-Cenis, and the hospital which stands to the south-east of the lake of that mountain.

6th. Little Mont-Cenis.

7th. The summits or *plateaux* which separate the valley of Bardonach from the Val-des-Pres.

8th. Mont-Genevre.

9th. The summits or *plateaux* which separate the valley of Quirces from that of Vaudois.

10th. Mont-de-Vaudois.

11th. Mont-de-Viso.

12th. Mont-de-l'Argenterie.

13th. The source of the Abayette and the Sture.

14th. The mountains between the vallies of Sture and Gesso, on one part; and those of Saint Etienne or Tinea, of Saint Martin or Vezubia, of Tenda, or of Roya, on the other.

15th. Leroche-Barbon, on the confines of the State of Genoa.

If some communes, habitations or portions of territories of the said communes, actually in friendship with the French Republic, fall without the line of frontiers above described, they shall continue to make part of the Republic, notwithstanding any inference that may be made to the contrary from this article.

V. The

V. The King of Sardinia engages not to permit emigrants or persons transported from the French Republic to stop or reside in his dominions. He may, however, retain in his service the emigrants of the departments of Mont Blanc, and of the Maritime Alps, so long as they give no cause of complaint by enterprises or manœuvres tending to oppose the internal safety of the Republic.

VI. The King of Sardinia renounces all demand of recovery, or personal claim which he might pretend to exercise against the French Republic for causes anterior to the present treaty.

VII. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce on equitable basis, and such as may secure to the French nation advantages, at least equal to those enjoyed in the dominions of the King of Sardinia by the most favoured nations.

In the mean time, all communications and commercial relations shall be re-established.

VIII. The King of Sardinia obliges himself to grant a full and entire amnesty to all his subjects who have been prosecuted for political opinions. Every process which may have been raised on this subject, as well as the judgments which have intervened, are abolished. All their property, moveable and immoveable, or the value thereof, if it has been sold, shall be restored without delay. It shall be lawful for them to dispose of it, to return and reside in the dominions of the King of Sardinia, or to retire therefrom.

IX. The French Republic and his Majesty the King of Sardinia engage to supersede the sequestration of all effects, revenues, or property, seized, confiscated, detained, or sold, belonging to the citizens or subjects of either power, relative to the actual war, and to admit them respectively to the legal exercise of the actions or rights, which may belong to them.

X. All the prisoners, respectively made, shall be restored in one month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, on paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity.

The sick and the wounded shall continue to be taken care of in the respective hospitals. They shall be restored when cured.

XI. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through its territory to the troops of any enemy of the other.

XII. Besides the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, as well as the territory which the troops of the Republic occupy, or ought to occupy, they shall occupy the fortresses of Exiles, Affiette, Suza, Brunette, Chateau Dauphin, and Alexandria; for which last place Valence shall be substituted, if the general in chief of the French Republic prefer it.

XIII. The fortresses and territories above described shall be restored to the King of Sardinia upon the conclusion of the treaty of commerce

commerce between the Republic and his Majesty, of general peace, and the establishment of the line of frontiers.

XIV. The country occupied by the troops of the Republic, and which should be definitively restored, shall remain under the civil government of his Sardinian Majesty, but shall be liable to levies of military contributions, and furnishing provision on forage which have been, or may be enacted for the supply of the French army.

XV. The fortifications of Brunette and Suza, as well as the intrenchments formed above that town, shall be demolished, and destroyed, at the expence of his Sardinian Majesty, at the direction of commissioners appointed by the executive directory.

The King of Sardinia shall not be permitted to establish or repair any fortification on this part of the frontier.

XVI. The artillery of occupied places, the demolition of which is not stipulated by the present treaty, shall be employed for the service of the Republic; but shall be restored with the other fortresses at the same epoch to his Sardinian Majesty. The stores and provisions which may be there shall be consumed, without recovery, for the service of the republican army.

XVII. The French troops shall have free passage through the states of the King of Sardinia, in entering or returning from the interior of Italy.

XVIII. The King of Sardinia accepts the mediation of the French Republic for definitively terminating the differences which have long subsisted between his Majesty and the Republic of Genoa, and for deciding on their respective claims.

XIX. Conformable to the sixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 27th Floreal, 3d year, the Batavian Republic is included in the present treaty. There shall be peace and friendship between that Republic and the King of Sardinia. Every thing shall be established between them on the same footing as before the preceding war.

XX. The King of Sardinia shall disavow, by his minister to the French Republic, the proceedings employed towards the last ambassador of France.

XXI. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in less than one month, reckoning from the signing of the present treaty.

Done and concluded at Paris, the 25th Floreal, 4th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, answering to the 15th of May, 1796.

(Signed)

CHARLES DELACROIX.
LE CHEVALIER DE REVEL.
LE CHEVALIER DE TONZO.

The executive directory decree and sign the present treaty of peace with the King of Sardinia, negotiated in the name of the French Republic by the minister of foreign affairs, appointed by the executive directory, by a decree of the 22d Floreal, and charged with instructions to that effect.

At Paris, the 28th Floreal, 4th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR,
REWBEL,
CARNOT,
P. BARRAS,
L. M. REVEILLER LEPAUX.

Conditions of the Suspension of Arms concluded between the French Army and the Duke of Parma.

Suspension of Arms, concluded between the French Army in Italy, and the Duke of Parma and Placenza, by General Buonaparte, Commander of the French Army, and M. M. the Marquises Antonio Pallavicini and Filipo Dalla Rosa, Plenipotentiaries of the Duke of Parma, under the mediation of the Count Valdeparaíso, the Spanish Minister in Parma.

Art. I. THERE shall be a suspension of arms between the army of the French Republic and the Duke of Parma, till a peace can be concluded between the two states. The Duke of Parma shall send plenipotentiaries to Paris, to the executive directory.

II. The Duke of Parma shall pay a military contribution of two millions of livres of French money, to be paid either in bills of exchange on Genoa, or in ready money. Five hundred thousand livres shall be paid in five days, and the remainder in the following decade.

III. Twelve hundred draught horses, harnessed, with their collars, shall be sent; also 400 for dragoons, harnessed, and a hundred saddle-horses for superior officers.

IV. There shall also be sent 20 pictures, to be chosen by the commander in chief, from among those now in the duchy.

V. Ten thousand quintals of wheat, and 5000 of oats, shall also be sent to the magazines of the army at Tortona, within fifteen days; and within the same time there shall also be sent 2000 bullocks, for the service of the army.

VI. Pre-

(52^o)

VI. Provided this above contributions are made, the dominions
of the Duke of Parma shall be treated like neutral states, till the
conclusion of the negotiations about to be entered into at Paris.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE,

ANTONIO PALLAVICINE,

FILIPPO DALLA ROSA.

For an authentic copy.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE,

Head-quarters, Placenza, 20th Floreal.

PRO-

PROCLAMATIONS, REPORTS, DECREES, &c.

REVOLUTION IN HOLLAND.

[Papers relative to Holland continued from pages 22. 69. 151. 295, 296.
208, 209, 210, 211. 250. 270, 277. 293, 294, 295, of Part I.]

The following is the Speech by which, in May, 1795, Citizen Hultz, as President of the Assembly of the Representatives of the People of Holland, prefaced the reading of the Treaty of Peace and Alliance concluded with France.

IN order to form a correct judgment on the nature and value of this treaty, we ought never to lose sight of the circumstances under which it has been negotiated and concluded; circumstances which form an epoch unparalleled in the annals of our country, and concerning which I hope to God that we shall ever gratefully acknowledge our having escaped the numerous dangers with which it was fraught. We had to negotiate in that state of relaxation, confusion, and wretchedness, into which we were plunged by our ancient government, and which our domestic, as well as foreign enemies, were striving to render still more helpless; and in this situation we had to treat with the most powerful people on earth, whose numerous armies, spread over all our provinces, offered that great and generous nation an opportunity of assuming the most boundless dominion over our Republic. Before the French reached this land, they had wasted immense treasures, and streams of blood, in the gallant execution of their enterprise. They had long been provoked and calumniated by the house of Orange, and were smarting under the severest lashes of war, tyranny, and internal discord, when they arrived in this country. We ought, therefore, the less to wonder at the French government having insisted on an indemnification, as almost all foreign nations entertain exaggerated ideas of the riches of the Dutch—ideas which the house of Orange and the cabinet of St. James's have insidiously

endeavoured to spread among the French people. Under these circumstances, the stipulated sum of indemnification can by no means appear exorbitant ; and we may well console ourselves for the loss of riches, with which we have purchased the most invaluable of all human blessings—liberty and independence. The same observation holds good with respect to our having sacrificed a part of our territory, or to speak more exactly, in regard of the French not having restored to us Dutch Flanders, Maestricht, and Venlo. Without mentioning either our hope of recovering at a future time this part of our territory, the indemnifications promised in the 16th article, although it be of great importance, or the just expectation that the French Republic will take upon herself the national debt of the ceded country, I shall only state, that I do not disown the value of the possessions we have lost, or bid farewell to my countrymen without the most painful sensation. Maestricht, which Frederic Henry, by the right of conquest united with the Dutch Republic, would certainly never have been ceded to any foreign power, if the Austrian Netherlands had not been reduced by the French arms ; and the high value of that place with respect to our communication with Germany, must be obvious to every one who is in the least acquainted with our commercial relations, and casts an eye on the map of Europe. The situation of Venlo, and the proceeds of Upper Guelderland afford us also great advantages, which may still be increased ; but, above all, the loss of that part of Flanders which our commonwealth acquired by the treaty of Westphalia, is important, and affects severely the whole confederacy, although the province of Zealand enjoys exclusively the greatest part of the proceeds of that country. I do by no means class among our territorial sacrifices the use of the port of Flushing in common with us, granted to the French Republic by the 14th article, since the inconveniences which might arise from this mutual use, have been obviated, as much as possible, through the exertions of our commissioners ; all fear of disorder has been relieved by the regulations subjoined to the treaty, and the sovereignty of the island of Walcheren remains unimpaired. Yet, sensible as I am of the immense value of these sacrifices, I cannot but suppose the whole matter to hinge on the following question :—Whether from two evils we ought not to choose the least ? Whether one limb ought not to be sacrificed for the preservation of the whole body ? Whether we ought not to make a virtue of necessity, and whether liberty and independence ought not to be dearer to us than all other impressions ? But let us now balance with our sacrifices the invaluable advantages and signal privileges we have acquired by this treaty, of which I shall attempt to draw a hasty sketch. They consist in our liberty and independence being acknowledged, and guaranteed by the most powerful nation on earth ; in the high value of the

the friendship of this generous nation; in its mighty support against the eternal enemy of our welfare; in our raising ourselves to the rank of a formidable maritime power, to which we are destined by nature; in the recovery of all the conquests of the French Republic on the left banks of the Rhine, Maastricht, and Venlo alone excepted; in the three strong frontier places which formed the keys of the country, being reinforced in cases of hostilities by a Republican garrison; in the probability of the numerous French armies leaving our provinces—in the promised mediation for procuring us, at the conclusion of a general peace, the considerable sums of money due by several powers, and kept back in open violation of public faith; and lastly, in preventing the enemies of liberty from invading the territory of the French Republic. On considering all these eminent advantages to be derived from our treaty with France, I exult in this great work being accomplished, and do not hesitate a moment to vote for the ratification of the same."

DECLARATION of the PRINCE of ORANGE.

THE Prince of Orange has hitherto thought it unnecessary to publish the motives which induced him to absent himself for some time from his country, being convinced that no person could, with any shadow of justice, accuse him of the smallest crime in having quitted the territories of the provinces of Holland, after the States of that province had thought proper to send deputies to the commanders of the enemy's forces to capitulate, or rather to submit to them; but the resolution taken by the pretended States General the 24th of February last, on the motion made in that assembly the 31st of January* by the deputies of the pretended provisional representatives of the people of Holland, having come to his knowledge, in which they thought proper to abolish the office of Stadholder, Captain-General and Hereditary Admiral, with which this prince was invested, alledging, as a motive for this resolution, that he himself had abdicated them, he feels it incumbent on himself to be no longer silent, and to repel this calumny by a simple and exact statement of the facts which preceded and rendered necessary his departure from the territories of the United States,

* See Page 33—42. of Part I.

The inundations formed for the defence of the Republic, and in particular for that of the province of Holland, (as well as the rivers in that country) being frozen in December last, there no longer remained any means of defending the provinces of Utrecht and Holland, after the retreat of the army commanded by General Count Wallmoden from the borders of the Waal and of the Rhine, and the troops of the State, which might have been employed in the defence of these two provinces, were reduced (as well by hardships which the army sustained during the last campaign, as by sickness) to too small a number to garrison sufficiently those posts, which it was necessary should be occupied in order to prevent the enemy from penetrating to them.

It must here be observed, that a great part of the troops which were in these two provinces, could not be employed against the enemy, in virtue of the capitulations which many places had made, and in which it was stipulated that their garrisons should be sent into the interior of the Republic, after having sworn not to serve against the armies of France during the war until they were exchanged. The States of Utrecht, therefore, thought it right to capitulate on Friday the 16th of January, after having some days before informed the States General of their intention, and found themselves obliged to submit to those conditions which the conqueror thought fit to grant: it will suffice to state, that the States of that province having requested that their constitution and form of government might be preserved, the victor would only provisionally agree to it, which afforded no security for the future.

The Prince of Orange being informed, that the States of the provinces of Holland were about to adopt the same resolution on the same day, found himself under the necessity of sending away the princesses, his wife, and daughter-in-law, with the prince his grandson, on board a fishing-boat, on Sunday morning, the 18th of January, and was himself obliged to follow them on the same day with (the two princes) his sons, which however he did not do till he had acquainted the States General,* as also all the States of the Seven Provinces, and of the country of Dronthe, with his intended departure, writing to them, " That he easily foresaw, from the present situation of the Republic, what lot he must expect if the enemy should penetrate further into the country; and, not wishing to be any obstacle to peace, he had resolved to absent himself and his family for a time from the territories of the States, and hoped that their High Mightinesses would approve of this step."

* See Page 9. of Part I.

It should here be remarked, that the Prince did not depart till after his letter had been read, as well in the assembly of the States General as in that of the States of Holland; that his departure from the Hague and his embarkation were fully known to both assemblies, who did not take any step to oppose the measure; and that his departure did not take place till the States of Holland had resolved to capitulate, and had required in their name, from the Prince of Orange, as captain-general of that province, an officer and a trumpet to announce the commission from the States of Holland, who were to repair to the general of the enemy to ascertain what articles should form a capitulation for that province. The Prince knew these deputies were commissioned not to make any difficulties, but to yield to every article. The same day, after the Prince had notified his intention of quitting the Dutch territories, four members of the college of counsellors, deputed by Holland, demanded an audience of the Prince, and begged he would hasten his departure; that they could give no reply to any thing, and that even if it was insisted upon in the French general's answer that the prince and his family should not be permitted to quit the country, they would be under the necessity of taking measures to prevent their departure, especially in case the French general, or the commissioners of the National Convention, should require that the college of deputed counsellors should be made responsible if the Prince absented himself before the arrival of the French troops. After such a declaration the Prince of Orange thought it no longer safe to remain at the Hague, and embarked at Scheveling on board a fishing-boat. Having consulted the marine officers and pilot who were on board the vessel, what course he should steer,* they were unanimously of opinion that the best plan would be to make for an English port. The Prince, before he quitted the road of Scheveling, wrote to M. Van Spiegel, counsellor pensionary of the province of Holland, with the opinion of the marine officers and pilot of the above-mentioned vessel, signed by them. The counsellor pensionary having communicated the same to their High Mightinesses, they, by their resolution of the 19th of January, approved of the Prince of Orange's departure, as a measure of absolute necessity; declaring, moreover, that they were desirous of hearing of that Prince's safe arrival in one of the ports of the kingdom of Great Britain on board a ship of war belonging to the States, and that he might shortly be able to return to the Republic, in order to continue assisting them with his council and presence for the maintenance of the independence and constitution of the Republic. The Prince's intention, of which he

* See Page 11. of Part I.

had already informed M. Van de Spiegel, penitentiary counsellor, in his letter, was to inform himself, during his stay in England, of the situation of affairs, as well in the province of Zealand as in the provinces of Frize and Groningen; and to embark on board a ship of war of the States for either of those provinces in which it should appear his presence might be most useful. It is right to observe, that all correspondence between those provinces and the Hague was at that time intercepted not only by the enemy but by the frost.

As soon as the States of Holland had resolved to admit forces inimical to the Republic of the United Provinces into the place where the States General were assembled, and had given orders to their different garrisons no longer to oppose the progress of the French, the Prince of Orange was desirous that the States General, to whom this resolution had been communicated, should determine to dissolve their assembly, and to call it together again in one of the provinces which had not submitted to the yoke of the conqueror.

The States General thought proper to remain assembled in a place where the enemy's troops, joined by a number of malcontents, deprived them of the liberty of deliberating and doing what the public good required.

The French troops having arrived at the Hague, the States General were compelled to do every thing that was exacted from them. The deputies lawfully named by the provinces of Holland were obliged to quit that assembly, and have been replaced by deputies named by those who have taken upon themselves the supreme power of that province, under the name of provisional representatives of the people. These latter being admitted into the assembly of the States General, that assembly ceases to be legal, and the resolutions taken since that time cannot be considered as resolutions dictated by the real States General.

The Prince of Orange's design was, as has already been observed, to go into Zealand as soon as he should have received information relative to the situation of affairs in that province, hoping that his presence there might be useful. But the States General having given orders soon after the Prince's departure, and nearly at the time of the arrival of the French troops at the Hague, to the commanding officers of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Wilhemstadt and Steenbergen, fortresses which still held out, to capitulate, likewise to the troops who were in those provinces which had not yet submitted to the French, as also the ships of the State, not to defend themselves against the French, the States of Zealand were under the necessity of following the example of those of Holland and Utrecht, in capitulating for their province, or rather in submitting to the conqueror.

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The Prince of Orange being informed of this resolution, and perceiving that his presence could no longer be of any service there, was obliged to give up his intention of going into Zealand, and the ice having for a long while prevented all communication between the provinces of Friesland and Groningen with England, during that time the Prince could not receive any intelligence from those provinces, and the first he received was, that they had submitted in the same manner as the others had done, which frustrated his plan of going into either of those provinces.

The Prince of Orange waits with confidence the judgment which every impartial person will pass on his conduct, and cannot think it was expected he should remain in a country which had submitted to the French arms, whilst the French National Convention had declared war against him personally, and deliver himself into the hands of his enemies, without being able thereby to render the least service to his country.

He leaves it to the impartial public to judge if it is with reason that the pretended States General could declare, on the proposal of the self-named provisional representatives of the Dutch people, that the Stadholdership was abolished, because the Stadholder, Captain and Admiral general, had thought proper to quit his post whilst the said provisional representatives of the people of Holland judged it right, in the same assembly where they have changed the form of government, and usurped the Supreme Power, to abolish those charges for the province of Holland, without assigning any other motive than that the nobility and hereditary offices were incompatible with equality.

The Prince of Orange considers himself authorized to appeal, to the whole universe from a resolution so unjust, and declares that he will not acknowledge as lawful any resolution taken by those who now call themselves the States General, or States of the provinces, as long as the Republic shall be occupied by the French troops. He flatters himself, that if more fortunate circumstances should deliver his unhappy country from a foreign yoke, the nation restored to itself, and enjoying, as it has done for these two centuries, a true liberty, founded upon law, will do him justice by not delaying to call him to the exercise of the hereditary charges which he possesses in that Republic, and which have been granted to his house, by the will of the nation, with the view of contributing to the maintenance of the religion, good order, independence and prosperity of the State, and of the true liberty and well-being of its inhabitants.

Hampton-court Palace, May 28, 1795.

W. PR. OF ORANGE.

In May, 1795, the Representatives of the People in Holland issued a Publication respecting the National Loan Bank, of which the following is the substance.

ITS principal end is to enable the citizens to pledge in a secure manner their goods and effects for ready money, for a certain time, to make good the extraordinary levies of money in hard cash.

It consists of twenty-four articles; its chamber of accounts is at Amsterdam; begins the 1st of July, this year, is to last until the 1st of July 1798; and is to be directed by six sworn commissioners, each of whom is to receive 6000 guilders annually, besides necessary clerks and book-keepers.

All securities and bills accepted by government, or the East India company, and other public bodies, are to be taken by this bank, besides all sorts of immoveable goods and merchandizes that bear a current price. Jewels, corn, rice, and all other provisions, are excepted. Whoever has other kinds of goods to pledge, must apply to the provisional representatives. The whole pledge given on the goods shall not exceed eighty per cent. Bank bills of 100 guilders and upwards are given, which are to have a free circulation at the approaching great money levy. The pledger pays four per cent. for the capital received, and those that have bank money on their account, receive three per cent. interest annually.

Speech of Citizen Van Lyeden, on presenting a Plan to the States General of the United Provinces for calling together Primary Assemblies to elect Members for a Batavian National Convention, delivered in May, 1795.

BY the treaty of alliance concluded between our country and the Republic of France, we have become entirely freed from the anxiety under which we groaned relative to the fate, and even the existence of our Republic. By this treaty, its freedom and independence have been established upon the most solid foundations. At this period, we have the satisfaction of offering to you a plan, according to which the citizens of these provinces may enjoy the happiest right of a free people—namely, to determine upon the form of their government.

Your High Mightinesses, but a very little time after we had recovered our liberty, felt the necessity there is that the government of these provinces should undergo an organization; and that in order to attain that desirable object, it was necessary that the generality of the people should be invited to form themselves into primary assemblies. The people have now charged us to propose to you

you a plan tending to accomplish those important measures. Persuaded that the permanent happiness of our fellow citizens depends in a great measure on the manner in which this first national assembly will be formed, we have thought it proper to take the necessary time, in order to enter into clear deliberations, and in no manner to act with precipitation. It is the result of a connected and laborious work, supported by perseverance and the most ardent zeal, which we this day submit to your High Mightinesses, to the representatives of provinces, and to the Batavian people in general.

If we had not been firmly convinced that a convocation of primary assemblies is the universal wish of our nation, we should have thought it our duty to declare to your High Mightinesses that, under the present circumstances, it is the only means to save our country. Have we not long enough groaned under a government and under a constitution of corruption? a constitution which never deserved that name. How many sources of prosperity were shut up by that government? How many imprescriptible rights have been weakened, and even annihilated by it? In short, how many times has not the general interest been forced to yield to private interest? A new order of things ought speedily to be established. An assembly elected by the people will finish that beautiful edifice of which your High Mightinesses have already laid the foundations. Agriculture, as well as commerce and manufactures will flourish; all the means of subsistence will lie open before every citizen. Every citizen will be supported in the quiet enjoyment of his rights; and by this means the interest of every inhabitant will be inseparably united with the public interest.

The orator then presented a plan for the convocation of Primary Assemblies, and the election of members for a National Convention, of which the following is the substance.

Chapter I. Treats of the division of the people. The present representatives are to count all the people, and to divide them in bodies of 10,000 persons. Every 10,000 shall elect one representative, to represent them in the National Convention. Every body of 10,000 persons shall be subdivided into twenty parts, each part consisting of 500 souls. Every part of 500 nominates one elector.

II. Treats of the right of voting.

III. Of the elector.

IV. Of the representatives. He that is chosen representative, should he hold any public office, must resign it. The national convention is to be held at the Hague, and the representatives must repair thither in a fortnight after their election. For every hour's sacrifice of their occupation, to take their new functions upon

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them, they receive ten stivers, and every day ten florins, from the time they shall present their credentials, &c.

V. Treats of the operations of the National Convention, whose chief design is the establishment of a constitution for the people of Batavia. The convention is charged with the administration of the department for foreign affairs—the organization of the forces by land and sea—the maritime and continental system of defence—the arming of the citizens. It is to protect the people against the oppression of public officers—to dispose of the public charges relative to the common weal. It takes care of the credit of the nation—directs the expenditure of the sums of money to be disbursed to execute its measures, and to be fixed by extraordinary deputies of the provinces. The provinces must pledge themselves to pay their respective contingents at the fixed period, otherwise the convention takes entirely at its own disposal the finances of those provinces. The convention has nothing to do with domestic concerns, in the same manner as the representatives of the people of the different provinces shall have nothing to do with the general government of the Republic. All the committees and colleges, to whom the executive power of the public is entrusted, are made responsible to the convention.

VI. Treats on the mode of deliberation. Every member in the convention is to give his vote individually. The assembly sits with its doors open.

VII. Treats of the responsibility of the members of the convention. All the members are responsible to the whole nation, and not to a part only. They cannot be recalled by any part of the people. They are not to be tried for any advice they shall give in the convention. The members of the executive power, and the ministers of the Republic, shall be amenable to justice in the same manner as the members of the convention.

VIII. Fixes the dissolution of the convention. The convention is to prepare, in a twelvemonth at farthest after its meeting, the plan of the constitution. If the constitution is universally accepted, a new National Convention is to be elected, and as soon as its members are arrived at the Hague, the former are to separate themselves.

June 5.

The citizens Graweld and Siter, members of the States General of Holland, and ambassadors extraordinary from the Republic of the United Provinces to the Republic of France, entered the hall of the National Convention on the 5th of June, accompanied by the members of the committee of public safety. They were received with the loudest plaudits.

One of the ambassadors made a speech, in which, in the name of the Batavian Republic, he swore eternal alliance against its enemies.

The president testified to him the satisfaction which the assembly felt, in seeing amongst them the deputies of an allied nation. He assured them attachment and assistance in the name of the French Republic, and then gave them the fraternal embrace in the midst of the loudest plaudits. The National Convention acknowledged the citizens Graweld and Siter, in the capacity of ambassadors extraordinary from the Republic of the United Provinces to the French Republic. These speeches were ordered to be printed, as well as the *procès verbal*, and to be sent to the Republic of the United Provinces, to the departments, and to the armies. The acts of ratification shall be deposited in the national archives.

*In the National Convention of France, on the 3d Messidor, Sunday;
June 21, 1795.*

SYEYES, in the name of the committee of public safety, announced, that the ambassadors of the United Provinces being on the point of leaving Paris, the States General had sent two ministers with full powers (Blauw and Meyer) to reside with the French Republic. The committee had inspected their credentials, and it was decreed that they should be admitted to-morrow.

Monday, June 22.

Citizens Blauw and Meyer, ministers plenipotentiary from the Republic of the United Provinces, were admitted into the hall, accompanied by the members of the committee of public safety, and followed by a numerous crowd of Dutch patriots, carrying in the midst of them the colours of the Dutch nation. The ministers were seated in arm chairs prepared for them.

The president having announced their arrival, the following credentials were read:

The States General of the United Provinces to the Representatives of the French Nation.

" Citizens Representatives,

" Nothing could be more agreeable to us than to witness an unfortunate war, in which the enemies of the French and Batavian nation had involved them, terminated by a treaty of peace and alliance, a treaty which has so happily re-established a good understanding between the two countries, and which is calculated to contribute to their common welfare. In order still more to cement those ties of friendship and fraternity of which our extraordinary ambassadors laid the basis, by exchanging a reciprocal ratification, we have made choice of citizens Blauw and Meyer, deputies to our assembly, for the purpose of discharging the functions of our ministers plenipotentiary, and intreat you to acknowledge them in that character, to grant them favourable audience, and to give faith and

and credence to all that they may say in our name, and on our part. We embrace with pleasure this fresh opportunity of repeating to you the sentiments of our esteem and profound respect for the French nation and its representatives.—Health and fraternity.

“ PIPERS, V.

“ By order of the States General,

(Signed) “ W. QUARLES.”

Citizen Meyer made the following speech, which was interrupted several times by applauses and enthusiastic exclamations of Long live the two Republics!

“ Citizens Representatives,

“ The ministers plenipotentiary from the Batavian people are this day discharging a duty dear to their hearts, viz. that of manifesting their gratitude and admiration. Far from us be all sentiments of vanity ! All that pompous display of insignificant words with which the courts of kings so often resounded ! The Batavian nation, proud of its union with the first people of the universe, comes to discharge her debt. Too long have the magnanimous and generous defenders of the sovereignty of the people remained alone in the bloody field of combat. An immense chain of banditti surrounded your ravaged frontiers ; whilst, in the interior, their chief tyrant breathed over the Republic, discord, desolation, death, and a mass of crimes. Ye people, truly sublime in your efforts, as well as in your sufferings for the cause of liberty, we do not come to congratulate you ; we come to pour into the balance of the avengers of humanity our tribute of defence. The cry of victory has resounded on the banks of our rivers : the Batavians heard it from the bottom of their marshes. They were inflamed with the fire of a sacred enthusiasm ; their future wish is to have no other but a destiny similar to that of the French. The domineering and arrogant English are insulting our misfortunes, and meditate to enslave us afresh. We wish that our alliance may so far increase our strength as to prove their destruction ! O ! who has more ships, treasures, and men to claim from them than we ? Have they not, in contempt of all public faith, detained our rich cargoes delivered up to them by the Stadholder ? The seas infested by those pirates, are asking what is become of those glorious days when the Dutch navy, most powerful by the bold genius of Ruyter and Tromp, were thundering upon their fleets ; were covering the Thames with the wrecks of their ships, and spreading terror even to the heart of London. May those ferocious enemies meet every where our victorious phalanxes, and our avenging fleets ! May the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine contemplate our republican battalions ! May the abundance of our colonies, and their rich productions be distributed amongst our deliverers, in equal proportions, as amongst ourselves. And may the astonished universe every where see the united flags

of the French and the Batavians ! Legislators ! you possess the secret of our forces, and we profess a profound sentiment of our duties and of our gratitude. Be always great and just. Make our sovereignty and our independence respected. Grant us your confidence entirely, we deserve it ; and supported by so precious an union, we shall display means of industry and courage which will throw shame and despair upon our common enemies. Citizens ! the gratitude of a people to living men almost generally leads these men to despotism ; impartial posterity alone ought to point out these who distinguish themselves in revolutions. We have had a sorrowful experience of this truth. The too easy kindness of our ancestors, concentrated in the same person, all the powers which our oppressors made use of, in order to rivet our fetters. We have expiated this fault by a century of misfortunes, anxieties, and humiliations. A perfidious and immoral ministry, who dared to call itself our ally, had guaranteed to the faithful executors of its crimes a monstrous constitution, which became the support of his despotism : therefore the first pages of this infamous treaty were an attempt against national sovereignty. Thanks to the French ! assisted by their burning energy, and by a salutary insurrection, we have torn that constitution, in order to cement a new one, in concert with our ancient and faithful allies. May the closest union crown that alliance which formed the most ardent object of our wishes. Representatives, we presume to think that we are worthy of your confidence : the courage of the French not long ago broke the sceptre of the Capets ; our fellow-citizens, enlightened by their misfortunes, have overturned that monstrous scaffolding of hereditary magistracy, and particularly that oppressive Stadholdership ; and it was only by an escape as cowardly as prudent, that our late tyrant avoided the just punishment which the patriots had prepared for him. As to ourselves, legislators, after having laid the foundation of the treaty which re-unites us to France, after having admired the immensity of your glorious works, after having listened to the wisdom of your deliberations, we shall tell our fellow-citizens, that they have no longer any thing to fear from the destructive plans of their enemies. If it is necessary, we shall march with you to the combat ; and with you we shall conquer. Batavians are ancient adorers of liberty. Their ancestors fought, in order to pull down their tyrant, the most powerful despot in the sixteenth century. The Batavians will never be retrograde ; and if, in marching under the tri-coloured banners, fate should betray their wishes and their courage, the patriots will themselves dig their own grave ; and the people of our provinces, too long victims to slavery, will in future live for liberty, or disappear from the face of the earth, with the glory of having combated for it. Long live the Republic ! Citizens representatives, these are the colours of our nation : we entreat you to accept of them as a token

of the fraternity which unites us, and of the good faith with which we shall fulfil the sacred engagements we have just contracted."

To this Speech the PRESIDENT made the following Reply:

" Ministers plenipotentiary from the Batavian people! your presence in this hall recalls to our memory objects which will eternally remain dear to free men; your worthy ancestors the Barneveldts and the Witts proceeded in the difficult career of liberty long before us; they have given to the world the example of a people rising in favour of a Republic; this example has contributed to rouse the courage of our first great men. This treasure of liberty, which you first acquired, we only had the good fortune of restoring to you. We have, perhaps, some claim to your gratitude; but you have a claim to the gratitude of all mankind. This liberty, as difficult to be acquired as to be preserved, you possessed after fifty years of combating and of glory: some faults which you committed, undoubtedly were sufficient to deprive you of it; but we shall even improve from your faults; we shall, with a firm hand, point out the limits of power; its possessors shall be vigilantly watched. The French Republic is about to have respected magistrates, powerful for good, and impotent for evil; this Republic shall never have a scourge like that of a Stadholder. How happy are we to have so usefully seconded you in the last contest you had with him. The court of France, in former times, had, from motives of vanity, condescended to offer an asylum to a few kings who had been precipitated from their thrones; at this time the French had the glory of liberating a generous people, whom they have placed among the number of free nations. Your enemies dared even to outrage you during the last moments of their reign. The Stadholder, continuing to betray, has delivered up your rich cargoes; you complain that the English are retaining them, contrary to all the principles of public faith: What else could you expect of a Stadholder, and of an English minister? We, however, believe that, on the banks of the Thames, as well as on those of the Seine and the Scheldt, there exists a far greater number of friends to justice and humanity than tyranny even suspects. The English people do not approve of the warlike system of their government. The English people begin to be impatient under the burdens of a war undertaken merely for the benefit of ministers. Ministers, their ambitious plans, their minute Machiavelian calculations, all are momentary, and must pass away: but two nations, mutually supported by faithful allies, reciprocally united by indissoluble ties, each of them surrounded by her legitimate representatives; each of them seated upon the wrecks of a throne; two such nations cannot pass away. Our true riches, the treasures of our independence, cannot be taken from us. Together we shall set examples to nations worthy of imitating us; we shall give to oppressors who are

are yet capable of listening to reason, useful lessons, which will not be lost to humanity; we shall give liberty to the vast empire of the seas; and lastly, to the universe, abundance and peace. If some ambitious men at London are still persisting, and there sway the sceptre of their influence to this banner, which you are come to offer us as a signal of our offensive and defensive alliance, and which we have received with fraternity, we shall join the three-coloured flag; and our colours we shall then display together on our naval forces on the seas. Rely upon the genius of the Republic, which will serve you in default of a Ruyter, and our battalions will assist you if the English minister persists; we shall go as far as the Thames, to conquer another government, and liberate another nation. Batavian republicans! the National Convention promises to you security and indemnity, full liberty, and full independence. The National Convention promises it, and Europe knows how the French armies keep the promises of the convention.

On a motion made by a member, the president gave the fraternal embrace to the two ambassadors, in the midst of bursts of applause.

The convention acknowledged and proclaimed the Citizens Blaauw and Meyer in the quality of ministers plenipotentiary from the Republic of the United Provinces to the Republic of France. The flag offered in the name of the States General was accepted, and it was decreed, that it should be placed in the hall, united with the colours of the French Republic, as a symbol of the alliance between the two nations, and that the speech of the ministers, as well as the president's answer, should be printed and translated into several languages.

Substance of a Proclamation of the Representatives of Holland, published in June 1795.

SINCE all the measures hitherto taken for the purpose of levying the sums necessary for the service of the Republic, have met with a number of difficulties; and these sums being very necessary in order to pay to the French nation the sums stipulated in the treaty, the representatives therefore decreed, that a provisional voluntary negociation should be entered into for that purpose, namely, that thirty millions of guilders shall, during the present year, be paid to the French Republic, ten millions during the first six months of the year 1796, which, with the ten millions of due requisitions, amount to fifty millions. Also fifteen millions for the restoration of the naval forces, and twenty millions more for the re-establishment of the land armies, and the French troops taken into the pay of the Dutch Republic.

The greatest part of these sums must be ready in a few months. The States, therefore, have opened a voluntary subscription for the

the period of one year. Those who subscribe for those sums will be paid on the 1st of July, 1796, by means of the imposts which shall take place. Each citizen may subscribe a sum according to his pleasure, in good gold or silver coin, in bank bills, as well as receipts of the newly-established loan bank, and the bills distributed by the committee of finances as an exchange for the French assignats. These sums, however, must be advanced a third in specie, and two-thirds in the above-mentioned bills. The subscribers will obtain bills of receipts, and receive an interest of five per cent. annually. All the municipalities of the town are to send about to every citizen subscription bills, which must be filled up within four days time, when they are to send these lists to the committee of finances, which will order them to be printed and published, by which means the true patriots will be known.

Hague, June 15.

THE States General have enjoined citizen Van Haeften, their ambassador to the court of Vienna, to notify to the Austrian cabinet the treaty of alliance concluded with the French Republic, and to tender to the said cabinet its good offices with that Republic to hasten a peace between the two powers.

In case the mediation of Holland shall not be accepted, citizen Van Haeften is charged to declare, that by the treaty, the Republic of the United Provinces has engaged itself to consider as its own particular enemies, all the enemies of the French Republic; and after having made this declaration to his orders to quit the capital of Austria without taking leave.

Hague, July 1.

A Fermentation has taken place in this country. The Dutch phlegm which was visible in the first operations after the destruction of the ancient government, and which seemed to shrink from deeds of blood, appears to have nearly vanished. Already have disturbances broken out in several places, and particularly at Rotterdam. The provisional representatives of the people of Holland have published a proclamation, in which they disclose to the people their apprehensions that they will suffer themselves to be led into criminal excesses, and in which they point out those who wish to produce these effects.

The following are extracts from this proclamation :

“ We recollect with joy the predictions we made upon just motives, that posterity would learn with sentiments of deep astonishment, the manner in which the people of Holland had adopted this happy

happy revolution : how few disasters, in a country in which the dignity of man had been so long debased by slavery, had accompanied so great and extraordinary a change ; how little confusion was observable ; how inviolable the respect was for order ; and how rigorous the submission to the law."

After having said that their joy was lessened by the events of Rotterdam, that city so celebrated throughout the world, the representatives add,

" Who is there that can really doubt, citizens, that the manner in which one part of the burghers of Rotterdam has been convoked and assembled ; the manner in which they have deliberated and passed resolutions ; the manner in which they surrounded the town house, and extorted from the regents and municipal officers appointed by the thirteen quarters, resolutions and orders ; who, we say, can doubt that this manner of acting is wholly contrary to the order established at Rotterdam, by the publication of the 10th of February and the 15th of May. Who can doubt the informality, illegality, and nullity of what has been done. For not only is it contrary to the form fixed upon by the burghers themselves, but in fact it is diametrically contrary to the sacred rights of man, and a citizen, whence liberty flows, and that form the basis upon which, as we have already said in our publication of the 31st of January last, we ought to establish our actions and our proceedings. In fact, the sovereignty of the people is openly violated, when a part of that people can force submission to their will, or prescribe resolutions to the regents, whom the whole people have appointed."

It is certain that the insidious partisans, or the infatuated adherents of the ancient constitution do not suffer such occasions to escape them, in order to deduce from liberty a false enthusiasm, which may lead to actions that can never accord with the principles of justice, of good order, and of law ; that is to say, of the general will which ought to be the marked and prominent features of every republican. Who is there that does not see that the English, the Orangists, and the Aristocrats in our country, whilst they are watching the moment to sap our happiness, and are endeavouring to raise the value of specie, will make every effort to produce disturbances, to sow the seeds of discord, to destroy public confidence, to paralyse public credit, and consequently to render it impossible that the operations of finance should be free and unfettered."

In the assembly of the provisional representatives of the people of Holland, a report was made on the 2d of July, in which it is said that the court of Berlin refused to acknowledge our republic, and that our ambassador at the Prussian court, Van Rheede, had for this reason, solicited his recal. The country being thus threatened by new dangers, it is our duty, say the provisional re-

presentatives, to pursue more vigorous measures, in order to maintain our liberty and independence.

After the necessary deliberations, it has therefore been resolved, on the 3d instant, to send the citizens Paulus, Hahn, Gevers, Bosfield, Loncq, Berkhoud, Westwyk, Fennckel, Van Orden, Howers, La Pierre, and H. Gevers, as deputies of this assembly to the States General, and, in the name of this province, to propose, in the most earnest manner,

I. That the ministers of this Republic at Paris be informed by the States General of the desertion of a part of our army, encouraged by the machinations of a foreign power, and the reception they meet with on the foreign territory.

II. That the said ministers be commissioned to inform the Committee of public safety of these circumstances, and to communicate to the same the last dispatches received from our minister at Berlin, Van Rheede.

III. That the said ministers do also communicate to the same committee, a copy of the secret articles of the treaty concluded on the 5th of April between France and Prussia.

IV. That the said ministers do earnestly request the French government, without any delay, to demand of the court of Berlin an explanation concerning the reception of Dutch deserters in the Prussian dominions, together with a declaration that his Prussian Majesty will never allow an armed force, hostile to this Republic, to be assembled in his territory ; further that contents of the thus called secret articles of the fore-mentioned treaty be publicly contradicted and disavowed.

V. That the said ministers do earnestly demand of the French government, to notify to the court of Berlin the treaty of amity and alliance concluded between this and the French Republic ; that the said court may actually acknowledge the independence of the Batavian Republic, and admit a minister appointed by this commonwealth.

The States General came, on the 4th instant, to the following resolutions :—

I. That the necessary instructions shall be sent to our ministers Blauw and Meyer, at Paris, according to the propositions made by the province of Holland.

II. That the army of the State shall be immediately organized.

III. That a proclamation shall be published against emigrants and deserters, and

IV. That the most energetic measures shall be adopted successfully to oppose all acts of violence ; all confusion and anarchy from without, as well as within the country.

Hague, July 21.

ON the 15th instant the representatives of Holland formally resolved to elect a national convention, according to the plan proposed to convene the citizens of Batavia. The said representatives have also resolved, that all the secretaries, &c. of the respective municipalities, recently elected by the free suffrage of the people, shall give proper security for the trust reposed in them.

A few days ago the municipality of the Hague issued a severe edict, respecting every sort of provisions, which are frequently foreclosed, to the detriment of the generality of the citizens, and sold afterwards at the most exorbitant prices. A loaf of coarse rye bread, of 6lbs. costs now half a florin, a dearth never remembered in the United Provinces.

The governors and directors of the Dutch colony of Surinam have notified to the States General, that intelligence had been received in that settlement of the revolution which has taken place in the United Provinces, but that it had not made any great sensation.

The difference which has hitherto subsisted in the government of Dutch Brabant has been entirely adjusted, and that country will join the confederation of the United Provinces in the course of next year, and will form the eighth province.

The delegates of the Dutch East India company have made a report respecting that body, and pointed out the advantages which the Republic derived from that corporation; the merchandize which that company sells every year, amounts to 20,000,000 of florins; they proved that a free navigation to India for every citizen would destroy those advantages; farther, that the company is in arrear in the sum of 800,800,000 florins, owing to loans, grants, &c. made from 1782, to 1794; and that the chamber of Amsterdam is alone in arrears to the amount of 500,000,000. The report presents means to restore the colony again to its flourishing condition, by suppressing the distribution of spices, the yachts, the building of ships, and the importation in Dutch bottoms, the abolition of the six chambers, of packets, &c.

A loan is erected for the benefit of Amsterdam, in which all the citizens of that city, worth above 2000 guilders, are obliged to take a part; for which they are to receive 3*½* per cent.

Upon the proposition of the deputies of Friesland it was resolved to omit, in letters, and conclusions thereof, intended for foreign countries, the words "liberty and equality," as incompatible with the titles of kings and princes.

Hague, August 4.

THE directors of the colony of Surinam have received a communication from Frederici, the governor, in which he informs them that he had received an order from the *ci-devant* Stadholder, requiring him to give a cordial reception to the troops and ships of his Britannic Majesty, the friend and ally of their High Mightinesses, that a vigorous defence might be made against an attack from the French. The requisition was dated Kew, Feb. 13.

The governor assured their High Mightinesses of his fidelity to the Dutch Republic, and declared upon his honour as a man, and an officer, that he was determined to provide for the security of the colony, and that, in conformity to the orders of their High Mightinesses, he should without delay put it in the best possible state of defence.

The message being read to the assembly of the provisional representatives of the people of Holland, the spirited conduct of the governor was much applauded, and thanks were voted to him.

Holland, August 4.

THE treaty for taking 25,000 French troops into the pay of the Dutch Republic has arrived at the Hague, and is fully signed and ratified.

The committee of general confederation has written to the States General, that unless money is immediately had for the payment of the troops, the country will be thrown into the greatest confusion, and the cause of freedom for ever lost. In consequence of this representation, an office is established here, for receiving the national contributions for the intended payment, which will instantly take place.

The opening of our National Convention is fixed for the 1st of September.

The province of Guelders has determined to lay a duty on all English manufactures and merchandize.

Peace with Spain.

On the 2d instant, their High Mightinesses having been extraordinarily convened, the President Pypers made the following speech to them :

“ High and Mighty Lords,

“ Since the happy revolution that has taken place in this country, we have often been forced to hold an extraordinary sitting, in order to present reports which were far from being agreeable, and filled our hearts with pain. Now, however, high and mighty Lords, the ob-

ject for which I have assembled you is, to make you partakers of the joy which I feel. It is on this day that I have the happiness to announce to you, that peace has been signed between the French Republic and the King of Spain, and that our dear country is comprised in it.

" It is on this day that I have the happiness to announce to you that our brethren the French have gained a complete victory over the English, Emigrants, and Chouans, and that the insidious English minister has again failed in the attempt to impose a government upon France. I congratulate you, high and mighty Lords: an extraordinary courier, who arrived this morning from Paris, has brought these details. May the reading of them take from the enemies of our liberty and independence, even the idea of being able to injure us in the exercise of our liberty; and may it infuse into your hearts, as it does into mine, the persuasion that the days of slavery are passed, and that the days of permanent liberty are arrived."

Hague, September 29.

AS the embargo laid on all foreign vessels in our ports, produced a general stagnation of commerce, and caused the bitterest complaints, even on the part of Dutch merchants concerned in those ships, it has been resolved, that it shall cease with the end of this month.

Resolutions passed by the States General of the United Provinces, on the 22d of September, first Year of Batavian Liberty, in answer to the Memorial delivered by Citizen Noel, Ambassador from the French Republic, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety.*

IN consequence of the representations which have been made to the assembly, and in consideration of the sentiments of cordial friendship manifested in the admonition of the National Convention of France to the inhabitants of this country, which was yesterday communicated to their High Mightinesses by citizen Noel, minister plenipotentiary from the French Republic, it has been resolved to make known to the minister plenipotentiary, that their High Mightinesses are grateful for this new roof of the true and sincere interest which the French government continues to take in

* Vide the Correspondence.

the welfare and tranquillity of this country ; that they will return those sentiments by all possible means, being convinced that the happiness of the two nations is inseparable ; and that the enemy of the one cannot be the friend of the other ; and that the agitations which domestic or foreign malevolence may produce in either of the two Republics, cannot fail to have an immediate influence on the happiness of the other ; that their High Mightinesses, in order to revive the courage of the good citizens, and to frustrate the machinations of the bad, have caused the said admonition to be communicated to the nation, through the medium of a publication, in order, by that means, to manifest in the most evident manner, the sentiments which animate the French government with regard to the state of affairs in this country ; sentiments worthy of a nation which has not hesitated to make the greatest sacrifices : and which, by its own experience, has a right to warn us of the danger that results from intestine divisions ; that their High Mightinesses have no doubt that the said admonition will make the most favourable impression on the minds of the people, and they hope, by that means, to acquire the ability of co-operating, in an efficacious manner, for the purpose of procuring a fair and permanent peace ; that, considering the sentiments of the French government in a true point of view, they request the minister plenipotentiary Noel to express, in their name, their gratitude to the committee of public safety ; that it has been peculiarly gratifying to their High Mightinesses to see the said sentiments manifested by a minister, who, by his personal character, has merited the esteem of all good citizens, and particularly that of their High Mightinesses ; and that the present resolution of their High Mightinesses shall be delivered to the said citizen Noel by their agent, Sicher, as an answer to the said admonition.

Hague, October 5.

THE committee appointed by the provisional representatives of the people of Holland, to inquire into the letter written by the Prince Stadholder to the governor of Surinam, gave in, on the 29th ult. the following report on the subject, to the assembly of the said representatives :—

“ Citizens Representatives,

“ You have been pleased to communicate to us the latter written by the *ci-devant* Stadholder to F. Frederici, the governor of Surinam, dated Kew, Feb. 7, 1795, which contains the traitorous order, ‘ to admit at Paramaribo, as well as in other parts of the colony of Surinam, all such troops as should be sent thither by his Britannic Majesty ; also to receive, in the rivers of the said colony,

lony, all such men of war, frigates, and armed vessels, of his said Majesty, as should be detached to Surinam ; and to consider both these troops and ships as belonging to a friendly and allied power, destined to prevent the said colony from falling into the hands of the French ; and by means of a decree passed on the 5th of August, to desire our advice concerning this letter."

We should long ago have laid before you our report relative to this writing, but for our having supposed, that as several reports stated the thus named house of Orange to be on the point of crowning its glaring ingratitude towards its native country, by an open manifesto against, and an armed invasion, of the Republic, you would have given us thereof the necessary information, and desired us to collect all these different transactions in one and the same report ; but this not being yet done, we shall no longer delay to lay before you our opinion on the letter in question, concerning which but few words will be sufficient to shew its heinous criminality ; offending not only the eternal fundamental principles of the law of nations, but also the constitution of this country. Assuredly, after the traitorous part acted by William V. ever since the year 1780, after all which has happened before, during, and after the English war ; after his wicked opposition to the wish of the States, and his leaving the Hague at that time ; after his secret and open conspiracies against the liberty and independence of the country ; after his scandalous manifesto, dated Amersfort, the 11th of September, 1787 ; after having reduced the country by a foreign army ; after having covered the same with assassinations and plunder ; after having ruined and banished thousands of families, persecuted the best patriots, and, under the title of constitutional measures, established a dreadful government, composed of his faction, and supported them upwards of seven years ; after having, merely for his own interest, involved this land in the most ruinous war ever carried on by their High Mightinesses ; after having wasted streams of blood, and millions of public money ; after having brought upon the country all the disasters and hardships inseparable from war, and especially from the presence of bands of English troops ; after having thrown into the utmost confusion every branch of administration ; and at last, when our distress had reached its utmost pitch, and God himself conducted the French into the very heart of this country, after having, on the 18th of January, saved himself and his family in the most shameful manner, and informed their High Mightinesses in a famous letter, written the same day, that, desirous of not obstructing a peace, which the good inhabitants of these provinces stood so much in need of, he had resolved, together with his whole family, for some time to withdraw, trusting that their High Mightinesses would not disapprove this measure ; for the rest, offering up prayers to the Most High, that he would vouchsafe to shower

shower down his choicest blessings over his beloved native land, &c. &c. that he sincerely lamented not to be able any longer to render himself useful to the commonwealth, and that his two sons, who departed with him, had laid down the command of the armies —after all this, and after it had been resolved to inform the colonels and commanding officers of the regiments in the service of the state, as well as all governors and commanders, that his Highness had absented himself for some time, and that his two sons had also laid down their command; William V. has allowed himself to be so far misled by his traitorous and slavish submission to England, as to make an attempt, without being invested with the least power or authority for that purpose, and of course traitorously to seduce the governor of so important a colony to commit an act, the consequences of which would have been highly pernicious to this country; and by doing so, William V. has clearly and presently rendered himself guilty of the crime of high treason against the Republic.

We must, however, confess, that we have by no means been surprised by this criminal proceeding. After all the transactions we have witnessed, there is no crime against the people of the United Netherlands in general, and against the liberty and independence of Holland in particular, which may not be expected from William V. and, among all the Stadholders mentioned in the records of history, there is none whose misconduct is equal to that of the last of them, and whose act of accusation it would be so easy to draw up, as that of William V.

Yet it is requisite, citizens representatives, that this act be made out in due and necessary form. Europe shall then perceive, that the abolition of the Stadholderate was by no means the short-lived resolve of levity; every true friend of liberty shall hail this measure, and rejoice in our blessed revolution; his partizans shall blush with shame, and many an eye be opened to the light of truth. We are therefore of opinion, that the proceedings on this head cannot be carried on and accomplished with too much care and legal nicety, and having, for this purpose, taken into consideration the opinions of several learned and enlightened men in this country, we give it as our advice, " That as the aforesaid letter of the *ci-devant* Stadholder has been communicated to you by their High Mightinesses, by means of your deputies in the assembly of the States General, the same is to be returned thither in the same manner, together with this report, to be laid before their High Mightinesses, and that your said deputies do cause, as soon as possible, the said writings to be delivered into the hands of Bavius Veorda and Jan Valkenaar, professors at Leyden, in order that they may point out the most proper manner of setting on foot and conducting these criminal proceedings, and draw up, for the use of their High Mighti-

Mightinesses, a succinct act of accusation against the aforesaid William V.

We submit, however, this advice to your better judgment.

J. G. H. HAHN.

Q. J. LA PIERRE.

P. GEVERS.

P. PAULUS."

Hague, Sept. 20, 1795, first year of Batavian Liberty.

Amsterdam, Nov. 5.

FOR several days there have been some disturbances in this city, on account of a supposition that there exists among a part of the ancient regency, a coalition with the emigrants at Osnaburgh. Extraordinary patroles have paraded the streets during the two last nights, and this morning the gates were opened at a very late hour. A letter supposed to have been written from the Hague has been the principal cause. The following declaration has been published by the French deputies, Thibault and Ramel :

Citizen President,

We learn, that in the city of Amsterdam reports are circulated with avidity, and believed by some, which the true friends of the two Republics cannot see accredited without being indignant at them. It is added, that they are founded upon a letter from the Hague, which is in the possession of the municipality.

We entreat you to communicate it to us in as speedy a manner as possible, in order that we may inform the French government of it without delay. It is not our intention, Citizen President, to reply to what is said in that letter injurious to the French Republic, particularly in a part which we hear mentions a secret negotiation with Great Britain, in which the Dutch government is not to participate ; facts, the solemnity of the treaty sworn to by the two nations, the loyalty of the deputies of the French nation to the interest of the two Republics, destroy such reports in too decisive a manner to render it necessary for us to make any fresh protestations.

But it is necessary that we should reciprocally know our common enemies ; and that none of their manœuvres may escape us, we are persuaded that the municipality of Amsterdam will disappoint them by their prudence and firmness ; and that they may appreciate every thing which may coincide with the rumour, we entreat them to be assured that the two Republics will unite their strength, in order that principles may triumph, that the friends of order and of liberty may be successful, and that their enemies may have a last proof of the inefficacy of their attempts.

Health and fraternity,

(Signed)

THIBAULT,

V. D. RAMEL.

November 9.

THE following proclamation was published in the evening of the 5th instant.

The representatives of the people of Amsterdam, having just experienced that under their eyes, and even under those of the armed burghers, last night and this morning several disaffected persons concealing themselves under the mask of ardent friends to liberty, by violating the laws and the respect which every individual ought to have for order, have committed the greatest excesses, by making themselves masters of the keys of the gates of the city and of the barriers of the port, and that it is solely to the courage of some citizens that this city is indebted for its preservation from incalculable evils, communicate to their fellow citizens that they shall continue to fulfil the duties which they took an oath to discharge, and that they shall fulfil them in spite of danger, and even death. They appeal to all the true friends of that liberty which is founded upon the rights of man and of the citizen, to have at heart the quiet possession of their lives and property; to range themselves under the orders of officers of their respective sections; and, with all their might, to assist their representatives in the maintenance of order and tranquillity. They exhort all those who represent their fellow citizens, not to lend an ear to the voice of disaffection or of error, to take care that they do not give arms to anarchy, fury, and barbarism; and above all, to give no encouragement to those passions either by word or deed.

(Signed)

DANIEL BLEEKER, President.

G. BRENDER A BRANDIS, Sec.

Nov. 5, 1795.
First year of Dutch liberty.

The assembly of the representatives of the people appointed commissioners to take such measures as they should think proper. These commissioners published a proclamation expressive of their approbation of the conduct of the municipality of Amsterdam, and inviting the maintenance of order.

ORDER FOR REPRISALS AGAINST THE SHIPS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

*At the Court at Weymouth, the 15th of September, 1795. Present
the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

WHÈREAS the countries belonging to the United Provinces have, for some time past, been, and still continue in the possession of the armies of France, and under the immediate influence and direction of the persons who exercise the powers of government in France: and whereas divers injurious proceedings

have lately been had in the said United Provinces, in derogation of the honour of his Majesty's crown, and the just rights of his subjects; and ships of war, fitted out from the ports of the said United Provinces, have received orders to take and destroy all British vessels, and some British vessels have been actually so taken: his Majesty, therefore, being determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of his crown, and for procuring reparation and satisfaction, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the United Provinces, so that as well his Majesty's fleet and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissionated by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his Majesty's commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the United Provinces, of their subjects, or others inhabiting within any of the territories of the aforesaid United Provinces, and bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of admiralty within his Majesty's dominions: and to that end his Majesty's advocate general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this board, authorising the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisal to any of his Majesty's subjects, or others, whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the United Provinces, and their vassals and subjects, or any inhabiting within the countries, territories, or dominions of the aforesaid United Provinces; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents. And his Majesty's said advocate general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this board, authorising the said commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, to will and require the high court of admiralty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, his surrogate or surrogates, as also the several courts of admiralty within his Majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon, all, and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same; and, according to the course of admiralty, and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to the United Provinces, or their vassals and subjects, or to any others inhabiting within any of the countries, territories,

ritories, and dominions of the aforesaid United Provinces; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents: and they are likewise to prepare, and lay before his Majesty at this board, a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the courts of admiralty in his Majesty's foreign governments and plantations for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships as shall be commissioned for the purposes aforementioned.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GERMAN DIET SITTING AT
RATISBON.

THE Austrian minister, on Monday the 1st of June, 1795, opened the discussion on the motion for peace, agreeably to the tenor of the Imperial decree of commission, dated 19th of May.*

SALZBURG, BAVARIA, and AUSTRIA left the register open without giving their votes.

The Prussian minister from MAGDEBURG, although waiting for further instructions relative to the Imperial decree, and the points of deliberation to be proposed by the directory of the empire, made the following provisional declaration:

He assured the assembly afresh of the most sincere, active, and uninterrupted interest which his Majesty the King of Prussia takes, and always will take, in measures tending to the welfare and preservation of the German empire; that it is the sincere wish of his Majesty to give proofs of these sentiments in the present proceedings relative to peace. His Majesty refers to the open and solemn declaration which was made in his name on the 8th ult. † to the dictature of the diet of the empire, assembled under its supreme chief, to his most high co-states, to shew that nothing would be so agreeable to his Majesty as to receive information of the Imperial minister's having in this assembly made a verbal overture in the name of his master, in his quality as supreme chief of the empire, for taking active measures to commence a negotiation for the establishment of peace to Germany. His Majesty the King of Prussia, on his part declares, to have been entirely guided by his patriotic attachment to the whole empire, when he concluded a peace with the French Republic, and thus opened a road through which the whole of Germany, and its individual states, might advance to embrace the blessings of speedy and lasting tranquillity. In the eleventh article of that treaty, the French Republic had promised to listen favourably to amicable proposals from any

* See page 252.

† See p. 234.

the princes or states of the empire who should apply for his Majesty's mediation. This mediation has already been offered by his Majesty to all of them. But his Majesty never intended to offer it partially to individual states, nor, as has been represented in some places, with a view to divide into parties the general union and interest of the empire. His Majesty, on the contrary, solemnly declares it to be his most sincere wish, that the whole empire would delay no longer the preliminaries, but speedily conclude a general peace, of which it is so much in want ; and that it would, with zeal and unanimity, step forward, in order to put an end to this fruitless and destructive war, particularly during this favourable period of time, when a beaten road already has been opened for that purpose. In case these offers should be accepted by the German States, they might apply to him as a co-state of the empire, by means of votes collected for that purpose in the assembly of the diet. His Majesty promises to exert his good offices with the French Republic, having for that purpose left open a channel for negotiation.

After these well-meant offers, his Majesty expects either to see the whole empire soon unite in general negotiations for peace, or to see the majority agree to it ; but, in a contrary case, any individual state, urged by necessity, may, without exception, confide in his Majesty's zealous mediation in promoting their welfare.

AUGSBURG and TREVES declared,

That his Highness the Elector is willing to join in a becoming peace, and in delivering the empire from the misfortunes of the war under which it at present labours ; that the empire ought to assemble under its chief, according to the forms of its constitution, and maintain its independence, conformably to the laudable example of our ancestors. Concerning the manner in which negotiations are to be carried on, he declares, 1st, that his Imperial Majesty should be desired previously to settle the preliminaries, and to communicate them to the empire : 2dly, that Frankfort is the most fit place for a congress ; and in case this place should be nominated, measures for its security should be previously taken : 3dly, an armistice, and a discontinuance of all requisitions in the territories of the empire, occupied by the enemy to be agreed on ; and in the negotiations to claim the fortresses of Luxembourg, Mentz, Philippsburg, and all the territories on the right banks of the Rhine. Every individual state shall be at liberty to send an ambassador to the congress assembled for these negotiations, to represent his interest, and his desire concerning the peace to be established.

At the same time it may, with the utmost confidence, be expected, from the cheerful assurance given on the 12th of December last, by the embassy from the electorate of Brandenburg, in the name of his Prussian Majesty, that his Majesty would do all that lies

lies in his power in order to procure to the empire so desirable a peace, by endeavouring to accomplish this object by his patriotic co-operation, and by powerfully supporting the articles of the negotiation, for the interest of the German empire; for which assurance, when repeated by the same ambassadors on the 22d of May of the present year, due thanks had been given by the empire to his Prussian Majesty, for his declaration in favour of the indivisibility of the empire, and the preservation of its constitution. Therefore, it may with confidence be relied on, that his Prussian Majesty would, agreeably to his declaration, exert all his influence to bring about the so much wished-for peace, by his patriotic co-operation. Lastly, it may be hoped, that a firm resolution would be taken by the states to be unanimous, agreeable to German faith and honesty, and that during the negotiations the army of the empire should not be weakened by any of the contingents being withdrawn.

HESSE CASSEL, notwithstanding the ambassadors of that State waited for instructions concerning the points of deliberations made out by the Directory of the Empire, declared provisionally as follows :

The illustrious Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, not having been able to reject the peaceable overtures made to him in the present circumstances, on account of the situation and relations of his dominions, and having been obliged to enter into negotiations, in order to secure his territories, which had already suffered so much by the invasions of the French armies, and were still further threatened by the dreadful effects of the war; declares, at the same time, that he is far from deviating in the least from his patriotic attachment to the empire; that he has taken such measures for a peace with the French Republic as he has felt himself urged to by the law of necessity.

At the same time the illustrious Landgrave cannot abstain from confessing his wish, that the further interference of his Imperial Majesty, united with the co-operation of his Prussian Majesty, who ought to be solicited for this purpose by the empire, might soon give a durable peace to the empire, on the footing of *the status quo ante bellum*.

The Electorate of SAXONY voted in the Electoral College, as well as the Electorate of BRANDENBURG, who proposed as an addition, that the votes should be given as soon as possible, in order that a conclusion respecting the negotiation for peace might speedily be made.

The following are the contents of the vote of the Electorate of SAXONY:

1st. To invite his Majesty the Emperor to apply for a congress for peace on his own part and that of the empire, and to send to his Prussian Majesty the necessary instructions. 2dly. To propose Frankfort as the place for holding this congress. 3dly. His Imperial Majesty should, according to the opinion of the empire,

empire, (declared on the 22d of December last,) previously demand an armistice. 4thly. Concerning the conditions of peace : the *status quo ante bellum* to be taken as the basis, and indemnifications to be claimed. 5thly. The deputation from the empire to be as little numerous as possible, and to be of an equal number of the catholic and the protestant religions. To consist of two deputies from the college of electors, two from that of the princes, and of two from the towns of the empire.

The IMPERIAL MINISTERS insisted,

That his Imperial Majesty alone should undertake the negotiations for peace, with the co-operation of the states of the empire, without the assistance of the King of Prussia.

In the sittings of the diet on the 5th of June, BRUNSWICK-WOLFSBURG fully coincided in the vote of Magdeburg. BADEN, ANHALT, &c. declared their wishes to request the King of Prussia's mediation and powerful assistance in these negotiations. WIRTEMBERG voted for the speedy conclusion of a truce, as a previous measure, which was to last till the end of August. All the other votes given that day, CONSTANCE alone excepted, were in favour of the mediation of the King of Prussia, and proposed Frankfort as the fittest place for the congress to be held. HESSE DARMSTADT required an indemnification for his great expences during the war, and the restitution of his dominions and rights to be secured to him in the treaty.

In the sittings of the 9th of June, the Electorate of HANOVER, or as it is called in the diplomatic style of the empire, " Brunswick Lunenburg," voted in the Electoral College as follows :

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, in quality of Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg, had not, as is well known, in the beginning of the contest with France, the least suspicion of its ever breaking out into a war of the empire, and had even proposed measures in order to prevent such an event. After the war of the empire had been resolved on, his Majesty in no manner omitted to fulfil his duties of a co-state ; and has even made great sacrifices, and given the most active assistance to the German empire.

But however strongly it was the wish of his Majesty, that the war and the defence of the empire should be carried on with the utmost vigour, circumstances having taken a different turn, his Majesty is ready to acknowledge the justice of the general wish of Germany for the inestimable blessings of peace. On the 12th of December last year, his Majesty declared that the overtures for a peace, and what part the assembly of the diet should take in them, ought to be determined by his Imperial Majesty, as chief of the empire ; and since the decree of the Imperial court has lately been laid before the diet, his Majesty thinks it a duty as a state of the empire, to contribute on his part every thing necessary for promoting the discussions and the resolutions of this assembly for obtaining that salutary and so desirable an object. His Royal Majesty acknowledges

acknowledges that the propositions stated in the Imperial decree are perfectly constitutional; and as his Royal Majesty coincides entirely with the contents of that decree, he hopes that all the states will act in concert, and under the direction of the chief of the empire, in order to accomplish this wished-for peace to the empire. But as the deliberations in the present session of the assembly cannot possibly extend to all the different circumstances relative to this business, and as it is highly necessary to acquaint his Imperial Majesty previously with the sentiments of the states of the empire; it is, therefore, the opinion of his Majesty of Great Britain, in his quality of elector of Brunswick and Lunenburg, that the empire should first intreat his Imperial Majesty to take the necessary measures for commencing a negotiation for the peace with France; leaving to his Imperial Majesty to determine upon the time, the manner, and the place of the congress; and at the same time to request of him soon to acquaint the assembly with the progress of his endeavours.

BREMEN, the GRAND MASTER of the Order of ST. JOHN, and SALZBURGH voted also, that the negotiations be directed by his Imperial Majesty, without any co-operation of the King of Prussia.

On the 10th of June the following declaration was made in the name of the ELECTOR of COLOGNE:

That his Imperial Majesty should be requested to propose without delay, a treaty of peace to France. The manner in which this is to be done to be left to his Imperial Majesty: the interference of Brandenburgh was, however, again to be recommended. That the negotiations for peace ought to be entered into immediately, as real danger would be occasioned by delaying it. That Frankfort, as the place for a congress, ought to be cleared of all foreign troops, and to be neutralized. That an armistice should be agreed upon during the negotiations, and all hostile attacks upon Mentz, &c: discontinued. That in the event of a peace, the principal object ought to be, the integrity of the empire, and the restitution of its territories, as before the breaking out of hostilities with France, ought to be the first and most essential condition of a peace to be concluded; that Germany ought never to agree to a dismemberment, or the lopping off of whole states from the empire, to the end that the existence and constitution of the whole empire should be secure. Finally, his electoral Highness declares, that provided against all probability and expectation, the result of this undertaking, so interesting to humanity, should not answer our hopes, or the extravagant conditions should make a reconciliation impossible, and consequently a continuance of the war necessary, the resolutions of the empire, taken since 1791, ought to be adhered to, and Germany ought to shew with firmness and redoubled vigour, that, little as she intends to trouble herself about the internal constitution of France, she knows how to resist, in a manly way,

way, and agreeably to her national spirit, the domination of any foreign power, &c. His Highness declares that he will sacrifice blood and treasure, and will confide entirely in the supreme head of the empire, which has already, during the war, made such great sacrifices for the preservation of the empire, that it will take the properst measures to lead, use, and apply that national spirit. But should, on the contrary, (which it is almost impossible to think,) this national spirit, and this attachment to the constitution, expire, and private convenlencies gain the ascendancy, inconceivable confusion, and a dissolution of all the states of the empire, and the whole of the Germanic body, would be the consequence, and every one would be brought to the melancholy necessity to seek his interest and that of his subjects in foreign connections, which we pray Divine Providence may avert from our beloved country.

The ELECTOR of MENTZ made the following declaration :

It appears to be necessary that the wish of the empire to enter into negotiations for peace with France, should be formally laid before France in the name of the emperor and the empire; and in case of a similar inclination on the part of the French, the necessary preliminaries be immediately adjusted. In that case his Majesty should therefore be intreated, the manner to be entirely left to his Imperial Majesty, to communicate to France that on our side a peace, and if possible an immediate one, was wished for; but that notwithstanding this wish for a general peace should not in the least hinder the special wish for a peace with the empire only, nor delay the negotiations; and that in consequence of this, the opening of negotiations on the part of the empire was speedily expected. Frankfurt; as the place for a congress, could only be guarded by the troops of that city. It was expected that in the preliminaries, if not a total armistice, at least a discontinuance of all executions, requisitions, and destruction of the states of the empire occupied by the enemy, should be agreed upon, and also a previous declaration on the part of France, that in the expected negotiation no mention should be made of places or fortifications which at present remain unconquered. His electoral highness also wishes that in this as well as the subsequent negotiations for peace, his Majesty the King of Prussia might assist with his co-operation in these and all other proposals agreed upon, according to the constitution of the empire.

SWEDISH POMERANIA declared as follows :

Animated by the sincere attachment which his Majesty the King of Sweden feels for the interest of the Germanic empire, he has observed with sorrow the breaking out of a war which has now been carried on for three years with inexpressible disadvantage. His Majesty feels the greatest concern in thinking how much disaster might have been prevented, if, in a true estimation of affairs,

the errors of our neighbours had not been submitted to the decision of the sword, but had been left to be settled in an amicable manner betwixt the parties. A very small part of the enormous expences occasioned by this war would have been sufficient to compensate the damages sustained by some of the princes of the empire, whose injury is given as the motive for, and whose reimbursement as the object in view, by carrying on this war of the empire; a war which, in its consequences and effects, has brought devestation on those countries, and ruin and misery on the whole empire. German armies have not proved victorious, and redoubled vigour has been insufficient to regain what had been lost. A neighbouring independent state has been overpowered, and the north of Germany even exposed to the dangers of an invasion.

This was the alarming situation of the Germanic empire, when his Majesty the King of Prussia, moved by the general misery, in the course of the present year concluded a peace with France; and so opened the way to Germany to effect a pacification with that country. His Majesty the King of Sweden finding it just to acknowledge France as a Republic, hesitates not a moment to join in the above-mentioned treaty, in the quality of Duke of Pomerania, and of course to refuse on his part, all further contributions to that war of the empire.

The PRINCE BISHOP of MUNSTER declared

That he had, during this war, fulfilled in the most exact manner, all the obligations of a state of the empire; and in order to avoid all other contest, he had even refused the most advantageous treaties of subsidy, and recalled his troops, in order to make them act in concert with the army of the empire. But unexpectedly the corps of Austrian troops, who during the whole winter had been quartered in the neighbourhood of Munster, and on the opposite banks of the Lower Rhine, had all on a sudden evacuated these countries, which formerly they so gloriously defended; and then the safety of Munster was entirely owing to the speedy advancing of the Prussian troops into that country. It was only the presence of the brave Prussian troops, and the order and discipline which was observed by them during their stay at Munster, that procured to that country tranquillity, and which guaranteed it to his Electoral Highness for the future, leaving him only the most sincere wish that the same might be extended to his co-states of the empire.

SPIRES was of opinion,

That the treaty of Westphalia should become the basis of the treaty to be concluded; that France ought to be satisfied with the rights and possessions guaranteed to her by that treaty between her and the empire; he was further of opinion that no deputation from the empire should be appointed, but that his Imperial Majesty should be invested with full powers to negotiate, with this reserve,

reserve, that his Imperial Majesty should inform the diet from time to time of the progress of such negotiation.

SAXE-WEYMAR voted for the speedy setting on foot of negotiations to be directed by the Emperor, with the co-operation of Prussia.

The states of Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Eisenach, Saxe-Altenburg, Henneberg, Bamberg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Güstrow, Hohenzollern, Wetterau, the counties of Franconia and of Westphalia, have all voted for the mediation of Prussia. But the states of Passau, Liego, Kempten, Schwarzenburg, and the prelates of Suabia, have made no mention of that mediation.

The ELECTOR of BAVARIA voted in the sitting of the 17th June.

Amongst other things, it was expressed that his Imperial Majesty was to be invited in the name of the empire, formally in his own name and in that of the empire, to propose a negotiation of peace, and to procure provisionally during the negotiation, a cessation of hostilities, of requisitions, &c. in the countries of the empire at present occupied by the troops of the enemy.

His electoral Highness at the same time thinks it necessary and commendable to profit by the constitutional and kind offers made by the King of Prussia, to facilitate the conclusion of that universally desirable peace. It was necessary also, that the principal points of this future treaty of peace should be founded upon the acknowledgement of the articles of the peace of Westphalia, as well as those treaties of peace which had been concluded between the German empire and the crown of France, and to procure a just indemnity for the damages done to the states of the empire; as also a guarantee for its future security and tranquillity. And in order to offer this negotiation, a deputation from the empire shall be appointed under the superintendance of an Imperial commission.

Lübeck and Holstein-Oldenburg join the majority; Hildesheim and Paderborn agree to all propositions made in the diet.

In the sitting of the 22d of June, RATZERBURG declared,

That the manner in which the proposal for peace should be made to France, ought entirely to be left to the wisdom of his Imperial Majesty, according to the acts of the empire, but that he should negotiate in conjunction with his Prussian Majesty.

The Duke of HOLSTEIN-GLUCKSTADT and others, voted,

That the ways and means of obtaining a peace with France, be totally left to the wisdom and prudence of his Imperial Majesty, with reference at the same time to the good offices of the King of Prussia.

The KING of DENMARK declared, as Prince of the Empire,

That he would joyfully agree to any arrangements that might bring on a speedy peace with France.

In the sitting of the 26th of June, thirty-two votes were given for peace in the college of princes. In the college of electors, several votes came

came in, especially from the electors of Cologne, Brandenburg, Mayence, and the Palatinate, but several of them were re-capitulations.

All of them wish for a speedy decision of the diet, especially the elector of Cologne, who, in the sitting of the 26th, as Great Master of the Teutonic Order, made the following very serious remonstrance on the pressing necessity of a speedy peace.

His electoral Highness of Cologne observes with concern, from the proceedings of the consultations of the diet, which has lasted already above a month, and from the protocols made out in consequence of them, that some individuals do not seem seriously inclined to hasten negotiations for peace, and that it seems as if this important business, which ought to meet with no delay, would be subjected to difficulties, and protracted to an unnecessary length. The damage which this may cause will be irreparable, and must be more severely felt by those whose territories are in the hands of the enemy, who by this delay will be enabled to get in their harvest, and convey it to their own dominions. A business of such importance to the whole empire requires activity, confidence, unanimity, and the general concurrence of all parties: any deviation from this, on the contrary, will cause the most dangerous delays, confusion, and schisms, and the dissolution of the ties of all the empire; which at last, will oblige us to proceed to the measures which have before been mentioned in the declaration of Cologne on the 10th instant. With these observations, his Electoral Highness unites the most hearty wish that these ruinous consequences may be prevented in time, and will, for this reason, willingly consent to any measures which may be taken for immediate negotiation, and for avoiding all farther delays.

The Bohemian ambassador, Count Breuner, being prevented by an indisposition, could not attend the sitting on Friday the 26th of June; but being apprehensive left Mentz might issue a conclusum, he appointed the minister of Treves to protest for him in the protocol, against a too hasty conclusum. This caused a declaration on the other part, that the electoral college had thought of nothing less than to come to a conclusum; and that although it was not intended to preclude a vote of so much consequence as that of Bohemia; yet it was high time for the empire to decide.

The Elector Palatine of BAVARIA wished for a speedy decision and termination of so important an object, particularly in these dangerous circumstances.

The Elector of BRUNSWICK declared, that in conformity with the vote already given on the 8th instant, his electoral Highness does not hesitate to repeat here the proposition which so evidently will bring about the wished-for end, and is far from any private or self-interested view, except to contribute to a conclusum of the diet. His Imperial Majesty, at the same time, ought to be entreated to take the first step for the opening of negotiations tending

ing to a speedy pacification between the empire and France, and to take advantage of the assistance promised by his Majesty the King of Prussia; particularly in this respect, his electoral Highness adheres to the declarations made by the electors of Cologne and of Saxony.

The Elector of SAXONY declared the same opinion.

The Elector of BRANDENBURG referred to his declaration already inserted in the protocols of the 1st and 6th instant; repeating in the most solemn manner his most ardent wish to contribute to this business, which does not permit of the least protraction or delay, in order to draw the whole empire of Germany out of the dangerous position in which it is at present, and to insure its constitution, and its absolute integrity without the least division. His Prussian Majesty declared he would perfectly adhere to what was manifested and proposed in so patriotic a manner by the electors of Cologne and Brunswick, with respect to the acceleration of the deliberations of the diet, which have so long been protracted, and that a conclusum should be determined upon, relative to the preliminary points of the negotiation of peace.

The Elector of MENTZ declared his vote to be the same with that of Brandenburg, wishing a speedy conclusum for the preliminaries of a negotiation, stating, that the particular position of the dominions of the electorate of Mentz entitles the elector to make these proposals.

The Directory declared, since in the discussion of this object, the acceleration of which is even recommended by his Imperial Majesty himself in his decree of commission, there expired, since the day in which the proposition has been made *in circulo*, an extent of time, almost equal to that commonly destined in objects of much less importance. The Directory thinks that it fulfils its duty in manifesting in the college of the electors, its wish for the actual termination of the deliberations on so pressing a business; but particularly in furnishing a new opportunity for ulterior deliberations, which will lead to this wished-for end. However, there exists as yet no point which could induce to an entire conclusion of the deliberations, relative to the directorial proposition which has been made, to which the above declaration from the elector of Bohemia might apply.

Therefore the Directory will wait for the ulterior declarations from the illustrious ambassadors, inviting them to deliberate amongst themselves upon this subject, in the hotel of the Directory.

The Electoral Minister from Bohemia referred to the declaration inserted in the protocol, reserving to himself, however, to regulate his proceedings according to events.

The other electoral ministers accepted of the proposed conference.

Another

Another extraordinary diet was held on Wednesday the 21st of July, in which the remaining votes in the college of the princes of the empire were given.

This day is a day of the greatest moment for all Germany, for the arrival of which we have waited with the utmost solicitude. The electoral envoys went to the council before ten o'clock, and those of the princes assembled much sooner than in common, and a conclusum passed in both colleges.

On the part of the electoral college an anxiety appeared, that their conclusum should be adopted as the ground-work of the approbation of the empire: but after much conversation relative thereto, the conclusum of the princes was agreed upon as the basis of the approbation of the empire. On the relation and co-relation in the college of the towns, in which a few more votes were given to-day, an uncommon and unexpected occurrence happened, which consisted in a particular resolution on the part of the college of the towns, and from which they could not deviate, stating the necessity of their conclusum being likewise laid before his Imperial Majesty; this gave birth to many relations and co-relations, until the colleges of the towns declared their willingness to accede to the conclusum of the two superior colleges (*sub spe rati*), and thus the conclusum of the princes was received as the conclusum of the three colleges.

The Act containing the opinion of the Empire, of which, as has been already mentioned, the conclusum of the College of Princes was taken as the basis, is as follows:—

IT has been deemed necessary, and is resolved, 1. That the firm wish and determination of the empire may be directed towards obtaining, by the undivided and steady union of the different states, a general peace for the empire, agreeably to its constitution; and, in consequence, a restoration of the integrity of its territories, and its constitution, in the most speedy possible manner. That for this purpose, 2. The inclination and readiness of the empire for opening negotiations for peace, ought to be declared to France, and agreements about the time and place for a meeting of both parties entered into. That, 3. This first introduction should be left solely to the wisdom of his Imperial Majesty; he is, however, respectfully desired to forward it with the utmost speed, to appoint Frankfort as the place of Congress; or, in case any objections to this place should exist, to name any other place convenient for the purpose, to take all the measures necessary for the full security of the Congress, and to think at the same time (if it can be done conveniently without endangering the negotiations) if not an armistice, however, of discontinuing all requisitions and devastations, and to make the diet acquainted with what success these proceedings are attended. 4. That for the better gaining of this purpose, his Majesty the King,

King of Prussia may be made acquainted with the confidence and the wish of the empire, that he, according to his frequent voluntary and consolatory assurances, would assist, by his co-operation and interference, in gaining a peace which might secure the integrity and constitution of the empire. And 5. That, while his Imperial Majesty was thus occupied in taking the measures necessary for the opening negotiations, the deliberations on the remaining points of the Aulic decree should be continued, and as soon as possible the conclusion of it forwarded.

On the 1st of July, Count Gortz, the Prussian Minister, made a declaration to the Diet of Ratibom, in nearly the following words :

The King, my master, insists, that his Imperial Majesty, as chief of the empire, shall accept a peace for the Germanic States, as the French nation desires to live on a friendly footing with every other power. But if, after being informed of this, the emperor shall not give a satisfactory answer, then it is the intention of his Prussian Majesty, to take proper steps for concluding a peace between the Germanic States and the French Republic.

In consequence of this declaration, the minister of the King of Prussia has desired the minister of the Elector of Mentz to open the protocol, for the purpose of communicating this resolution of his Prussian Majesty to the Germanic body.

July 24. The protocol was opened this day, for nominating a deputation to make peace for the empire.

Magdeburg proposed a deputation of eight states, and nominated on the part of the catholics—Mentz, Austria, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order ; and if this last had not a majority, Wurtzbourg to be in his lead.

On the part of the evangelicals, or protestants—Saxony, Bremen, Wurtemburg, (and if not a majority, Baden) and the Imperial city of Frankfort ; but if the number of ten should be thought better, Bavaria and the Wetteravian counts are proposed.

His Prussian Majesty in this case willingly relinquishes his undoubted right of deputation, and declares, that in effecting a peace, for which his mediation has been desired, his principal object shall be, preserving the constitution and integrity of the empire inviolate as much as possibly depends upon him ; and that it is his most earnest wish to meet his Imperial Majesty as head of the empire, in the readiest manner, and to the best of his power to contribute in every thing for the most perfect understanding with his Imperial Majesty for promoting the negotiations of peace.

Magdeburg, among others, voted for Brunswick Wolfenbuttel.

The elector of Brunswick declared in this session, his determination to agree to the last fifty Roman months, on condition of deducting the quota on account of Bentheim ; and that his Britannic Majesty,

Majesty, as elector of Hanover, expected satisfaction for his demands on the empire, made long ago.

Near twenty more votes were given for a deputation to establish peace.

Ratification, August 6.

AT length the long expected and long wished-for ratification of the Imperial court has arrived to the Dictator of the diet, which is introductory to the blessings of peace to the empire, and is dated Vienna, 29th of July. After restoring and establishing the points contained in the acts of the empire, of the 3d of July, this important ratification states verbally, as follows :

His Imperial Majesty, above all, returns his warmest acknowledgments to the Electors, Princes, and States, for the grateful sentiments they have expressed towards his Majesty for his sincere and zealous endeavours to promote the welfare of the empire.

As chief of the Germanic body, he feels peculiar satisfaction to find, that in the second section of the advice of the empire, it has been declared to be the constant wish and firm resolution of all its members, to obtain a general peace for the empire, in an unimpaired and unalterable junction of all the States of the empire with its supreme chief, as soon as possible, in a solid and constitutional manner. It is moreover declared, that the full restitution of its territory, and security of the Germanic constitution, shall form the basis of a treaty of peace, according to the fundamental principles laid down in the advice of the empire, of 22d December last year, and approved of by his Majesty, with respect to the attainment of a reasonable, just, and honourable peace.

This desire and resolution, (for according to the fundamental laws of the German constitution, in all matters concerning a peace or war of the empire, its supreme chief can neither be separated from its members, nor the latter from the former) is the true and praiseworthy expression of constitutional, generous, and patriotic sentiments, and the constitution of Germany may still subsist for a long series of years, if the Electors, Princes, and States, sensible of their duty, and animated by patriotism and public spirit, remain faithful to the sentiments thus solemnly declared.

His Majesty having frequently proved, and but very lately declared in the court-decree of the 10th of May, his inviolable attachment to the German constitution, and his ardent zeal for the preservation of all its parts, rights, and members, it would be in open contradiction with his own declarations and actions, if he did not readily and fully approve and ratify the aforesaid second section, which so perfectly agrees with his paternal sentiments and duties, as chief of the empire.

His

His Imperial Majesty farther declares, that he is ready to take upon himself the required first introduction of pacificatory negotiations, which, as far as it relates to the place where the congress is to be held, has been entirely left to his Imperial Majesty's own judgment and discretion. In order as much as possible to accelerate the conclusum of a peace to the empire, pursuant to the wish of the diet, his Imperial Majesty, in his quality as chief of the Germanic body, has for this purpose already taken the necessary steps, of the result of which he will not fail in due time to inform the diet, as well as the place where the negotiations for peace are to be carried on.

The question, Whether, without any prejudice to the future negotiations of peace, it will be possible to obtain an armistice, can hardly be decided before the said negotiations are actually set on foot; and in pursuance of the Imperial decree, concerning the advice of the empire of the 22d of December, a probable prospect opens to obtain a reasonable, just, and honourable peace; whence, and indeed in every possible case, there arises the cruel necessity, that the Electors, Princes, and States, conformably to their duty and their own declarations, do not neglect, but persist in their united and constitutional means of defence, until Germany has obtained the blessings of a general peace for the empire.

Meanwhile, the diet may rest assured, that if his Imperial Majesty should be able, on behalf of suffering humanity, to obtain from the present rulers of France, who seem to have adopted more moderate sentiments, a modification or temporary pause of hostile requisitions and devastations, he will not fail to make, for that purpose, the necessary proposals.

As to the rest, his Imperial Majesty is of opinion, that hitherto no political relations exist, which urge the necessity of accepting a mediator, although clothed with all the necessary requisites in point of skill, prudence, sincerity, and impartiality; nor does his Majesty see the necessity of accepting the mediation of a third person.

If the German empire, the first in point of rank, and mighty and powerful in its chief and its members, is with true German spirit united for a grand and momentous purpose, there is no doubt but it possesses sufficient authority and power to obtain a reasonable, just, and honourable peace. But as the diet, according to the plurality of votes, finds a peculiar satisfaction in seeing his Majesty, the King of Prussia, co-operate for that purpose, his Imperial Majesty—provided, however, that it does not tend to the prejudice either of the immediate negotiations for peace between the supreme chief of the empire, the deputed States, and the deputies of France, or of the constitutional proceedings in all other respects, readily complies with the States of the empire, and under this *proviso* consents that his Prussian Majesty, according to his own repeated vo-

luntary offers, may on his part employ his good offices with France to obtain, on the basis agreed and determined upon, a peace for the empire, which restores its integrity, and secures its constitution.

Lastly, his Majesty repeats once more the declaration set forth in the Imperial court decree of the 10th of May, which cannot be too often repeated, viz. that the political importance of Germany rests on the close and happy union between the Supreme Chief of the empire, and the Electors, Princes, and States; and its welfare depends on the inviolability of its fundamental laws. These ought to guide the chief, as well as the members.

His Majesty, who not only in virtue of his Imperial office, but also by a solemn compact between him and the electors, is charged with the administration of justice, is therefore obliged, by open and lawful means, to protect the constitution against all unconstitutional proceedings; lest the like proceedings might in future times be supposed to contain a tacit abrogation of laws, which are of the greatest importance for the safety and welfare of the German empire.

August 16. The Electors of Saxony and Brunswick delivered the day before yesterday their suffrages, in a manner entirely conformable: there is in the mean time an appearance, that the deliberation on the object of the deputation which has continued so long a time, approaches at length to its entire termination in the college of Electors and Princes: only it appears that the Imperial cities, in case of a non-reunion with its colleges, will renew, in the same manner, as on the 3d of July this year, some movements. Then the relation and co-relation will take place, which was urged so strongly on the maintaining of their own proper conclusum.

August 18. In the sitting of the diet the day before yesterday, Salzburg, which has united itself to the other episcopal ambassadors, made a proposal in the college of Princes, to unite to the deputation an ecclesiastical state, in consideration of its episcopal rights; in consequence of which, the Elector of Cologne, in quality of grand master of the Teutonic Order, and also as Bishop of Munster, was elected by a plurality of voices to co-operate with the States of the empire. The plurality of voices in the college of cities is for twelve deputies, agreeably to the suffrage declared by Austria.

August 24. On the 21st instant, the point concerning the number and election of deputies was brought to a conclusion; when the majority of votes was found to be in favour of the number of ten deputies. A difference which arose between the grand master of the Teutonic Order and Wurtzburgh, on account of being both elected deputies by a parity of votes, having been done away by the former giving

giving up his claim, the project of the *conclusum* was read by the directory of the diet, according to which the following States are elected deputies of the empire :—

Of the electoral college, Mentz and Saxony.

Of the college of princes, Austria, Bavaria, Hesse-Darmstadt, Wurtzburgh, Baden.

Of the college of the Imperial cities, Augsburgh and Frankfort.

As the *conclusum* of the electoral college was found perfectly to agree with that of the college of princes, the college of the Imperial cities, which at first insisted on the number of twelve deputies, and the addition of two States from among the counts of Wettaravia and the prelates of Swabia, at length acceded to the same ; the former *conclusum* is to be made the basis of the advice of the empire concerning the deputies for the negotiations of peace, which will be published, or, as the phrase is, dictated to-morrow, and is in substance the same as the said *conclusum*.

For the rest, the diet continues to deliberate on the subject of peace, and several memoirs have been lately presented by Salm-Braumefels, Hesse-Rheinfelds, Prince-Bishop of Basle, and other states, insisting on the full restitution of the territories and revenues occupied and seized on by the French.

The credentials of the Chevalier Walpole, the new English envoy, were made public on the 21st by a decree of the empire.

September 11.

The deliberations of the diet are now confined to the instructions and plenipotentiary powers to be given to the deputies for negotiating peace.

Wurtzburgh, in order to prevent prolonging the business by formalities, has proposed that the treaty of Westphalia shall be the basis, and that an indemnification for losses be proposed; but it is not likely that even on these points the discussions will soon be finished.

September 18.

Count de Goertz, the comital envoy of Brandenburg now here, has presented a memorial to the diet, in which he declares, in the name of his master, that his Majesty, as a preparatory step towards obtaining a peace, had not the most distant idea of interfering in any manner, without the concurrence of either the head of the empire, or his co-estates, in the overtures for a negotiation, and that he had caused his minister de Hardenberg, to deliver a note relative thereto to the French plenipotentiary Barthelemy.—That his Majesty, however, sees with grief, that the end of these overtures, although grounded upon the purest intentions and wishes of his Majesty, has not answered his patriotic expectations, and thinks it in no wise necessary to represent to his several high co-estates,

that the necessity and indispensability of effectual overtures of peace to be made to France, becomes from day to day more pressing, and that the main object of procuring security and tranquillity to the empire cannot be obtained, except by a full good understanding, and speedy measures in regard to the pacification.

In this situation, nothing more essential remains for his Majesty to do, before the actual overtures for peace be made by the empire, under the direction of its august head, but simply to await the issue of the said negotiations, although with the most lively wish for its success, in accelerating their salutary work.

His Majesty, having at all times given the most lively and undeniable proofs, in most perfect harmony with the Empress, of his activity in every thing that is conducive to the weal and salvation of the German empire, wishes hereby to repeat his assurances, that so far from wishing to withdraw his anxious mediation and co-operation in favour of the empire in general, and his several co-estates in particular, he will contribute, agreeably to the expression contained in the high Imperial decree of ratification, on his part, every thing to the utmost of his power, which may appear of any effect and use in alleviating the miseries of the whole empire and its oppressed states, if even the continuation of hostilities should render the danger still more pressing and considerable, in the manner stated in his declaration of the 1st of July of the present year.

His Majesty, though always willing to interfere with his mediation and co-operation, will, notwithstanding, think it below his dignity to tender them in a manner in which, agreeably to the political situation of affairs, they might not be considered as necessary, adviseable, or useful.—His Majesty will, nevertheless, make the maxim hereby declared, an absolute rule for the future measures to be taken by him, and at least enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of having done every thing possible to obtain for the German empire the blessings of peace.

(Signed) J. EUSTACH, Count de SCHLITZ, called
GORRTZ, electoral plenipotentiary minister of Brandenburg, in the diet.

Ratisbon, Sept. 15, 1795.

In this day's diet, numbers of states voted again. Bavaria repeatedly insisted on the acceleration of peace.

September 28.

This day the Elector of Brunswick voted in the two colleges. The Count de Lerchenfeld, minister of the Elector Palatine, communicated to the diet the treaty of neutrality concluded between his court and France.

The

- October 5.

The Elector of Mentz, in the last assembly of the diet, gave the following notice into the protocol :—“ That on account of the gloomy and dismal fate which has befallen the countries on the right banks of the Rhine, he thought it his duty to add to his former vote, that, in the advice of the empire next to be made, the extreme danger of the empire may be most pressingly represented to his Imperial Majesty ; on which account, it becomes indispensably necessary ultimately to open, in the shortest possible manner, the negotiations of peace with France with effect, before other disastrous occurrences take place. The Elector of Mentz looks upon this as his duty, as arch-chancellor of the empire ; and, at the same time, as the only means to establish a mutual co-operation of all the States of the empire, in carrying into effect a general peace of the empire. The Elector declares his readiness in regard to this, immediately to send his plenipotentiary minister to Basle, or to any other place, in order to agree in the most speedy manner, and that it will only depend on the same and the like co-operation of his Imperial Majesty, and the rest of the deputed states.

Even the Elector of Cologne again made mention of his most pressing wish, that, on account of the unrestrained progress of the French armies, the negotiations may be entered upon with all possible expedition, and accomplished by setting aside all impediments, and by preventing all the injuries occasioned by procrastination. The same declaration was made by Palatine Deux-Ponts, and many other states. The Elector of Brunswick declared, that the *status quo*, as at the beginning of hostilities, ought to serve as the basis of the peace between France and the empire, in such a manner, that even the adjustment of the existing contest, and the formal limitation of the confines of the German empire, may be expressly stipulated and reserved for future friendly treaties ; and that this *status quo* ought, on the part of the empire, to be insisted upon.

Mecklenburgh Schwerin required, at the restoration of peace, two canonical prebends, of which she had been dispossessed at Strasburg.

October 8.

There was an extraordinary diet yesterday, in which conclusa were passed upon the last points of the concerns of peace, and, much as the Austrian envoy wished the princes' conclusum to be received as the basis, the electoral conclusum was adopted as the ground-work for the approbation of the empire. The college of the Imperial towns assented to the conclusum of the two superior colleges. The supplements of the approbation of the

the empire contains the general full power of the empire, its special full power, the instructions of the empire, &c. In the approbation of the empire itself, the princely vote of Worms of the 10th July is the principal ground-work.

With regard to the general special full power, the type of 1697, has been adopted as a precedent, and with regard to peace, a motion has been made for restoring the *status quo* before the war.

OCTOBER 12.

The approval of the empire in regard to the deputation of treating of peace for the empire consists of three sections. In the first, the general and special full power of the states, named for the deputation, is specified. In the second, a formal instruction is laid before the Emperor for his approbation; and in the third, the plan of the sessions is fixed. The special full power has a reference to the restitution and a satisfaction for losses sustained by the empire. The second section says, the empire has given no cause for the present war, but that France has prejudiced the empire, &c. Germany had simply endeavoured to preserve its unity, for which purpose overtures of peace have already been made on her part. Afterwards the instructions follow. It is therein, amongst other things, said, that if any objections should arise with regard to the outward form, the deputies are to endeavour to remove them by amicable concessions; the resolutions of the deputation are to be deemed conclusive, whenever two thirds of its members are assembled; these resolutions are to be delivered to the Imperial deputies; these, if required, may make their minutes and return them to the general deputation, in a manner that every thing may be treated *communicato consilio*; the Imperial plenipotentiaries are not to treat upon, nor act on any one matter, without the concurrence of the deputation of the empire. Each State interested in the present war, is at liberty to send its own deputies, who, however, must previously be qualified by the Elector of Mentz; and their full powers must be drawn in a manner as to make the connection with the system of the empire evident. The general deputation are, in the best possible manner, to be attentive to the interest of their particular plenipotentiaries, and to do nothing without subjecting it to an appeal. They are particularly charged, during the negotiation, to cause restitution to be made to the oppressed States of the empire, in a more especial manner of the equestrian order, as well as to procure the liberty of such of the German princes, who as hostages have been led into French captivity. The deputation are, during the congress, to give, from time to time, an account to the diet of the situation of affairs. Lastly, in the third section the plan of the session is sculed, according to which, 1st, the directorial table is ordered; 2d, the deputies of the empire themselves to sit upon chairs,

chairs, not before the table; 3d, the particular plenipotentiaries are not to be seated behind the table.

On the part of the Elector of Saxony, not the minister Count de Loeben, but the chancellor, the Baron de Burgsdorf, will make his appearance at the deputation of the empire, in quality of sub-delegate. On the part of the Elector of Hanover (or rather of that of Bremen), either Baron de Ompfsda, envoy to the diet, or the Count de Hardenberg, ambassador to the Imperial court, will be named. Two professors of Gottingen, viz. Martens and De Berg (or Luste) will be added.

November 1.

In hopes of receiving the Emperor's approbation, an unanimous resolution passed in the three colleges of the diet, on the 26th ult. upon General Clerfayes missive to the diet, to the following effect :

I. That the States of the empire be pressingly invited forthwith to pay their arrears due to the chest of operations of the empire, without exception or loss of time.

II. That, in order to effect this, the office of cashier to the empire do make an exact account of all the arrears due by each state, and to lay the same before the diet in six weeks time.

III. That full confidence will be reposed in the patriotic sentiments of the respective States, that they will in the present instance make valid, liquidate, and pay into the chest of operations of the empire, not by compensation and other pretensions, but by paying the arrears of the contributions of the Roman months, more especially of the fifty agreed on last.

IV. That, on the part of the empire, it ought to be taken into the most serious consideration, not only to co-operate in obtaining the liquidation of those demands, but, in general, that ways and means be found for the easiest method of procuring the requisites for the chest of operation of the empire.

November 27.

The decree of ratification of the Imperial court upon the approbation of the empire of the 7th of October, respecting a peace with France, came this day under the consideration of the diet, and its contents are very remarkable: it begins with a retrospect of the origin and progress of the hostile acts committed by the French against Germany; of the different offences against the rights of nations; and of the laudable object of the war, which was forced upon the empire, and undertaken in conformity to the decrees of the diet.

After this are enumerated the approbation of the empire of the 22d of December, 1794, as well as the several approbations of the empire of the 3d of July, 21st of August, and 17th of October, all produced or occasioned by the Imperial court decree of the 19th

29th of May last, namely, that the empire sincerely wished and desired the return of peace, expressed in all the several approbations directed to his Imperial Majesty, under the condition only of its being a just and honourable peace, founded upon the indivisibility of the empire, and the preservation of the constitution.

It proceeds : " His Imperial Majesty finds in this declaration, containing the basis of a peace, principles agreeable to the maxims laid down, by a patriotic acquiescence, and in those maxims so near a consonance with his own ideas, of the duty which, as head of the empire, he took upon him on the capitulation of his election, as to make no manner of objection in giving his consent to the said approbation of the empire, in the alledged measure, as well as the formula prescribed." His Imperial Majesty, continues this decree, has necessarily retarded the communication of his resolution upon the last approbation of the empire until now, for no other reasons, than previously to learn in what manner the French government had received the overtures of peace made to them in the name of the empire, in the month of July, and of which an account had only arrived at Vienna on the first of October last.

That the proposal made to France, as well as the answer of the committee of public welfare itself upon it, shall be immediately laid before the diet, from the contents of which it will evidently appear, that France is disinclined to meet the German empire in putting a period to a war forced upon it ; and its invariable resolution to enter upon no negotiation whatever with the German empire for the present.

That the French declaration evidently proves, that France had an intention of protracting the war until she thought herself enabled to lay before the German empire for signature, the conditions of peace in a dictatorial manner, to the eternal disgrace of the German name, which intention is undeniably confirmed by speeches delivered in the National Convention by Roberjot and others, concerning the union of Belgium with France, the incorporation actually decreed thereupon of the Burgundian, and a great part of the Westphalian circle of the empire ; and lastly, by the French army crossing the Rhine, by which masterpiece, their further intentions upon the union of the whole of the left shore of the Rhine with France, and the fixing of the course of that river as their boundaries, were to have been enforced and established.

That in the mean time, under the protection of the Almighty, the victorious arms of his Imperial Majesty, according to his deliberate command, " of hazarding every thing for the salvation of Germany," the plans of the enemy have most happily been defeated, and Germany fortunately saved from a crisis abounding with the greatest danger.

That

That the victories obtained by Field-Marshal Count de Clairfayt, by which the mortal blow aimed at Germany had been prevented, irrefragably prove, that the enemy, although superior in numbers, and their armies protected by the most tremendous entrenchments, are not invincible to German courage, and the German arts of war.

That nothing remains, therefore, according to the peculiar conclusum of the empire, and the nature of affairs, but to force and accelerate a just and equitable peace, equally and earnestly desired by the head, as well as the states of the empire, with sword in hand ; to perform which act, his Imperial Majesty calls upon the whole empire, in the name of their country and constitution, in the name of all the states deprived of their dominions, and upon the rest of the members of the empire, in the most pressing manner, to chuse between the dismemberment and the preservation of the empire ; between its convulsion and its tranquillity ; between its dissolution and its security ; between its ignominy and its honour.

December 7.

In consequence of the conclusum of the diet, with respect to peace, empowering the head of the empire to make the first overtures, his Imperial Majesty applied to the court of Denmark ; the vice-chancellor of the empire transmitted to M. St. Saphoren, ambassador of his Danish Majesty at Vienna, a note dated the 25th July 1795, in which he informed him of the resolution of the diet, and of the wishes of his Imperial Majesty, officially requesting his interference ; in a subsequent note (the 31st July) the vice-chancellor communicated to the ambassador the decree of the imperial commission issued with respect to the conclusum of the diet.

The court of Denmark having agreed to this step desired by his Imperial Majesty, the following notes were in consequence written.

Note of the Count de Bernstorff, Minister of State of his Danish Majesty.

THE wish of the empire to effect a general and constitutional peace with France is well known, and likewise the grounds on which they are desirous it should be negotiated. For this purpose they have unanimously addressed the Emperor to entreat him to take charge of the negotiation.

His Imperial Majesty readily consented ; and as the interests of the empire are inseparable from those of its head, they consider his interests are equally united with those of the states of the empire.

In order to come to an understanding with France, his Imperial Majesty thought the most natural way was to apply to some neutral

neutral power, attached to the pacific system, and requested the King of Denmark to take upon himself the task, and transmit to the National Convention his wish that a congress might take place, where the ministers of the two parties at war might assemble, in order to treat and settle upon the terms of peace; and his Imperial Majesty proposes for that purpose the city of Augsbourg (the security of which will be guaranteed) as that which, from its geographical situation, appears to him the most eligible.

He subjoins a wish that France would come to an explanation on the subject, as soon as its importance, and the benevolent intention of the proposition seem to demand, and likewise, that the inhabitants of the countries occupied by the contending powers may feel the advantages of the first advances towards peace, in order, at least, during the continuance of the negotiations to be exempted from military requisitions, and from other evils inseparable from a state of actual hostilities.

His Danish Majesty has listened with pleasure to his request. He transmits with confidence this proposition of his Imperial Majesty, made in his capacity as head of the empire, and accompanies it with all the fervour which can be inspired by the most ardent desire to see humanity consoled by the return of peace.

Copenhagen, Aug. 18, 1795. A. P. de BERNSTORFF.

Answer of the Committee of Public Safety of France to the Note of M. de Bernstorff.

The Emperor having requested to the King of Denmark to intimate to the French government his wish relative to a negotiation, in order to treat in the name of the empire for peace with the French Republic, his Danish Majesty has transmitted by the Count de Bernstorff to the under-signed a ministerial note, dated the 18th August (old style) which contains the propositions of the Emperor, not only for the formation of a congress to be held in the city of Augsbourg, but even for a previous suspension of hostilities in favour of those countries of the empire occupied or menaced by the armies of the Republic.

The committee of public safety of the National Convention having the direction of the exterior relations, in answer to the above note, have ordered the undersigned to declare to Count de Bernstorff,

That the Republic will not consent to the proposed truce; that the French government will take no steps to appoint a congress till peace be completed. The only questions will be to regulate and secure all its advantages to those powers, who have taken a share in this cruel war.

The committee of public safety are of opinion that a congress cannot properly have any other object: On that account they remain invariable in their resolution, which, appearing likewise

to be the best calculated to put a speedy end to the calamities of war, cannot but be conformable to the wishes of the whole empire, and particularly to the principles professed by the Danish government.

*Copenhagen, 21 Vendemiaire (Oct. 13) 4th year
of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.*

PH. GROUVELLE.

The following Report on the Death of the Dauphin was presented on the 9th of June, 1795, from the Committee of General Safety, by Sevestre.

FOR some time the son of Capet was ill of a swelling in his right knee and in his left hand. He lost his appetite, and a fever seized him. The celebrated Dessault, the surgeon, was appointed to see and attend him. His probity and his talents were a sufficient pledge to us that he would neglect none of those duties, which humanity demands from us. Nevertheless the disorder increased, and began to assume a more serious aspect. On the 16th Prairial, Dessault died. We immediately appointed the Citizen Pelletan, a physician of acknowledged ability, and the Citizen Demanger, head surgeon of the hospital of Health, to attend the boy.

The bulletin of yesterday, at eleven o'clock, announced very dangerous symptoms, and at half past two o'clock in the afternoon we received an account of the death of the son of Capet. The committee of general safety have directed me to communicate this event to you, and to move that the proces verbaux, which I hold in my hand, shall be deposited in the national archives. Decreed.

Report on the Chouans, presented by Doulcet, from the Committee of Public Safety, on the 16th of June.

THE convention, by recalling into the bosom of the Republic the inhabitants of the departments of the west that have been misled, had a right to rely upon their fidelity; this hope has not been fulfilled; and it appears that a part of the chiefs of the Chouans consented to the pacification only for the purpose of weaving more secretly and surely new hostile projects; but the genius of liberty was awake, and discovered to us the correspondence which they had entered into with the English; on the one part the traitors stopped the communications between the country and the towns; and on the other they gave intelligence to the English, who by these means intercepted our convoys. It is easy to presume that they were not strangers to the commotion of the 1st Prairial; they kept themselves in readiness to profit of it; the chiefs have been taken up; but we must put weak men upon

their guard against the perfidious system of the emissaries of the chiefs ; and we must also display such an imposing appearance as is necessary to repress the seditious.

I am directed to propose, that,

1. The Deputies Mathieu, Guernot, and Bodin, shall be sent to the armies of the coasts of Brest and Cherbourg, and to the surrounding departments.

2. That the committee of public safety shall be empowered to give to these representatives the necessary instructions. Decreed.

Proclamation of General Hoche to the Army and Inhabitants on the Coasts contiguous to Brest.

YOUR courage, my fellow-citizens, is no longer fettered ; you have it in your power to humble those enemies who have insulted and worn out your patience, and who have contemned the national clemency. You meet these infamous, dispirited, and but half men. The Chouan chiefs have violated the oath of submission and allegiance to the French Republic. Heaven, the avenger of crimes, has granted that the object of their machinations should be frustrated. They have been frustrated. March, Frenchmen, at the word of command, with your wonted courage, against the hordes of rebels ; disperse and disarm them ; but be not lavish of their blood, for too much has already been spilt. Let your conduct inspire the rebels and robbers with consternation, and the peaceful citizens with confidence in your protection.

Credulous and deluded peasants, view the abyss of calamity to which those perfidious chiefs have conducted you, and to whom many of you furnished an asylum, and divided with them that morsel you earned with the sweat of your brow for the support of your families. Mark how they sport with the most sacred of all obligations, the solemnity of an oath ! How they impose upon your simplicity ! How they have blasted your hopes ! These ambitious chiefs delight in rapine and murder, and you can have no difficulty in detecting their selfish and sanguinary principles. They carried on a traitorous correspondence with the English your natural enemies. They brought down upon your head the scourge of a disastrous war. They delineated to the English the weaker parts of our coasts, where, by eluding the vigilance of our troops, they might make a descent and invasion on our country.

They contracted with the English for your possessions, your liberty, and your lives, and had even received money in advance for them. Through the medium of England they hoped to enslave you, and to bend your necks under the yoke of feudalism from which you were emancipated at the dawn of the revolution.

tion. The schemes of these perfidious wretches are disconcerted, and they have fallen into the snare which they were preparing for you.

The English shall be repulsed wherever they may present themselves. It is time that these countries should be purged of the ferocious assassins that insult them.

Early June.

LAZARE HOCHÉ.

Proclamation of the Representative of the People, delegated to the Naval Forces of the Mediterranean, and charged with the general Inspection of the Forts, to the Sailors of the Republic.

Toulon Roads, 8 Prairial, 3d year
of the French Republic.

CITIZENS, the paternal exhortation which I had addressed to you at different times, appeared to have made upon your minds the impression I desired. You had sworn to conquer or to die. Ready to put to sea, and almost certain of victory, by the manœuvres of abandoned men, you were stopped at the outset of your brilliant career. Some of you listened to the perfidious suggestion of the agents of England in preference to salutary counsels—to the positive orders of your officers and your representatives. Learn that the fault which you have committed is of the most heinous nature. The eyes of all France were turned upon you. Your country reckoned upon the services which you were about to render her ; she founded all her hopes upon your valour ; you alone could restore plenty to the south, and your criminal practices expose it to famine. Have you renounced then all your past glory—all that which you had promised to reap under the colours presented to you by the National Convention ? No ! you will not cover yourselves with an eternal ignominy ; you will not become the opprobrium of a nation, and prefer the death of conspirators to that of heroes. By a sincere repentance you will return to your duty ; I am sure of it. Reckon, in your turn, upon the paternal goodness of the Convention ; it will receive you as children, misled by the most cunning perfidy. Return, then, in twenty-four hours to your respective ships, and let us advance, without the loss of a moment, to meet the enemy. Those among you, who have been criminal, will expiate their faults by prodigies of valour ; and those who have remained faithful will continue to deserve well of their country. Have confidence in the word of your representative. Pardon to all sailors who shall return to their post within the time fixed, and the most rigorous severity against those who shall persist in their crimes.

(Signed)

Niou.

The

The following Letter gives an Account of the Reasons advanced by the Chouans for continuing the War, notwithstanding the Treaty that had been concluded with the Republicans.

Normandy, June 29.

IN order to form an opinion on the present rupture between the royalists in Brittany and the republicans, it is necessary to know the terms of the late treaty of Mobilay. According to this treaty, all the Chouans, emigrated as well as not emigrated, were to be reinstated in the full possession of their property ; a military committee, composed of the principal chiefs of the royalists, was to be appointed and established in a certain place ; ambulatory committees, consisting of the most respectable inhabitants, and charged with maintaining tranquillity and order, and enforcing the execution of the treaty, were to be erected in every department which had taken part in the insurrection. These committees were to correspond with the above general committee, and to have at their disposal a small armed force, composed of the bravest and most faithful Chouans, and commanded by chiefs chosen by the committees. These corps wore grey uniforms, with red cuffs and facings ; were equipped, fed, and paid, at the expence of the Republic, and especially charged with the police of the flat country. The national guards, known under the name of the blue coats, from the colour of their uniforms, were destined to form the garrisons of the towns. As the peasants could not abide the republican uniform, these troops were not fit for the country.

All the priests were also to be allowed to come forth from their prisons and retreats to perform divine service ; all young men of the requisitions should have liberty to return home, and not be forced to march to the frontiers, or to enlist in republican regiments. It is also affirmed, that by a secret article it was stipulated to re-establish the son of Louis XVI. on the throne of his fore-fathers, or at least to place him at the head of the nation under some other title. To entertain this idea in all the revolted provinces was even necessary, in order to reconcile the peasants, who are warmly attached to royalty, with the other stipulations of the treaty.

So uncommon an organization of two different forms of government in the same state, could not but beget quarrels. The chiefs of the Chouans were informed, that troops had received orders to march for Brittany ; that, in open violation of the treaty, requisitions of corn, forage, &c. had been set on foot again ; that several Chouans had been ill-treated, shot, and thrown into goal ; and that murders and pillage were caused to be committed by disaffected persons, for the purpose of laying them at the door of the Chouans. Moreover, the representatives of the people published

lished an ordinance; which altered the uniform of the Chouan troops, and ordered a corps of foot chasseurs to be organized in the very face of the aforesaid treaty. The chiefs complained of these proceedings to the directory of the department of Ille and Vilaine, which promised redress, but left this promise unfulfilled.

On the other hand, the republicans reproached the chiefs of the Chouans with having exercised acts of sovereignty, with having agreed to a peace with no other intention but to enable themselves to re-commence the war, and to gain the necessary time to form a coalition with the royalists of the other departments, and to receive reinforcements from Great Britain.

In this state of affairs the representatives came to a resolution to arrest all the chiefs of the Chouans. To carry this project into effect, all the chiefs were invited to a grand dinner by the representative Bollet, on a pretence to settle, in a friendly manner, all the subsisting differences, and to concert the best means of establishing harmony and concord. Several of the royalist chiefs suspected the snare, and declined the invitation; a few others accepted it, and were arrested on leaving Bollet. The same day several corps of the Chouans were surprised at Aurai, Grand-champ, and other different places, and consequently suffered some loss. It is in this manner that we are again plunged into all the horrors of a civil war.

Proclamation, in the Name of the French People, Tousent, Brue, Guerzno, and Guermeur, Representatives of the People on the Coasts of Brest and Cherbourg, and in the neighbouring Departments, and at the Ports of Brest and L'Orient.

THE territory of liberty has been violated by its most mortal enemies. The republicans and they are in the presence of each other in the attitude of combat. It is necessary that known colours should distinguish, in a manner impossible to be mistaken, those who have resolved to fight for that liberty, from those who have formed the vain design of destroying it. The conspirators, on the one hand, from the friends of the rights of man on the other. A line of demarkation was never more necessary between them.—Never was it more necessary that the stamp of ignominy, imprinted on the front of rebels, should blush before civic heads, shaded with the splendid laurels of patriotism.—Never was it more essential that those who poison the public spirit in the country, should not there continue their moral ravages, which flow from various corrupted opinions, all leading to the subversion of government. Never, in short, had good men more need of close union and concert in their meditations and their conduct. From these considerations we have passed the following regulations:

Article

Article I. All the suspected persons who have retired to the rural communes, shall be recalled to the chief places of the districts, and declared in a state of being watched, if there are not grounds for their imprisonment.

II. The administrations of the districts are charged with the execution of this regulation, and are enjoined to proceed to it with circumspection, exactness, and celerity.

III. The laws, concerning the wearing of the three-coloured cockade, as well by men as women, shall be again put in execution, and whoever shall disobey them, shall be arrested and punished in conformity to the disposition of the laws.

IV. The constituted authorities, and particularly the municipal officers and the commanders of posts, are charged with the execution of the preceding articles, always remembering to treat with less severity, error, and forgetfulness, when persons are not charged with bad intention.

The present proclamation shall be sent to the administrators of departments, and commanders in chief, printed, read, published, and posted up wherever it is necessary.

In the Name of the French People.—Brue, Topsent, Guezno, and Guermeur, Representatives of the People, to the Armies, &c.

THE intelligence which it is natural to presume must exist between the enemies who have invaded the French territory, and the relations of those who have fled their country, only to return into it with fire and sword, compels us to decree as follows :

Article I. The fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, and children of emigrants, shall be immediately imprisoned, and conducted to forts and fortified places, therein to be detained as hostages.

II. The administrators of the departments and districts are charged with the execution of the preceding article, and they may make such exceptions to it they think fit.

III. The non-juring priests, whose liberty has been lately restored, and who may be suspected of not having sincerely made the declaration to live in submission to the laws, and faithful to the Republic, shall be arrested and imprisoned as above.

IV. The prisoners of war, either English or of other nations, with whom peace is not concluded, who were at liberty upon their parole, or otherwise, shall be again imprisoned.

The present proclamation shall be addressed to the departments, who shall transmit them officially to the administrators of the districts. Both are charged to watch over its execution in such a man-

a manner as to reconcile humanity with the severity of those precautions which the public safety requires.

(Signed)

*At l'Orient, 9 Messidor,
the third year of the Republic.*

GUERMEUR,
GUEZNO,
TOSENT,
BRUE.

Arrêt of the Committee of Public Safety, ordered on the 27th of June; stuck up in the Departments of the West.

THE committee of public safety having observed that the pacification made in La Vendée, and with the Chouans, has not produced in those departments the happy effects which the Republic had a right to expect from it ; that in many places the brigands had chosen new chiefs in the place of those who had treated ; that various attempts to decoy the republican troops continue to be made ; that their supply of provisions, and that of many of the great communes, have been obstructed ; that the brigands have even penetrated into the districts and communes, where they continue to shew that warlike disposition so contrary to the pacific intentions they had manifested ; that the system of pillage and devastation has not ceased, and many Frenchmen have fallen victims to their too great confidence in the pacification, considering also that distrust on one side, and want of confidence on the other, have tended to prolong that system of disorder ; but, that at the moment the convention wishes that its engagements be punctually executed, it cannot suffer that any outrage should be made on the law, or any attack against the security of persons or property, publish the following arrêt :

The arrêt enforces the observance of the treaty concluded with the Chouans ; declares all assemblies of armed or unarmed men, without requisition, to be illegal ; and considers the wearing of the white cockade as a counter revolutionary mark ; and orders the revolted chiefs and Chouans to be prosecuted and punished.

The Manifesto of General Charette, on renewing Hostilities with the French Convention.

THE moment is come to tear aside the veil which has but too long concealed the true and secret causes of the treaty of peace of La Vendee ; and to acquaint the brave Vendéans, all good Frenchmen, and all Europe, of the motives by which we were led to this apparent conciliation with the self-named French Re-

public. After a two year's cruel and bloody civil war, carried on in a manner unparalleled in the annals even of the most barbarous ages, loaded, as it were, with the whole weight of the misfortunes of the people, whose support and chiefs we were, we could not but wish to obtain for them, if not a definitive and solid peace, which was impossible, at least a short relief for the disasters we had witnessed. Our sensibility and humanity led us, even against the wish of the people, unfortunate, yet proud and prodigal of their blood, to procure for them repose which they were unwilling to accept.

Deputies from the convention were sent to us.—Canclaux, the commanding general of the republican armies, and Ruelle, representative of the people, presented themselves to us with a semblance of good faith, sensibility, and humanity, and made proposals of peace. They were informed of the causes and motives which induced us to arm ; they knew our constant love for the unfortunate offspring of our kings, and our inviolable attachment to the religion of our forefathers. They decoyed us into several secret conferences. "Your wishes shall be fulfilled, they said ; we agree with you in opinion ; our dearest hopes are the same as your's ; no longer separate yourselves from us, but exert yourselves in concert with us, and within six months at most all your wishes shall be granted, and Louis XVII. be seated on the throne. We will cause all the Jacobins and Maratists to be arrested and removed, and monarchy shall be established on the ruins of popular anarchy. To the glory already required, you will add the distinguished honour of having, in a direct and active manner, co-operated to bring about this fortunate change, and to restore the happiness of your country, as well as of all the other provinces of France."

In order to evince the sincerity of their intention, other representatives, Morisson, Gaudin, Delaunay, and others, assured us, in several conferences, at which we thought ought ourselves obliged to assist, that the whole convention was of the same sentiments, but that prudence made it necessary to act with circumspection, and not to fly in the face of the public opinion, but by little and little to prepare and bring on the new order of things.

The more to convince you of the sincerity of our professions, (they observed) we allow you to retain your arms. No kind of hostilities shall be exercised against you and your country. In appearance, you will organize your military force, under the name of *territorial guards* ; but, in fact, it will remain the same. We promise even to deliver into your hands, some of the criminals who have pillaged and desolated your unfortunate country ; and supply you with powder and all other ammunition you may want, &c.

Joy began now to revive in our bosom. We felt that we were Frenchmen, and conceived the blissful moment to draw nigh, when tranquillity should be fully restored to this unfortunate country,

part

part of which had yet been spared from the flames and the assassin's dagger : and we agreed, although with the utmost reluctance, to those external demonstrations which were demanded of us : we overcame our reluctance, and appeased the cravings of revenge. From the same motives, the chiefs of the insurgents of Brittany, Anjou, Normandy, Poche, Maine, and other provinces, known by the name of *Chouans*, followed our example, and made the same sacrifices of their self-love and glory.

The mild, pacific, and kind treatment the Vendeans met with on the part of the republicans, increased our hopes. The former thought themselves happy in finding the cities open to them to procure provisions, which the unfortunate inhabitants of those towns stood in need of. Our credulity was still more heightened by Can-claux, Ruelle, Morisson, and Gaudin, sending us the promised powder and ammunition, and delivering to us, with the utmost care and circumspection, such soldiers as they thought fit to give up as victims to the just resentment of a people enraged by their excesses.

But how great was our astonishment, or rather our indignation, when we found our confidence abused, and our expectations frustrated by those faithless and shuffling intriguers, who are ever guided by the circumstances of the moment ; when we saw the chiefs of the Chouans arrested, imprisoned, and surrendered to sanguinary tribunals ; when we saw the chiefs of the Vendeans treated in the same manner, some of our infantry and cavalry disarmed, our provisions carried off, all sorts of hostilities committed, and all the atrocities and horrors of civil war renewed ; lastly, when we learnt, that the ill-fated son of our unfortunate monarch, our King, had been cowardly poisoned by that impious and barbarous sect, which, far from being destroyed, still desolates our unfortunate kingdom.

What was it then our duty to do ?—That which honour and our inviolable attachment to the throne and the altar dictated ; that which the people themselves, more enraged than ever, demanded and desired. We have taken up arms again, and renewed the inviolable oath never to lay them down, until the heir apparent to the crown shall be seated on the throne of his forefathers, and the Roman Catholic religion acknowledged and faithfully respected.

Frenchmen, ye that still deserve this name, judge and decide on our sentiments and conduct : join, or rather imitate us. Rise at last from that dastardly stupor and indifference wherein you have so long languished. Rally around the common centre of the honour and glory of Frenchmen ; cease to be in appearance the guilty associates of your enemies, and to serve your executioners. Let experience tutor you ; and prefer a glorious death to a life branded with crimes.

At our Camp near Belleville, June 26, 1795.

(Signed)

CHARETTE.

PROCLAMATION OF THE ROYALISTS.

Joseph, Count de Puisaye, Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, Commander in Chief of the Catholic and Royal Army of Brittany, authorised by his Royal Highness Count D'Artois, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, in virtue of the Powers given him by Monsieur, Regent of France, at the Head-quarters of Carnac, the 30th of June, 1795.

Frenchmen,

IN the name of God, of your King, and of your lawful princes, we come to you with words of peace. Let the voice of hatred, revenge, and mistrust be heard no longer! Let every odious party denunciation, that rallying signal of the tormentors of our ill-fated country, be destroyed for ever; listen to us without prepossession, as we shall speak to you without disguise, and let Europe hear and judge us!

If it be true, that, from one corner of the kingdom to the other, a general out-cry has been heard against that parricide faction, which, for these five years past, has caused all your misfortunes; if it be true, that at length a spirit of moderation and justice guides those who affect to represent you; and if this moderation is not merely a specious cloak for the secret design of displacing rivals to reign in their stead, and to plunge you again into the convulsions of faction and the horrors of anarchy, why are those of your fellow-citizens, who were forced to fly from that tyranny which your pretended representatives affect to disapprove, not recalled into the bosom of their families, and re-established in the possession of their rights and estates? Why is the interesting and august offspring of so many kings, the son of that unfortunate monarch, who, thinking he threw himself on the love of his people, precipitated himself into the arms of his assassins, not proclaimed king, and restored to the throne of his forefathers, surrounded by those guardians and councils that nature and law point out to him? Why is that holy religion, which, for fourteen centuries past, has rendered happy and comforted the people, not restored to the full liberty of worship, and the public profession of its ministers? In fine, after having banished the miscreants who desolated France, why do they seemingly endeavour to preserve their work, and to reap the fruits of their crimes?

We also are desirous of peace; but what name deserves a peace, which he who signs it has no power to guarantee, and the stability and duration of which depend on the triumph and momentary power of a faction? Have you not marked the rapid succession of those ephemeric tyrants, who, having attained the pinnacle of power, brought one another to the scaffold, along with the peaceful citizen, who, scarce acquainted with the name of those he had

to obey, was the next day sent to the guillotine for having observed the decrees of the day before. We also love moderation and justice ; but the people are no longer to be deluded by empty sounds. Tutored by the sad experience of past misfortunes, they know how to distinguish the causes and authors of their disasters. The spell of political quackery is broken. The terms of justice and moderation were also on the lips of Robespierre and Marat, while they butchered their fellow-citizens ; and was it not by profaning the sacred names of virtue, humanity, and justice, that all impostors imposed on mankind, and overflowed the world with streams of blood ?

Let those who obstinately persist in the exercise of an usurped power, prove, by restoring it to the lawful owner, that their professions of moderation and justice are sincere, and that they are no accomplices of those criminals whom they now prosecute. Divine justice has already employed them as instruments to punish the guilty ; some of them are yet unpunished. But eminent services can obliterate great crimes ; and men engaged in the cause for which we are fighting, ought to resign to heaven the task of punishment and revenge.

And ye, generals, officers, and soldiers, who, tired of being the tools of oppression and crimes, refused to become the executioners of their brethren : ye who, by means of correspondence lately established between us, have learnt to appreciate our sentiments, rely on our word, and take in our ranks the places that are offered you. Join us, to restore to France her former prosperity ; be the saviours of our country, the deliverers of a young prince, ready to reward your services. It is glorious to receive the price of valour from the hands of a king, whom we have reinstated in his rights ! What recompence did your predecessors receive from your tyrants ? Humiliation, banishment, and death.—What will you choose ?

Ye brave inhabitants of La Vendée, the admiration of Europe and the envy of France, the moment is come to reap the fruits of your heroic toils. The illustrious shades of Bonchamp, l'Escuve, Roche Jaquelin, and so many heroes, who were your guides and friends, are hovering around your armies ! The associates and inheritors of their glory, Charette, Stofflet, Sapinau, and all your intrepid leaders, will accomplish the great work which they have begun, and conducted with so much constancy and courage. We bring you ammunition, arms, and the mighty assistance which a protecting power that does not confine itself to a bare fruitless admiration of your fortitude, condescends to grant you.

Ye loyal inhabitants of Brittany, who have honoured me with your confidence, see now that it has not been betrayed. The British government, roused by your perseverance and misfortunes, has granted your request. An army, entirely composed of French troops, comes to second your efforts, and I bring you all the succours

cours you have demanded. His Britannic Majesty, forced to repel the unjust aggression of your tyrants, and to assert the respect due to his crown, has, nevertheless, graciously received your fellow-citizens and the persecuted ministers of your religion, and restores them now to your wishes. This is the only answer worthy of his Majesty, to the ambitious and destructive plans which your tyrants have imputed to his generous ministers. French officers and soldiers, who, like you, for these four years past have fought for their king, now hasten to join you, and your princes are soon to place themselves at the head of your invincible columns.

We do not come to shed blood, but we will cause your rights to be respected, and repel force by force. If our enemies sincerely wish for peace, let them cease to devastate your fields, and sack your towns! But if they prefer to prosecute the war, they shall answer to France and to all Europe for the evils occasioned by it, and learn what may be achieved by the valour and fortitude of men, accustomed to brave evils, dangers, and death, in the defence of the most just and sacred cause.

DE PUISAYE, Commander in Chief.

THOUSANDS of blank copies of brevet de Chevalier de St. Louis were printed in London, for the purpose of being sent to the emigrant army, to be there filled up and distributed as a stimulus to the cause in which they were embarked : at the head are the royal arms of France :

(*Translation.*)

BY THE KING.

<i>Catholic and Royal Army of Brittany.</i> Brevet of Knight of St. Louis for the Sieur	The military council of the Catholic and Royal army of Brittany, authorised by Monseigneur the Count d'Artois, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, by virtue of the powers entrusted to him by Monsieur, regent of France.
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For the reasons which have been given to us, and in pursuance of the particular knowledge we have of the services, fidelity, and attachment to the cause of religion and the King, of the Sieur , and of the talents, zeal, and courage he has displayed on every occasion, and more especially , and not being able to make a better use of the powers entrusted to us, than by recompensing and honouring the merit of those who combat with us for the re-establishment of the throne and the altar, we have by these presents associated the aforesaid Sieur to the royal and military order of St. Louis, with the titles, honours, rights, and prerogatives enjoyed by the other knights of the royal military order of St. Louis, to take rank from this day among the aforesaid knights.

For

For this purpose we have commissioned M. to receive the aforesaid Sieur in the accustomed way, and to attach to his person the ribbon he is to wear at his breast, until more favourable circumstances shall permit his Majesty to transmit to him the brevet of the crois in the usual forms, after having received from him the oath customarily taken by the knights of St. Louis at their reception into the order; and that of not laying down his arms, until after having re-established religion, monarchy, good order, and public tranquillity.

And this by the good pleasure of the King, and by the authority of Monsieur, regent of France, and of Monseigneur, the Count d'Artois, lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Done and given in the council the

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BY THE COUNCIL.

Paris, June 30.

ACCORDING to letters which have been received from ~~Baile~~, the Prince of Conde having received, on the 14th of June, the news of the death of Louis XVI. dispatched a general officer immediately to Vernon, to receive orders from the new king, Monsieur, now Louis XVIII. On the 16th, the Prince of Conde celebrated, in the middle of his camp, a solemn service for the repose of the soul of the late Louis, after which, the army being ranged in order of battle, the Prince made the following

PROCLAMATION :

Gentlemen,

Scarcely had the tombs of the unfortunate Louis XVI. his august consort, and his respectable sister, been closed, when they have again been opened to unite to those illustrious victims the most interesting object of our love, our hope, and our esteem. The young descendant of so many kings, whose birth alone could secure the happiness of his subjects, insomuch as the blood of Henry IV. and of Maria Theresa flowed in his veins, has just sunk under the weight of his setters, and of a miserable existence. It is not the first time that I have called to your recollection this principle, that the king never dies in France.

Let us therefore swear to this august prince, now become our King, that we will shed our last drop of blood in proof of that unbounded fidelity, that entire devotion, that unalterable attachment which we owe to him, and with which our souls are penetrated. Our wishes are about to be manifested by that cry which comes from the heart, and which a profound sense of duty has rendered so natural to all good Frenchmen—a cry which was always the presage and the result of your successes, and which the regicides have never heard without stupor and remorse.

After

After having invoked the God of mercy in behalf of the King whom we have lost, let us intreat the God of battles to prolong the life of the King now given to us, to secure the crown of France upon his head, by victories, if necessary, and still more, if possible, by the repentance of his subjects, and by the happy union of clemency and justice. Gentlemen, *Louis the XVIIth is dead—long live Louis the XVIIIth.*

Mr. Crawford, the envoy from the King of England, assisted at this ceremony, united in the exclamation of *Live Louis the XVIIIth,* and threw his hat up into the air. He brought money for the army, and the most satisfactory assurances from the King, his master.

In the National Convention, on the 12th Messidor, Tuesday, June 30, Treilhard, in Name of the Committees of Public and General Safety, presented the following Report on the Daughter of Louis the XVIIth.

Representatives of the People,

THE virtues, the firmness, the perseverance, the triumphs of the French people, the treaties of peace, the hopes of men of property, the opinions of men of letters, all, all, at length, sanction the Republic. It would be as absurd as it would be criminal to doubt it. The moment is therefore arrived to direct your attention to the family of Capet; the safety of the people, and the supreme law required the imprisonment of that family, and you did not suffer foreign powers to intermeddle in an affair which depended solely upon the people and their representatives. You are now too strong to render such a rigorous measure necessary. You directed that this family should be imprisoned for the public safety; it is necessary that their release should also be useful to the country.—The most odious and the blackest treason delivered into the hands of one of the powers coalesced against us, four representatives of the people, and a minister of the Republic: that same power dared to arrest on neutral territory other citizens invested with the sacred character of ambassadors of the Republic. To that power, which was the friend and the ally of the Bourbons, we proposed to surrender the family of the Bourbons; you will thus by an act of justice put an end to the most dreadful violation of the right of persons. In fact, we had an incontestable right to keep in a place of safety, a family whose members might endanger the safety of the people. But it was against the rights of nations, that the deputies and ambassadors were arrested. It is for the court of Vienna to weigh well these considerations; we have not thought it necessary to make them the object of any negotiation; but you will decree, and your generals will proclaim the laws you decree. The following is the declaration which your committees have directed me to present you: The National Convention declares, that as

soon as the representatives of the people, the ministers and ambassadors of the Republic, and the persons composing their suite, detained by the government of Austria, shall be set at liberty and shall be upon the limits of the French territory, the daughter of Louis Capet shall be sent to that same government, and all the individuals of that family shall be permitted to retire from the territories of the Republic.—The National Convention also directs their committee of public safety to take all the necessary steps for the execution of the present decree.

The declaration proposed by the committees was unanimously adopted amidst the loudest plaudits.

Answer of the Emperor, relative to the Daughter of the late King of France, transmitted to General Clairfayt:

MY aulic council of war has given me an account of your report of the 15th of July, and of the document which has been remitted to General Stein by General Pichegru, relative to the Princess Maria Theresa, daughter of Louis XVI. my cousin, and the other princes and princesses of the family of Bourbon. In all other circumstances, the conditions upon which the liberty of that unfortunate family have been made to depend, ought to be regarded as entirely inadmissible ; but as it is but too true, that in the midst of the violent catastrophes which succeed each other with such rapidity in the French revolution, I ought only to consult my tender affection for my cousin, and my warm interest for the princes and princesses of the family of Bourbon, and that I ought to think only of the dangers in which they have been incessantly involved, my intention is, that you make known to the French general my readiness to accede, with respect to the principle, to the proposition that has been made. But there is another proposal, which I think it necessary to attach to that which the document to General Stein contains ; it has for its only object the respective exchange of the numerous prisoners of war, which, notwithstanding my reiterated demands, has hitherto always been refused.

Notwithstanding the care which, in spite of the unfavourable treatment of my soldiers, prisoners in France, I have directed to be shewn to the French prisoners in my states ; and though they are placed in provinces abounding with provisions, are paid in money, and have all the succour of religion, humanity, and the assistance due to the unfortunate, they have still experienced a crowd of ills inseparable from their situation ; they think that they are abandoned in distant climates by those for whom they have fought ; that they shall never more see their families ; that they are punished for the miseries and mischances of battle ; and that the quality of prisoners, hitherto considered as a claim to the interest of those for

whom such persons have sacrificed themselves, seems to be, as far as relates to them, only a motive for ingratitude.

I will not have the forgetfulness of the right of nations—a forgetfulness which perpetuates the detention of the wretched victims, imputed to me. With much more reason ought I to use all means to restore to liberty my faithful soldiers, prisoners in a country in which every one feels that he must partake of all the miseries from which its own inhabitants are not exempt. You will give me an account, without delay, of the reply which you may receive upon the subject, in order to regulate afterwards more particularly the details relating to the proposal transmitted by General Pichegrus, and which, I think, cannot give rise to any difficulty.

Decree of the Committee of Public Welfare, on the Exchange of the Princess, Daughter of Louis XVI.

THE committee of public welfare, of the National Convention, having seen the letter of General Pichegrus, commander in chief of the armies of the Moselle and Rhine, dated the 23d of last month, relative to the execution of the decree of the National Convention of the 12th Messidor, concerning the five representatives of the people, the minister, the ambassadors, and persons in their train, delivered up to the Emperor, arrested and detained by his orders, decrees as follows:

Art. I. Citizen Bacher, first secretary to the embassy of the Republic in Switzerland, is appointed commissary for negotiating an exchange of prisoners between France and Austria.

II. Citizen Bacher shall conform himself in this negotiation to the laws which regulate cartels for the exchange of prisoners of war.

III. He shall formally stipulate as a preliminary condition *sine qua non*, that the five representatives of the people, the minister, the French ambassadors, and the persons of their train, shall be immediately restored to liberty, and sent to Basle, on condition that the French government shall send to Basle, at the same time the daughter of Louis the XVIth, to be delivered to the person whom the Austrian government shall delegate to receive her, and that the other individuals of the family of Bourbon may quit the territory of the Republic; the whole in conformity to the decree of the National Convention of the 12th Messidor.

Copies of the present decree shall be immediately sent to General Pichegrus and Citizen Bacher.

(Signed)

MERLIN of Douai,
JEAN DELRIE,
LETOURNEUR of La Manche,
VERNIER, MARAC,
GAMON, DOULCET,
RABAUT, DEPERMONT.

Decree

*Decree relative to Foreigners, passed by the National Convention, on
the 25th Messidor, Monday, July 13.*

THE National Convention, on the report of its committees of public and general safety, decrees as follows :

I. All foreigners born in the territories with which the French Republic is at war, and who have entered France since the 1st of January, 1792, are enjoined to depart from thence.

II. They shall quit the communes in which they reside within the space of three days, reckoning from the publication of the present law. They shall, besides, be allowed one day for every seven leagues, between the place they are to quit and the frontier.

III. They shall declare before the municipalities, and at Paris, before the civil committees of the section, what route they intend to take :—This route will be described on the passports to be delivered to them.

IV. Every foreigner comprehended in the present law, who after the delay pointed out by the second and third articles shall be found on the territory of the Republic, or who shall stray from the road traced out to him, shall be put under arrest.

V. The dispositions of the preceding articles, shall apply to foreigners who pretending to have been born in countries either allied or neutral, shall not be recognised and acknowledged by their respective ambassadors and agents.

VI. The following may continue in France :

1. Foreigners born in the countries with which the Republic is at war, who came into France before the 1st of January, 1792, provided they have a known dwelling, or are vouched for by four citizens, housekeepers, and distinguished by their patriotism and their probity.

2. Foreigners born in the countries in friendship and alliance with France, who shall be acknowledged by the ambassadors or agents of the powers with which the Republic is at peace.

VII. To each foreigner there shall be delivered a paper containing his description with these words on the top—" Hospitality ! Security !" The word, " Fraternity" shall be added for foreigners born in the countries with which the Republic is at peace.

VIII. Every foreigner found in a seditious assemblage shall be considered as a spy, and punished as such.

IX. Every foreigner, at his arrival in a seaport, or in a frontier commune of the Republic, shall appear before the municipality. He shall there present his passport, which is to be immediately transmitted to the committee of general safety for examination. He shall, in the mean time, be under the charge of the municipal officers, who shall give him a provisional card of security, pointing out that he is in their keeping.

X. The councils general of communes may, nevertheless, give provisional authorizations to the merchants of allied or neutral countries who shall enter France. They shall communicate this to the committee of general safety, to which they shall send a collated copy of the passport, and an indication of the route the foreigner purposes to take.

XI. In the measures prescribed by Article XI. extraordinary couriers, as well as those charged with missions to the convention, or the government committees, are not comprehended.

XII. The committee of general safety is charged to adopt every necessary measure for the execution of the present law.

Proclamation issued by General Kellerman, dated Head-quarters at Albenza, July 1.

THE too extensive line which we occupy, has determined me to contract it, to withdraw the extremity of the right wing which extends to Vado, and to take a new and stronger position. I know that the malevolent will misrepresent this circumstance, and will pronounce the humiliating name of a retreat.

No, my fellow soldiers, we will never retreat—the new position which the army occupies, doubles its force, and we know how to profit by it to beat our enemies. Know, that in all the combats which have lately taken place, the soldiers of the Republic have generally shewn a courage truly republican ; that the enemy has lost 4000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners ; and that our loss, likewise comprising killed, wounded, and prisoners, is only 800 men. Know, that on the side of the Col de Tenda, the enemy have made several attacks ; but they have been always repulsed and beaten.

My comrades, we will go and beat the enemy again ; numerous reinforcements are arriving to us, and your general, strong in your energy and courage, will not allow himself to doubt but that victory will accompany and follow every where the arms of the Republic.

Proclamation in the Name of the French Republic.

The National Representatives, Tallien and Blad, Members of the Committee of Public Safety, sent on an extraordinary Mission into the western Departments, to the Citizens of those Departments.

CITIZENS, honoured with the confidence of the National Convention and the committee of public safety, invested with all the power to do good, and repress malevolence, we bring you the words of peace and fraternity ; we come to oppose the language

of reason and of candour to the impostors and illusions by which an effort is made to seduce you. Listen to us, and see on which side are your true friends, and your true interests.

What is the position of the Republic? After six years of heroic struggle against all the enemies of her independence, France is on the eve of reaping the fruits of her efforts and her sacrifices, of so many successes and so many reverses. Her armies are every where triumphant; and some part of that coalition, the members of which, in idea, divided our territory, is dissolving daily. The reign of the laws succeeds to that of terror; the indefatigable labours of your representatives are about to give you a beneficent and healing constitution. Every preparation is making for a speedy, glorious, and durable peace: and if some local calamities, if some political clouds, still obscure the prospect of happiness which is held out to us, they will speedily disappear before the tried constancy of twenty millions of faithful republicans.

At this moment, when these consolatory hopes are about to be realized, perfidious enemies are united to defeat them by all the means with which intrigue, rage, and wickedness, can supply them. They re-kindled the torch of civil war, which we thought had been quenched in seas of blood and tears; they employ every means to unite their cause with yours, and to hurry you down the precipice from which they have a double interest in plunging you! But how would they succeed in this? how contrive to palliate their bad faith, and the baseness of their subterfuges?

They announce to you, with emphasis, that the princes are about to fight at your head: they fight! the cowards; whence are they to derive their courage, and during four years what have they done? Where were they while your mistaken brethren shed rivers of blood at Savenay, at Saumur, at Mans, at Noirmoutier, under the walls of Nantes and Granville, and on the banks of the Ocean and the Loire? When were they ever seen to emerge from the insignificance to which nature has condemned them, if it has not been to hurry themselves into all the excesses of vice, and to welter in the filth of the vilest debauchery?

And these emigrants, these pretended regenerators of France, these *sai-disant* exclusive inheritors of valour and French royalty; these heroical knights, so brave at a distance, so terrible in their speeches, so courageous in their writings, where have they been to be found in the course of the present war? Wherever the danger was not. Demand of the inhabitants of the country in what way they treated even those who held the same sentiments with themselves? Demand of the nations who have fostered their vagabond wretchedness, what reward they have received from them? The scourges and the disgrace of nations! they have known only how to shun peril, to violate the laws of hospitality, and to revenge their ignominy by dint of crimes.

Which

Which is the government whose support they begged, to return into their own country ? England ! England, at all times the rival of France ; England, which excited against us all Europe, to destroy the first constitution, she afterwards wished to re-establish by force ; England, whose interest it has always been to act in opposition to our interests, and who would wish to-morrow to convert France into a republic, if France should to-morrow proclaim a king.

As a reward for the succours which are granted to them, not by the English nation, great and magnanimous as all nations are, which knows how to value wretches equally incapable of the energy of guilt and the energy of virtue, and which will also soon be wearied of ; as a reward for these succours obtained from a king and from a perverse minister, who can say that the first condition of the treaty is not that Brittany shall again become a province of England ? And you are Frenchmen ! and are you Britons ! and you do not shudder with indignation at such an idea !

The heroes of Coblenz affect not to see in the convention the national representation : but where does it reside ? Is it in the imperceptible minority assembled on the other side of the Rhine, or on the banks of the Thames, which pretends to subject the mass of the nation to all the ideas suggested to it by its egotism, its pride, and its dark ignorance ? What an absurdity !

They doubt the powers of the convention to treat of peace. But let them also doubt the innumerable exploits of our republicans, the victories of Valmy, Genappe, and Fleurus ; the conquests of Belgium, Holland, the Palatinate, Luxembourg, Figueres, &c. Let them doubt the treaties concluded with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Holland, the King of Prussia, and several Princes of Germany. And, lastly, let them doubt the oath for the maintenance of the Republic, solemnly sworn by all the French. --Can this oath be illusory ? And shall a handful of rebels dictate laws to a great nation they have so basely deserted ! No, it shall not be thus ; no, so many labours, sufferings, and public and private calamities, shall not be sacrificed to traitors. They have dared to put their foot on their native land, and their native land shall swallow them up.

They are desirous to make the convention responsible for the crimes of Robespierre, Marat, and their accomplices. But who gave the latter that fatal ascendancy, so cruel an use of which they made ? Who, unless it be the emigrants, their infernal machinations, their cold-blooded and shocking atrocities ? To whom is to be imputed the system of terror which has so long desolated France, unless it be to those who have aimed at the renewal of despotism and feudalism ? To whom are to be ascribed those thousands of forgeries and falsehoods to which so many victims have

have been immolated, unless it be to those horrid treasons which have so often brought the country into danger? Who delivered up Toulon and its fleet to the English? Who kindled up at Lyons and at la Vendée the torch of civil war?

Such are the blessings prepared for you by those who now wish you to consider them as your generous deliverers. Judge from thence what you have reasonably to expect from them.

What, on the other hand, has been done by the National Convention, regenerated since the memorable revolution of the 9th Thermidor? It has punished the decemvir and the devourers of the nation; it has overthrown the scaffolds, and re-established the reign of justice; it has opened the jails in which innocence was lodged, to fill them with brigands and conspirators; it has annihilated the *maximum*, the requisitions, and the other laws that harassed commerce and agriculture. It has restored to you the freedom of worship, and an access to your churches. And, lastly, it has repaired, as far as possible, the calamities which the bribes of Pitt, and the black intrigues of those he has protected, brought on France.

Useful agriculturers, do not be deceived: it would be their aim to oppress you more especially.

Of what do these bands of emigrants, the ships of England have just vomited on your coasts, consist? They are those *Seigneurs*, those monks, those presidents, those counsellors, those registers of courts, those proctors, all the voracious vermin, in short, which for fifteen centuries have fattened on the substance of the honest farmer. Would you be again attached to the glebe? Would you again submit to tythes, taxes in kind, labours on the highways, and momentary notices to quit the ground you should improve by your labours? Would you be ruined afresh, and tormented in every way by intendants, sub-intendants, and lawyers? And would you prefer all this to a wise constitution which secures your independence, your property, liberty of conscience, and the repose of yourselves and families.

Good citizens! it is time for you to pronounce; and your silence would be dangerous. Woe will betide him who shall join the standard of the rebels, of the enemies of the nation.—And wretched will be his lot who shall encourage their devastations and counter-revolutionary plans! At our call, numerous battalions hasten from the banks of the Rhine, the Meuse, the Sambre, and the Moselle. Driven back and surrounded on all sides, what efforts can the enemy oppose to republican energy and constancy? The enemy! The hour of their complete destruction approaches. Friends of the laws, friends of good order and peace, be worthy of yourselves; be what you have always been; the victory is certain; and these last attempts of an atrocious government and a parricidal band will merely hasten the moment when you will enjoy

enjoy the happiness your heroism shall have deserved.—*Vive la République!*

Vannes, 25th Messidor, July 13, third year of the French Republic, one and invisible.

(Signed)

C. A. A. BLAD, TALLIEN.

MANIFESTO.

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all our Subjects, greeting.

IN depriving you of a king, whose whole reign was passed in captivity, but whose infancy even afforded sufficient grounds for believing that he would prove a worthy successor to the best of kings, the impenetrable decrees of Providence, in transmitting his crown to us, have imposed the necessity of tearing it from the hands of revolt, and the duty of saving the country, reduced, by a disastrous revolution, to the brink of ruin.

The fatal conformity which subsists between the commencement of our reign and the commencement of the reign of the fourth Henry, operates as an additional inducement with us to take that monarch for our model, and imitating, in the first instance, his noble candour, we shall now lay open our whole soul before you. Long, too long, have we had to deplore those fatal circumstances which imperiously prescribed the necessity of silence; but now that we are allowed to exert our voice, attend to it. Our love for you is the only sentiment by which we are actuated; our heart obeys, with delight, the dictates of clemency; and since it has pleased heaven to reserve us, like Henry the Great, to re-establish in our empire the reign of order and the laws, like him we will execute this divine task, with the assistance of our faithful subjects, by uniting kindness with justice.

Your minds have, by dreadful experience, been sufficiently informed of the extent and origin of your misfortunes. Impious and factious men, after having seduced you by delusive declamations, and by deceitful promises, hurried you into irreligion and revolt. Since that time, a flood of calamities has rushed in upon upon you from every side. You proved faithless to the God of your forefathers; and that God, justly offended, has made you feel the weight of his anger;—you rebelled against the authority which he had established, and a sanguinary despotism, and an anarchy not less fatal, have, in alternate succession, continued to harass you with incessant rage.

Consider, an instant, the origin and progress of the evils with which you are overwhelmed.

You

You first consigned your interests to faithless representatives, who, betraying the confidence which you had reposed in them, and violating the oaths which they had taken, paved the way for their rebellion against their king, by treachery and perjury towards you ; and they rendered you the instruments of their passions, and of your own ruin.

You next submitted to the despotic sway of gloomy and austere tyrants, who contested with each other—while the contest was marked with mutual massacres—the right of oppressing the nation ; and they imposed upon you a yoke of brass.

You afterwards permitted their blood-stained sceptre to pass into the hands of a rival faction, which, in order to secure their power, and to reap the fruit of their crimes, assumed the mask of moderation, which it sometimes lifts up, but which it dares not yet venture wholly to throw aside ; and you have changed sanguinary despots, whom you abhorred, for hypocritical despots, whom you despise. They conceal their weakness beneath an appearance of mildness, but they are actuated by the same ambition which influenced the conduct of their predecessors :—The reign of terror has suspended its ravages ; but they have been replaced by the disorders of anarchy. Less blood is shed in France, but greater misery prevails. In short, your slavery has only changed its form, and your disasters have been aggravated.

You have lent a favourable ear to the calumnious reports that have been propagated against that ancient race which, during so long a period, reigned as much in your hearts as over France : and your blind credulity has increased the weight of your chains, and prolonged the term of your misfortunes.

In a word, your tyrants have overthrown the altars of your God and the throne of your king, and have completed the sum of your wretchedness.

Thus, impiety and revolt have been the cause of all the torments you experience :—In order to stop their progress, you must dry up their source.

You must renounce the dominion of those treacherous and cruel usurpers who promised you happiness, but who have given you only famine and death ; we wish to relieve you from their tyranny ; which has sufficiently injured you to inspire you with the resolution of shaking it off.

You must return to that holy religion which has drawn down upon France the blessings of heaven. We wish to restore its altars, by prescribing justice to sovereigns and fidelity to subjects ; it maintains good order, ensures the triumph of the laws, and produces the felicity of empires. You must restore that government, which, during fourteen centuries, constituted the glory of France, and the delight of her inhabitants, which rendered our country the most flourishing of states, and yourselves the happiest

of people. It is our wish to restore it. Have not the various revolutions which have occurred to augment your distress, since the period of its destruction, convinced you that it is the only government that is fit for you ?

Give no credit to those rapacious and ambitious men, who, in order at once to violate your property, and to engross all power, have told you that France had no constitution, or, at least, that its constitution was despotic ; its existence is as ancient as the monarchy of the Franks ; it is the produce of genius, the masterpiece of wisdom, and the fruit of experience.

In composing the body of the French people of three distinct orders, it traced with precision that scale of subordination, without which society cannot exist. But it gives to neither of the three orders any political right which is not common to all ; it leaves all employments open to Frenchmen of every class ; it affords equal protection to all persons, and to all property ; and, by this means, in the eye of the law, and in the temple of justice, all those inequalities of rank and fortune disappear, which civil order necessarily introduces among the inhabitants of the same empire.

These are great advantages ; but there are others still more essential. It subjects the laws to certain specific forms prescribed by itself, and the sovereign himself to the observance of the laws, in order to guard the wisdom of the legislature against the snares of seduction, and to defend the liberty of the subject against the abuse of authority ; it prescribes conditions to the establishment of imposts, in order to satisfy the people that the tributes which they pay are necessary for the preservation of the state. It confides to the first body of the magistracy the care of enforcing the execution of the laws, and of undeceiving the monarch, if he should chance to be imposed upon. It places the fundamental laws under the protection of the king, and of the three orders, for the purpose of preventing revolutions, which are the greatest calamities that the people can possibly sustain. It has adopted a multiplicity of precautions, in order to secure to you the advantages of a monarchical government, and to screen you from its dangers. Do not your unexampled misfortunes, as much as its venerable antiquity, bear testimony to its wisdom ? Did your ancestors ever experience the evils which you have borne since the hands of ignorant and obstinate innovators have overthrown their constitution ? It was the common support of the cottage of the poor, and the palace of the rich ; of personal freedom and public safety ; of the rights of the throne, and the prosperity of the state. The moment it was overthrown, property, safety, freedom, all ceased to exist. No sooner did the throne become a prey to usurpers, than your fortunes were seized by plunderers ; the instant the ægis of royal authority ceased to protect you, you were oppressed by despotism, and sunk into slavery.

To that antique and wise constitution, whose fall has proved your ruin, we wish to restore all its purity, which time had corrupted; all its vigour, which time had impaired; but it has, itself, fortunately deprived us of the ability to change it. It is our holy ark; we are forbidden to lay rash hands upon it; your happiness and our glory, the wish of all true Frenchmen, and the knowledge which we have acquired in the school of misfortune, all tend to confirm, in our mind, the necessity of restoring it entire. It is because France is dear to us, that we are anxious to replace her under the beneficent protection of a government, the excellence of which has been proved by so long a continuation of prosperity; it is because we feel it to be our duty to quell that spirit of system-making, that rage for innovation, which has been the cause of your ruin, that we are anxious to renovate and confirm those salutary laws which are alone capable of promoting a general unity of sentiment, of fixing the general opinion, and of opposing an insurmountable barrier to the revolutionary rage which every plan of a change in the constitution of our kingdom, would again let loose upon the public.

But while the hand of time gives the stamp of wisdom to the institutions of man, his passions are studious to degrade them, and either put their own work at the side of the laws, with a view to weaken their effect, or make it usurp the place of the laws in order to render them useless. In those empires, which have attained to the highest pitch of glory and prosperity, abuses must generally prevail, because in such states they are the least likely to attract the attention of those who govern. Some abuses had therefore crept into the government of France, which were not only felt by the lower class of people, but by every order of the state. The deceased monarch, our brother and sovereign lord and master, had despaired, and was anxious to remove them. In his last moments he charged his successor to execute the plans which he had, in his wisdom, conceived for promoting the happiness of that very people who suffered him to perish on the scaffold.

On quitting the throne, from which crime and impiety had hurled him, to ascend that which Heaven had reserved for his virtues, he pointed out to us our duties in that immortal will, the inexhaustible source of admiration and regret. That king! that martyr! submissive to the God who had made him a king, followed his example, in dying without a murmur, in rendering the instrument of his punishment a trophy to his glory, and in attending to the welfare of his people at the very time when they were completing the sum of his misfortunes!

What Louis XVI. could not effect, we will accomplish.

But though plans of reform may be conceived in the midst of confusion, they can only be executed in the bosom of tranquillity: to replace upon its ancient basis the constitution of the kingdom,

dom, to give it its primitive impulse, to put all its parts in motion, to correct the vices which had crept into the administration of public affairs, is the work of peace. Religious worship must be re-established, the hydra of anarchy destroyed, the regal authority be restored to all its rights, before we can execute our intentions of opposing abuses of all kinds with invincible firmness, of seeking them with diligence, and prescribing them with decision.

The implacable tyrants, who hold you in subjection, alone retard that happy moment. They do not attempt to deny that the time of illusion is past ; and that you feel all the weight of their ignorance, their crimes, and their depredations. But those fraudulent promises, of which you are no longer the dupes, are succeeded by the dread of punishment which they alone have deserved. After having robbed you of your property, they represent us to you as an enraged avenger, who means to deprive you of life, the only good that you now have left. Dismayed by the reproaches of their conscience, they wish to make you partake of their fate, that they may profit by your despair ; they endeavour to inspire you with false alarms, that they may be able to quiet their own apprehensions ; but, know the heart of your sovereign, and leave to him the task of preserving you from the machinations of your enemies.

We shall not only forbear to magnify errors into crimes, but crimes themselves, which have originated in error, we shall be ever ready to pardon. All Frenchmen who, abjuring pernicious opinions, shall throw themselves at the feet of the throne, will be received. All Frenchmen, who have only become criminal in consequence of being misled, far from finding in us an inflexible judge, will discover a compassionate father ; those who, in the midst of revolt, have preserved their fidelity—those who, by an heroic sacrifice, have become the companions of our exile, and our associates in misfortune ; those who have already shaken off the bandage of illusion, and the yoke of revolt ; those who, still retained by a cruel perseverance, shall hasten to return to reason and to duty, shall all be treated as our children. If one part of these have preserved their character and their rights by unshaken fidelity, the other part have recovered them by a salutary repentance ; and they shall all share in our affection. We are Frenchmen—a title which the crimes of a few individuals can no more degrade, than the enormities of the Duke of Orleans can pollute the blood of Henry the Fourth.

This title, which was ever dear to us, will also render us dear to those who bear it. We compassionate those men who are still retained in the path of error, from weakness of mind, or by the arts of seduction ; we water with our tears the ashes of those brave men who have fallen victims to their fidelity ; we lament the fate of those who have perished in support of rebellion and schism,

schism, and whose restoration to the bosom of the church and the monarchy would have given us the most pleasing satisfaction. The evils which you experience, constitute our only sufferings ; and to cure those evils is the only felicity which we can henceforth hope to enjoy.

The excesses of which the people have been guilty, are certainly dreadful ; but we cannot forget, that seduction and violence have had greater influence over them than opinion and inclination ; and we know, that even while they favoured the revolutionary schemes, their hearts remained faithful, and secretly disavowed the conduct which terror directed. That people, alternately deceived and subdued, but always more deserving of pity than of censure ; that people, who have been sufficiently, nay, too severely punished, by six years of slavery and oppression ; by that multitude of calamities which they have drawn upon their own heads ; that people, who were always dearly beloved by the kings our predecessors, will make us amends for the cruel torments we have suffered, by affording us an opportunity of loading them with our benefactions.

Who would have ventured to believe, that perfidy and rebellion could ever have infected that army, which was erit the support of the throne, and was at all times devoted to honour and to their sovereign ? Their successes have proved that courage is never to be extinguished in the heart of a Frenchman ; but how many tears ought you to shed over those fatal successes ! They have been the principle of the general oppression ; they have constituted the support and increased the audacity of your execrable tyrants ; they are the instruments employed by the hand of God for the chastisement of France ; what soldier is there, who will not, when he returns to his home, find the still bloody traces of those calamities which his victories have occasioned ? But the French army cannot long remain the enemy of its king. Since it has preferred its ancient valour, it will resume its primitive virtues ; since honour is not extinguished in its bosom, it will follow her dictates ; it will listen to her voice. Soon, we doubt not, the cry of *Vive le Roi* will re-place the clamours of sedition ; soon will the army return, submissive and faithful, to re-establish our throne ; to expiate, at our feet, even its own glory, and to read in our looks oblivion of past errors, and pardon of past crimes.

We might let justice take her course against the criminal authors of the people's errors, against the chiefs and instigators of the revolt ; and perhaps we ought so to do, though how could we palliate the irreparable injury which they have done to France ? But those whom Divine justice has not yet overtaken, we will leave to their own conscience—that will be punishment enough. May they, overpowered by this excess of indulgence, and remaining submissively attached to their duty, justify us in our own

own minds of the unexpected pardon which we shall have granted them !

But there are crimes (why can they not be effaced from our recollection, and from the memory of man ?) There are crimes, the atrocity of which exceeds the bounds of royal clemency.

In that horrid sitting, in which subjects had the audacity to bring their king to trial, all the members who sat as judges were accomplices in the crime. But we are still willing to believe that that those whose votes were calculated to save his sacred head from the parricidal axe, were only induced to mix with his assassins by their desire to preserve his life ; and that motive may suffice to ensure their pardon. But those miscreants, whose sacrilegious tongues dared to pronounce the fatal sentence, all those who co-operated in, and were the direct and immediate instruments of his death ; the members of that tribunal of blood, which, after having given the capital the signal, and set it the example of judicial massacres, crowned their atrocious deeds by sending their queen to the scaffold, a queen still more exalted in her prison than upon her throne ; a princess whom heaven had formed to be the finished model of every virtue !—all those monsters, whom posterity will never name without horror, are devoted, by the general wish of the French, to the punishment which their crimes deserve.

That sentiment which leads us to confine the vengeance of the law within such narrow bounds, is a certain pledge to you that we will never tolerate any acts of private revenge ; therefore dismiss every apprehension which the idea of being exposed to such revenge may have excited.

The faithful princes of our house have the same principles, the same affections, and the same views with ourself : you are as dear to them as to us : like us, they are only anxious to see the end of your sufferings ; the only object of their labours, as well as of ours, is your deliverance ; and if, in these days of mourning and of crimes, Providence should have doomed us to perish, successively, by rebellious hands, you would see the sceptre pass from one to the other, without perceiving the smallest alteration in the exercise of the royal authority.

Those Frenchmen, who have remained among their countrymen, to set them an example of unshaken fidelity, will only pity those who have not had the resolution to imitate their conduct ; and that unchangeable virtue which they have opposed to the torrent of corruption, will not be debased by criminal animosity.

These ministers of a God of peace, who have only fled from the violence of persecution to preserve your religious faith, filled with the zeal that enlightens, with the charity that forgives, will teach, as well by their practice as their precepts, oblivion of injuries, and the love of their enemies. Could you possibly fear that they

they would tarnish the immortal splendor which their generous conduct, and the blood of so many martyrs have reflected on the Gallican church ?

Our magistrates, who have ever been distinguished for their integrity in the administration of justice, will set an example of obedience to the laws, whose ministers they are ; inaccessible to the passions which it is their duty to repress, they will, by a due exertion of impartial firmness, give effect to those sentiments with which clemency inspires us.

The nobility, who have only left their country the better to defend it ; who have only drawn their swords in the firm persuasion that they were fighting for France, and not against it ; who offer you assistance even at the time when their duty compels them to fight you ; who oppose to the attacks of calumny their firmness in adversity, intrepidity in battle, humanity in the moment of victory, and their invincible attachment to the principles of honour. Those nobles, against whom every effort is made to excite your hatred, will not forget that they are destined to enlighten, to assist, to support the people ; they will place their glory in their magnanimity ; they will ennable the numerous sacrifices they have made, by the sacrifice of their resentment ; and that class of emigrants, who are their inferiors in birth, though their equals in virtue, those worthy Frenchmen, whose fidelity is the more deserving of praise, from the additional temptations which they had to resist, would, if it were necessary, offer themselves to you as pledges for the sincerity of those generous sentiments which they have so often witnessed. Who would dare to inflict vengeance when the king forgives ?

But the mercy which will signalize the first days of our reign, will be invariably united with firmness ; that love of our subjects, which leads us to be indulgent teaches us to be just.—We shall forgive, without regret, those men, criminal as they are, who have led the people astray ; but we shall treat with inexorable rigour all those who may hereafter endeavour to seduce them from their duty. We will open our arms to those rebels, who may be induced by repentance to return to us ; but if any of them should persist in rebellion, they will find that our indulgence will stop at the limits which justice prescribes, and that force will reduce those whom kindness has proved inadequate to attach.

That throne, which the revolution has twice deprived of its lawful sovereign, is not to me an object of ambition or enjoyment. Alas ! still smoaking with the blood of our family, and wholly encompassed with ruins, it can promise us nothing but sorrowful recollections, labours, and pains. But Providence orders us to ascend it ; and it is our duty to obey. We are called thither by our rights, and we know how to defend them ; we may

may there be able to promote the happiness of France, and that motive gives us courage to proceed. If we should be reduced to the necessity of conquering our country, confiding in the justice of our cause, and in the zeal of true Frenchmen, we will advance to the conquest with indefatigable perseverance, and with undaunted courage : we will advance to the conquest, should it be necessary, through the cohorts of rebels, and the poiguards of assassins. The God of St. Louis, that God whom we call to witness the purity of our intentions, will be our guide and our support.

But no : we shall not be reduced to the necessity of using arms against deluded subjects—No : to themselves alone, to their regret, to their love, shall we be indebted for the re-establishment of our throne ; and the mercy of Heaven, moved by their tears, will make religion once more flourish in the empire of the most christian kings.

This pleasing hope revives our heart. Misfortune has removed the veil which was placed before your eyes ; the harsh lessons of experience have taught you to regret the advantages which you have lost. Already do the sentiments of religion, which shew themselves with eclat in all the provinces of the kingdom, present to our sight the image of the glorious ages of the church. Already does the impulse of your hearts, which brings you back to your king, declare that you feel the want of being governed by a father.

But it is not enough to form barren wishes ; decisive resolutions must be adopted : it is not enough to groan beneath the yoke of your oppressors, you must be assisted in shaking it off.—Shew the world how the French, restored to their senses, can efface faults, in the commission of which their hearts were not concerned :—Prove, that as Henry the Great has transmitted to us, with his blood, his love of his people, so are you also the descendants of that people, one part of whom, always faithful to his cause, fought to restore him to his throne ; and the other part, abjuring a momentary error, bathed his feet with the tears of repentance. Remember that you are the grandsons of the conquerors of Ivry and Fontain Francaise.

And you, invincible heroes, whom God has appointed to restore the altar and the throne, and whose mission has been attested by a multitude of prodigies ; you, whose pure and triumphant hands have, in the heart of France, kept alive the torch of faith and honour's sacred fire ; you, who have been the constant objects of our affection, and in whose labours we have been incessantly anxious to share ; who were always our consolation and our hope ; illustrious catholic and royal armies, worthy models for all Frenchmen to imitate, receive this testimony of

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your sovereign's satisfaction. Never will he forget your services, your courage, the integrity of your principles, and your unshaken fidelity.

Given in the month of July, in the year of grace 1795, and the first of our reign.

LOUIS.

Address of the Chiefs of the Army of La Vendée to his Britannit Majesty, brought to England by one of M. Charette's Aids-de-Camp.

Sire,

THE royalists of La Vendée are about to lay their sentiments, their wishes, and their hopes, at the feet of the greatest and most generous of sovereigns. For these three years past, we have not ceased to combat for the re-establishment of the throne and of the altar.

Whilst France, either the victim or accomplice of the tyrants by which she is governed, threatens, since that period, as well with her principles as her arms, all the states leagued against her, a handful of Frenchmen, faithful to their God and their King, brave all dangers, surmount all obstacles, in order to restore happiness to their country, and tranquillity to Europe.

Sometimes conquered, and oftener conquerors, our defeats as well as our victories have cost the armies of the convention more than 300,000 men ; but unfortunately, such an important diversion in favour of the combined powers has hitherto served only to exhaust our means, and to weaken us, instead of procuring us the assistance which we had a right to expect, as well from sound policy, as from the promises of those who were allies of the cause which we defend.

At last we learn that the white flag is floating on the coasts of Brittany. The emigrants, those honourable victims, to whom your Majesty had given so generous a reception in your states, have at last been restored to their country, preceded by the wishes of those who in France remained attached to royalty. They undoubtedly will soon see their arms triumph, as well as the cause for which they combat. Already does the repentance of one part of the French, and the ardour of others, which has hitherto been repressed, urge immense multitudes to advance to meet them. In every quarter the utmost discontent prevails ; the royalists of La Vendée have also resumed the arms which they had for a moment been induced to lay down, in consequence of a formal promise that efforts should be speedily made for the re-establishment of royalty.

Not only deceived in our expectations, but threatened in the persons of our chiefs, some of whom have been basely massacred, others arrested, in violation of treaties, our battalions are again

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assembled, and several victories have already signalized the new campaign which we have recently opened. It is thus, then, Sire, with those arms in our hands which are destined to combat the enemies of kings, that we present ourselves before your Majesty, and that we solicit you to unite your armies to our's, to concur in the re-establishment of our lawful sovereign on the throne of his ancestors. Long, too long, has the blood of England and of France been flowing ; the two nations feel the necessity of a just and honourable peace ; but such a peace can only be procured from a monarchy. Did an opportunity more precious to your Majesty's heart ever occur ? Did one ever exist more glorious than that which now presents itself, for concurring in the re-establishment of a king upon the throne of France ? No ; such a task could only offer itself to the sovereign of a great and powerful nation ; for him was reserved the immortal glory of twice assisting the Bourbons to re-conquer their crown. Following the example, then, of the great Elizabeth, you will send, Sire, your brave and generous soldiers to join our martial bands. Accompanied by our princes, and commanded by a chief alike magnanimous and experienced, they will not fail to march from victory to victory. Our wicked enemies will tremble at their approach ; and their defeat will soon prove to the world, that it is as dangerous as it is horrid for a people to revolt against their sovereigns.

Such, Sire, are our wishes ; such also are our hopes : and your royal heart is too magnanimous to suffer us to be disappointed in our expectations. Relying on the generous protection of your arms, we will continue to combat your enemies and our own. Acquiring an accession of strength from assistance thus powerful, our soldiers will become, if possible, more formidable than ever. Until the arrival of that happy epoch, we will not cease to address our vows to Heaven for the preservation of your Majesty's life, and for the welfare and prosperity of your subjects.

With these sentiments, joined to those of the most profound respect, we beseech your Majesty to believe us ever, Sire,

Your most obedient and most humble servants,

The Royalists of La Vendée.

Chevalier CHARETTE,

SAPINEAU,

COETU, Knight of St. Louis.

Head-quarters at Belleville, July 21, 1795.

In the National Convention, in the Sitting of the 10th of August, the President Danou announced the Commencement of the Feast in Celebration of the 10th of August, and after many patriotic Pieces of Music had been performed, addressed the Assembly in the following Speech.

FREE countries are the only temples in which national feasts should be celebrated. Under the government which you over-turned on the memorable day of the 10th of August; under that go-vernment, equally abject and absurd, where public rejoicings as well as the laws, established the shameful system of the grandeur of one, and of the nothingness of all; where an immense people seemed only to be attentive to the destiny of its oppressors, their very joy must have been hypocritical and servile. While every heart rankled with the detestation of tyranny, twenty-five millions of men were compelled to raise their hands towards Heaven, and to contemplate their own humiliations in the posture of gratitude. The annals of a whole country were narrowed or effaced to make room for the history of one family; and it was there that the nation was condemned to look for the causes of its exultation, and the annual periods of its public rejoicings.

Citizens, in free states, public festivals are ordained to cele-brate, and to consecrate only the immortal events of the national family. At the same time that they hold up to the eyes of the people the titles and the monuments of their power, they may also be said, in some manner, to refresh and reproduce its glory, its triumphs and successes. They raise the soul to splendid actions by reviving glorious recollections; and if they are among moral insti-tutions, all that is delightful and ennobling, they are also all that is most useful and advantageous, since they are strong incitements to mankind to pursue every thing that is wise, and attach them-selves to every thing that is good.

Such, especially, citizens, is the republican solemnity which you this day celebrate. The cannon of the 14th of July awakened French liberty, and the thunder of the 10th of August laid prostrate on the ground all the powers that rival the national sovereignty, and levelled all the eminences that gave umbrage to rising equality. The antique fabric of a vast monarchy was seen in a few hours to crumble into dust; the prejudice in favour of the solidity of old thrones was confounded and dispelled in the space of one day; the very vanquishers of royalty were them-selves astonished at the facility of their triumph, and the lurking secret of the weakness of tyrants was revealed and dragged into public day. Together with this throne, that had been prop-ped on fourteen ages of oppression, of ignorance, and of errors, the 10th of August also beheld the fall of the code of 1791, a work begun by patriotism, surrounded by a constellation of geniuses, and completed by faction, amidst the chaos of intrigue; that monarchical

narchical constitution whose every part conspired to organize feebleness, in order to sow with it the germ of new explosions, of which they nourished and fomented the hope. Thus the same day which appalled the pride of kings, by the imposing spectacle of the power of nations, held out at the same time a solemn and severe lesson to legislators, by exposing, through the medium of this striking example, the perilous instability of these fluctuating and false transactions which attempt to steer between freedom and tyranny. The spirit of faction has never been known to sow in the constitution of nations any thing but discordant and destructive elements. It is the general interest alone that ought to preside over political combinations ; the conceptions of private interest are narrow, ephemeral, and feeble, like the cause that gives them birth.

In order to prepare the downfall of the throne, the limits of liberty had been too far over-leaped ; too great a shock was given to those principles of vigour, which alone in a great state are able to maintain submission to the public laws, and the empire of social virtues. Savage anarchy was not backward to blend its rage with the generous transports of patriotism ; a vile swarm of robbers dared to mix with the heroes of the Republic, and for a long time prevented them from becoming its effectual founders. Thus, while we bring back our recollection to the period of the 10th of August, we behold for the space of three years the destiny of the country, and we imagine that we at the same time run over two careers, one of crimes, of servitude, and disgraces ; the other of virtues, of happiness, and of triumphs. Trampled on within by the most sanguinary and degrading despotism ; without, you astonished Europe, and discomfited its armies. As if it were the lot of France to experience at the same time the influence of these two principles invented by religious sects, while the genius of wickedness was employed in extinguishing morality, in digging graves wherein to entomb alive an entire generation, in drowning in floods of blood both talents and virtues, the genius of freedom and of victory poured forth on every point of our frontiers, battalions of heroes repelled the satellites of kings, to the very feet of their tottering thrones, and shrouded, as it were, under a veil of glory, the internal calamities that deformed the country.

The French armies have not only triumphed over kings—we are justified even in saying that they quelled internal factions, merely by avoiding the shame of becoming tools to any ; and insulated as it were, both from all dissensions and all treasons, they were alive only to the interest of the Republic, and moved in no paths but those of victory. It was their inflexible patriotism which rendered impotent and vain both the conspiracy of the kings of Europe, and the horrid coalition of so many crimes that plotted in the bosom of France : the conspirators have passed away—our triumphs and our liberty remain,

It is our duty, citizens, in this great festival, to offer up this solemn and just homage to the magnanimous devotion of your defenders. It is impossible to celebrate the downfall of royalty, without thinking of those who confounded and dismayed the phalanx that was armed to re-establish it ; and the day of the 10th of August is too much adorned, too well consolidated by the victories of Jemappes, of Fleurus, of Quiberon, to permit us to separate in our minds these glorious recollections. It exhibits an instructive and important spectacle, to behold France tried and exercised since 1792 by every species of peril and calamity. Kings coalesced against it ; its own children tearing its bowels ; the inflammatory rage, both of political and religious fanaticism ; the massacre of the fathers of liberty ; the triumph of its most inveterate and insolent enemies ; every vice deified, every virtue degraded ; treason preparing for foreign powers the only advantages they were able to gain over Frenchmen ; malignity and robbery organizing famine ; digging the abyss in which the public fortune was on the point of being ingulphed.

Such was the volcano over which the Republic has been moving for the space of three years—a space into which are compressed the events, the revolutions, the experience, and the glory of three entire ages. To this too faithful picture of our dangers and our misfortunes, you may now, citizens, proudly oppose the spectacle which France this day exhibits to the astonished world. The theatre of war contracted, and almost closed by the hand of victory ; kings foregoing the hope of conquering us, and soliciting to be united with us by solemn treaties ; fraternity and sound policy conspiring to draw the bonds of union closer, which hatred and prejudices had dissolved. France, so lately insulated in the great map of Europe, has already attached to its alliance and to its glory, Prussia, Holland, Spain, and Tuscany, which are become docile to the voice of their true interest, and have replaced themselves, together with us, in the balance of European powers.

The English people are already indignant at court perfidy, of which they seem to be only made the instrument, while they are in reality the victim. The British government terrified in its turn at its sudden solitude and dereliction, and reduced to behold from the top of its unavailing fleets, the scaffold of its accomplices whom it has betrayed : and in the interior of the Republic abolishing on all sides the smallest vestiges of that reign of terror, the sole execration of which should live for ever in our hearts. Humanity visiting every corner of this spacious country, to obliterate from it, by kindness and consolation, the slightest traces of villainy and of blood ; equity tearing from the code of our laws the black pages which monsters had engraved ; republican courage frustrating, during the days of Germinal and Prairial, the efforts of reviving sedition, and crushing under the weight of their new crimes the rash promoters of anarchy.

anarchy. Such is the picture which we are enabled to hold out to the French people with one hand, while we present to them with the other a constitution solicited with impatience by the wishes and the wants of the country, and in which every legislator shall have deposited the tribute of his patriotism, his experience and his talents.

Yes, citizens, this is the day upon which, for the first time, we are enabled truly to celebrate the anniversary of the Republic. In 1793 we assisted only at a funeral solemnity, where liberty, in weeds of woe, wept at the approach of its most faithful and eloquent defenders, ready to fall and to bleed under the dagger of assassins. It was a solemnity that truly resembled that of royalty, and also was a tyrant who had prepared its apparatus.

In vain did they therein proclaim a spectre of a constitution which they had imposed upon France, and which they had prepared to serve as a momentary veil to conceal their flagitiousness ; in vain did they display, with a perfidious ostentation, the monuments of their most shocking triumphs ; the silence of horror interrupted their lugubrious thoughts ; the presentiment of public misfortunes oppressed every soul ; and if the impatient activity of wickedness manifested itself on some countenances, the mournful expression of despair gloomed on every other. That, citizens, was far from being the festival of the freedom of the people ; it was the prelude of slavery, and the inauguration of terror.

On the 10th of August last year, you had already struck to the ground the chief of the decemviral tyranny, but you were still surrounded by the greater number of his accomplices, and virtue blushed to rejoice in the presence of every crime. The dictatorship, it is true, was no more ; but you had not as yet sufficient time to sap the many props of its savage system ; and amidst the still remaining institutions of terror and anarchy, when the prisons scarce began to admit a glimpse of day, and to permit the escape of so many victims ; when a frantic society laboured under your eyes to re-organize its baneful domination, it was not in your power to hold out to the nation the signal of gladness, and at best you could but have celebrated the festival of your hopes.

The vanquishers of royalty had gladly pulled down the different props that supported it, before they were able to extinguish royalty itself. But you, representatives of the people, you attacked on the 9th Thermidor, a tyrant for whose fall no preparations were made. You struck him down in the midst of his favourites, his satellites, and all the fell instruments of his iron reign ; and this circumstance, which sheds so much glory on your firmness and victory, did not promise you so soon to enjoy the fruits of your success, but placed you in the necessity of consummating by the toils, the perils, and the prudence of a year, the courage and the triumph of one immortal day,

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This day, citizens, you are called upon to thank Heaven for the emancipation of the French people; for their present safety, their trophies, and their alliances; it is the festival of the conquerors of the 14th of July, of the 10th of August, of the victors of the 9th Thermidor, and of the victims of the 31st of May. They all have triumphed, or have fallen with equal honour in the support and vindication of the same rights. They will for ever inseparably unite their wishes, their interests, and their glory; this they swear to their country, amidst the pomp of this awful solemnity, which it is their lot to celebrate with the representatives of the republics of both worlds; with the illustrious envoys of those flourishing and faithful nations whom inviolable treaties have united to France, now victorious and free. May this festival of liberty, citizens, may it, I say, be also the prelude of the general pacification of Europe, and of the union and concord of every French heart! May this day extinguish the torch of vengeance, and may impartial and mild equity, while it persecutes wickedness and pardons error, for ever chain down the furious passions that are heard continually to roar around it, in order to eternize revolutions, and evoke royalty from the midst of discord and dissensions. On this day, citizens, the first stone of the altar of clemency should be laid; nor is it alone the oath to be just, but also the oath to be brothers, and to be humane, that we ought now to pronounce, in order to decorate and eternally to preserve for the French Republic, this palace, which has beheld the downfall of a throne that sixty kings had filled, and which since has been hurled from this tribune a monster far more horrible than they; but it shall hereafter acknowledge no other dominion than that of virtue, no other sceptre than that of the laws.

The President's speech was frequently interrupted by the loudest applause, and was ordered to be printed and sent to the armies, and to the departments.

On the 23d Thermidor—August 10, Defermon, in the Name of the Committee of Public Safety, presented the following Report on the Navy of France.

YOUR committee of public safety is incessantly employed in repairing the evils done to our marine, by the ancient government, and by the ignorant agents or traitors whom that government had employed. Your committee finds itself frequently shackled by the fatal effects of such unskilfulness; but it will succeed in regenerating our naval force, and will still be able to make it formidable to our enemies.

Already its wakeful vigilance has examined all our arsenals, their magazines, and ship-yards. Your committee was almost every where disheartened by the most discouraging appearances, but

but we still confide in the amplitude of our resources, and every thing that is deficient, will be soon repaired. It is aided and backed by a wise and enlightened administration ; it consults the experience of general officers, deeply versed in their art ; it singles out from among the captains, those who are the most worthy to command ; and it has accused before courts martial all those who are suspected of cowardice ; it has expressed an eagerness to recall to the service all the officers who, distinguished for their patriotism since the revolution, not less than for their talents, had been forgotten or imprisoned only from the effect of the disorganizing system, the fatal reign of which had but too long endured.

Those officers tried by misfortune, return to the service with a generous desire to contribute to the naval triumphs of the Republic. Your committee, moreover, exerts all its diligence to combine all the materials which may enable them to lay before you the most effectual means of organizing your marine on true and stable principles ; thus the National Convention shall deliver into the hands of its successors, and of the executive directory, elements of glory, and principles of success, from which past misfortunes and past faults have hitherto debarred them. The new system of naval attack which your committee of public safety has adopted, is the most agreeable to our political situation, and cannot fail to insure us the most permanent advantages. This new system will far better consult the true interests of the nation, than the proud and ostentatious display of naval power, which at least can only flatter personal pride, while they exhaust, to no purpose, the resources of the Republic.

We have but one object to accomplish, and in that object are concentered all our solicitudes, all our schemes and combinations ; its main drift is to protect our commerce, to harass and annihilate that of our enemies ; it is to convince the English nation of the perfidiousness of its government, and to open before its eyes, the dread gulph into which, by that government, it infallibly must be plunged. The English government may, if it pleases, pride itself upon the parade of its squadrons, and make them move in all the solemn order of tactics, the French will content themselves in attacking it in what it holds most dear, in what constitutes its happiness and very existence—its wealth.

The sole object of all our plans, of all our cruisings, and of all our efforts, both in our ports and at sea, shall be to annoy and extinguish its commerce, to ruin and disperse its colonies, and ultimately to sink it into shameful bankruptcy, an end not unworthy of a proud and despotic government, abject in adversity, insolent and cruel in prosperity ; who, by its insulting and greedy ambition, has kindled the hatred and resentment of all the governments of Europe ; a government, to the artifices of which the English nation, once jealous of its liberties, and zealous abettors

of patriotism, begin at length to open their eyes, and will not fail to unmask its manœuvres to their fellow citizens.

Your committee has not only formed the project to employ all the force which it can command, in order to accomplish its end, but it has, moreover, been desirous to associate in this grand enterprize, the whole body of the French marine, and even foreigners, who are either open or secret enemies of this Machiavelian government. Already instructions are given throughout all the ports, and all the great commercial towns of the Republic; already the minds of our fellow-citizens are electrified, and you will impress on the system proposed to you a rapid and direct motion, which shall multiply the result of our system, by decreeing the re-establishment of privateering, the object which we have just set before you. The committee, while employed in the means of reviving your naval commerce, has discovered in all the ports a lamentable stagnation, the necessary consequences of a general naval war against a numerous and coalesced enemy.

Your committee was of opinion, that by multiplying armed privateers, they might re-kindle in maritime towns that ardour and activity without which commerce cannot for a moment exist; that at the same time they would admit into circulation immense capitals that languished for peace; that they give new elasticity to our merchants, to our mechanics, and to those patriotic adventurers, who upon great speculations, accomplish a double object, that of enriching their own country, and of impoverishing the enemy. This is a kind of warfare that lights up heroes, that expands and propagates courage, by furnishing a thousand occasions for great and brilliant actions. It is this that forms a seminary of warriors and accomplished seamen, who afterwards becoming the commanders of ships of the state, are enabled to defend with intrepidity the national flag.

Foreigners and neutral nations will, as heretofore, crowd to man your privateers; they will acquire a kind of attachment for our marine and navigation; they will naturalize in France both their courage, their talents, and their profits; and it is thus that you will increase, while we wait for peace, and all the commercial combinations that depend thereon, both the elements of your marine, and your marine itself, since your naval glory must rest on the number, the experience, and the valour of seamen.

Above all, by destroying the English commerce, on which alone hangs its political existence, you will gratify and satiate the just cravings of revenge which every French republican is desirous to vent against the British government, which has endeavoured to organize in the bosom of our country, famine, civil war, burnings, devastations, and all the crimes upon which it feeds its detestable policy.

Defermon proposed the following decree, which was adopted.

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The National Convention, on the report of the committee of public safety, decrees—

Art. I. Every French citizen is permitted to arm privateers, in order to annoy the commerce of the enemy.

II. The commission of marine and of the colonies is authorised to deliver out letters of marque to such privateers, signed by five members composing the committee of public safety, and countersigned by the commissioners of the navy.

III. All those who shall be inclined to arm privateers, shall address themselves to the commission of the marine and of the colonies, and expose to it the nature and the advantages of the armament they propose; the commission shall give in an account thereof to the committee, and if expedient, shall issue out letters of marque.

IV. The owners of such privateers shall enjoy the benefit of the law of the 31st of January, 1793, old style.

V. Except the article of powder, which government will sell them, they shall be obliged to provide themselves with every article necessary to complete their armament. They may nevertheless be furnished from the magazines of the ports with whatever articles they may be proved to stand in need of, without however being prejudicial to the wants of the marine of the Republic.

VI. All who arm privateers, shall be obliged, by way of caution, to give a written security for the sum of 50,000 livres.

VII. The ordinances and laws of police and discipline relative to privateering, and to the distribution of prizes taken by the privateers, shall continue to be executed in whatever is not otherwise disposed of by the present decree.

VIII. An amnesty is granted to all seamen who have deserted, on any pretext whatever, except they be under trial for other faults than their desertion. They shall not enjoy the benefit of this amnesty, unless they ascertain their having entered on board ships of the Republic or privateers within the space of a month, counting from the publication of the present decree.

The following Arrêt for opening the Scheldt was issued at Antwerp, the 30th Thermidor, (10th August) third Year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.

THE representatives of the people with the armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuse, in Belgium, considering that it is time that the countries into which the Republic has carried her arms should enjoy the fruits of her victories, and the efforts of the generous defenders of liberty; considering that France always attaches to her triumphs the freedom of agriculture, the prosperity of commerce, and the advantages which the people ought to draw from them, resolve as follows:

Art. I. The ships and vessels of the heretofore Belgians and Antwerpers shall carry the national colours.

II. The freedom of navigation on the Scheldt is proclaimed, and is placed under the protection of the French Republic.

III. The regulations that the national interest, and the welfare of commerce require, for the port of Antwerp, shall be immediately published; the general and particular laws respecting the navigation, the police, the collection of the national duties, shall be provisionally executed according to their form and tenor.

(Signed)

D. V. RAMEL.

J. LEFEBVRE, of Nantes.

Proclamation of the Representatives of the People sent extraordinarily to the Armies of the Western Coast, to all the French.

Citizens,

WE have been informed that some designing or misled persons have circulated among the public, a report of a pretended capitulation between the republican troops who recaptured the peninsula of Quiberon, and the emigrants who were there made prisoners: they have even gone so far as to say, that the latter did not lay down their arms, unless on a positive promise that their lives should be saved. We owe to truth, to the army, and ourselves, a refutation of such a falsehood. Republicans, read our declaration to the military commissions charged to try the prisoners; and all you who are still desirous vainly to serve the cause of royalty, and who endeavour to tarnish by the most odious falsity a victory solely due to the courage of our intrepid soldiers, despair at seeing the rock on which your ineffectual rage and impotent efforts are split.

(Signed)

BLAD.

The representatives of the people, members of the committee of public safety, declared to the military commission at Vannes, that notwithstanding they were on the spot, and accompanied every where the republican columns, they have had no knowledge whatever of any capitulation, nor even of any condition agreed on with the Emigrants and Chouans taken at Quiberon.

They declare that the commander in chief and other generals have assured them, that they not only promised nothing, but said publicly to Sombreuil, in presence of several persons of his party, that they neither could nor would promise any thing.

They declare lastly, that if any officers invited the patriots, the republicans who were in the fort, (and there were many), to lay down their arms, they confined their address entirely to the French prisoners

prisoners forcibly enrolled, and the cultivators taken by violence from their homes, preserving a silence towards traitors, with whom no law could allow them to treat.

(Signed)

BLAD.

Proclamation to the People of France, upon the Completion of the Constitution, ordered to be issued by the National Convention on the 23d of August.

Men of France,

After long storms you are about to decide upon your fate by pronouncing upon your constitution. Long has the country loudly called for a free government, the wisdom of whose principles should be the guarantee of its duration.

Have your representatives attained this end? They think they have-- they have at least desired to attain it. Citizens, who love order and tranquillity, accept the pledge of it: it consists in the government that is offered to you: that alone, by giving us peace, can restore prosperity and plenty.

Men of France, citizens of all professions, of all opinions, rally for the interest of the country. Above all, do not make retrograde steps to the point from which you set out.

Ages have passed within six years; and though the people may be tired of revolution, they are not tired of liberty. You suffer, it is true; but it is not by making fresh revolutions, it is by completing that which is begun that you will terminate your miseries.

No, you will not impute to the Republic which hitherto has not been organised, the ills which cannot be reproduced under a government, free without licentiousness, and strong without despotism.

Sovereign people, hear the voice of your representatives. The project of the social compact which they offer to you was dictated by the desire of your happiness; it is for you to attach your destiny to it. Consult your interest and your glory, and the country is saved.

The proclamation was ordered to be printed and sent to the departments, armies, and primary assemblies.

Proclamation, by Sir Gilbert Elliot, Viceroy of Corsica.

In the Name of the King.

THE facts that have occurred in some districts, and the errors committed by a part of the inhabitants, seduced by turbulent minds, have induced me to expose to the view of all the Corsicans,

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the grievous consequences of such conduct, in order to preserve them from the bad example ; to maintain them in the observance of the laws, and in just obedience to his Majesty's government. It is well known that, from certain circumstances, and past events, Corsica was reduced to a situation the most dangerous for any nation to experience. It was this situation that moved the magnanimity of his Majesty to afford it assistance, and with the sovereignty to accept the charge of rendering it happy. It is not necessary to repeat the sacrifices that have been made, and how much English blood has been bravely and generously shed for the completion of that enterprise. In the circumstances in which it is incumbent on his Majesty to supply the most considerable expences, he has not ceased to communicate with the utmost liberality, in whatever he thought necessary for the defence of the island. The English troops have been employed to protect it ; several Corsican battalions raised and maintained by his Majesty's beneficence, and an arsenal established at Ajaccio ; navigation has been restored, and care has been taken to protect it from the enemy ; industry has found a compensation in riches ; and the means of consumption increased by the station of the army and navy ; the national credit has been respected by foreigners, and supported by all the political influence of his Majesty ; laws have been framed according to the constitution of the kingdom ; the public authorities regulated and protected ; individual liberty preserved inviolate, and every motive for intestine division suppressed. The exercise of the religion of your ancestors has been re-established, and a happy conclusion to the articles presented by the Parliament to his holiness the Pope may soon be expected ; and, in fine, a rapid progress in every point towards a perfect organization of the system of government effected with the applause and consent of the whole nation. But when we promised ourselves that the moral effects of these changes would have been sufficient for the maintenance of tranquillity and obedience to the laws, and to direct the national activity towards industry, and every means of accelerating the general good, it was with much displeasure that in some places we perceived tumults formed for the purpose of forcing peaceable and well-behaved subjects to participate in licentious and turbulent actions, viz. to burn the public magazines ; to declare and resolve against the payment of public imposts ; to search the houses of individuals with an armed force, and threaten the lives of citizens, with several other inconveniences, manifested and executed in a spirit of insubordination to the government, and the dissolution of every good principle of society, characterised by traits unworthy of persons who possess any stimulus of respect for themselves, or attachment to their country. However, it has been some consolation to us to perceive that these proceedings are held in abhorrence by the greatest part of the kingdom, and regretted by persons of credit and respectability. It is

make me responsible for the consequences that may result from them ; at the same time that they seek to pervert the rectitude of your intentions into turbulence and disloyalty towards our gracious sovereign, for the purpose of discouraging his Majesty from pursuing the accomplishment of the beneficent intentions manifested, in his royal munificence, towards the people of this isle.

Dear countrymen, the confidence that you have constantly reposed in me during my public life, and in which you still generously persevere, animates me to address you with equal confidence on this important occasion, and to intreat you, in the most earnest manner, to confute the slanderous assertions and insinuations of your enemies, by pursuing a conduct worthy of yourselves, and not undeserving the approbation and favour of his Majesty, who has been graciously pleased to take upon himself the government of our country, under a free constitution, and our own laws, after having previously, in the magnanimity of his heart, contributed, with his royal forces, to our deliverance from a ferocious enemy, who threatened us with utter annihilation.

You cannot have forgotten, that the beneficence of his Majesty towards this nation was manifested during the distressful period, when your necks were forcibly bowed to the French yoke, and long before his assumption of its government ; and I do solemnly protest, that none shall surpass me in the zeal and readiness with which I shall feel myself constantly animated, in securing and supporting his royal prerogative in this kingdom ;—a prerogative which, from a happy combination of circumstances, even independently of his personal renown and magnanimity, our gracious sovereign cannot exercise but for the happiness of his people. My efforts to this end, though deriving additional strength from an everlasting, deep, and grateful sense of personal obligations, well I know, would be but too weak, if I were to depend on my individual means and capacity alone : but I rely, with the utmost assurance, on the sacred loyalty of your sentiments towards the King, as well as on your constant affection and generosity towards me, that I shall always find you ready to unite with me in evincing to his Majesty, on all occasions, by your operations and conduct, the faithful submission of this people to his government, and the high respect, veneration, and thankfulness, that his royal virtues, no less than the multiplied instances of his royal beneficence towards this country, have indelibly impressed on the hearts of the Corsicans.

I therefore insist on earnestly recommending to you a becoming moderation ; a submission to the laws, which you must look upon as your own work, and the respect due to government, and to the representatives of that gracious sovereign, on whose munificence and goodness chiefly rests the prospect of the future prosperity of this island—Wait with patience and calmness for the re-assembling of your Parliament, which will take place ere long ; and then alone

address you on this occasion ; not only to confound the flanderous insinuations issued against me, but to enlighten you with respect to your most important interests and concerns, at so alarming a crisis, which you can consider in no other light than as the work of the secret machinations of some insidious individuals, who are the in-
veterate enemies of our present happy system.

The discontent which has of late, to my great grief, manifested itself throughout the island, against some of the individuals employed by government, in a subordinate station, hath occasioned remonstrances from different quarters to his Majesty's representa-
tive in this country.—There can be doubt but that, in so doing, you have availed yourselves of a right solemnly consecrated by the constitutional act ; and I shall not attempt to conceal from you, that I think your complaints are grounded on facts, which are scarcely liable to any solid objection : if, therefore, they shall be found conformable to the laws, and to have been expressed with the respect due to the dignified character of the person, under whose consideration they are legally to come, you are intitled to expect, from his known wisdom and zeal for your welfare, that attention will be paid to your wishes.

You shall have my support, as long as your wishes shall be marked by the characteristics I have mentioned ; but I shall be the first to raise my voice against them, and to shew my resentment, in union with all the loyal subjects of his Majesty, as soon as they shall be found to have a tendency to compromise the national honour, and consequently liable to incur the just indignation of our com-
mon gracious sovereign.

I shall not dissemble to you, that I entertain some doubts, not as to the substance of your petitions, but as to the time chosen for presenting them : but I am willing to believe, that if you have mistaken the proper time or mode of delivering it, you have not forgotten the decency and respect that are due to government. I must not fail, at the same time, on this occasion to recal to your mind, that there are among you many old, as well as recent ene-
mies of our liberty and welfare, who, notwithstanding we have frustrated their repeated efforts to oppose the vindication of our national independence, and our subsequent happy union with the British empire, still indulge the wicked hope of succeeding at last in their perfidious designs, and endeavour to avail themselves of the present circumstances, in order to break the recent bonds of union that connect us with that mighty nation, and to deprive us of the blessings of our happy situation, in the attainment of which so much blood has been shed. I am fully aware, that all their powers are now exerting in the desperate attempt ; and to their perfidious instigations alone, I must impute the illegal proceedings, which, I hear, have occurred in some places, and of which calumny is eager to brand me as an accomplice, nay, as the principal author, and to make

Considering that this tranquillity cannot be disturbed, nor the solidity of these principles shaken or impaired, by the enlargement of an aged valetudinarian, worn out with infirmitie, generally acknowledged principally to arise from his long imprisonment in an unwholesome habitation, and in a climate unfriendly to his constitution, by whose influence his health has been considerably impaired.

Considering finally, that the decree of the 12th Messidor ult. pointed at the approaching period, on which the members of the Bourbon family, who are imprisoned at Marseilles, might expect a term to their imprisonment, and that the negotiation was far advanced, relative to the exchange of the daughter of the late King of the French, warrant us to believe that no political convenience can be injured by the act of justice which the petitioner solicits :

Resolved for the present,

I. That Louis François Joseph Bourbon Conti shall be immediately liberated.

II. That he shall retire into the commune of Autun, there to reside provisionally under the inspection of the municipality, and bestow on the re-establishment of his health, every remedy, and mode of cure which that situation, and its mineral waters may afford.

They also resolve for the present, that Louisa-Maria-Teresa-Bathilde, of Orleans, of the Bourbon family, likewise imprisoned for the motives and for the same period, in the Fort Jean at Marseilles, and in whose favour militate all the above-mentioned considerations, shall immediately be set at liberty, on condition that she retire to the commune of Moulins, there provisionally to remain under the inspection of the municipality.

The procurator of the commune of Marseilles is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed)

MAREC,	J. B. LOUVET,
DOULCET,	JEAN-DE-BRIE,
J. MARIETTE,	LETOURNEUR de la Manche,
LOMONT,	PIERRET,
PEMARTIN,	RABAUT,
DEFERMON,	VERNIER,
J. F. ROVERE,	BAILLEUL,
MERLIN of Douay,	LE SAGE d'Eure and Loire,
BAILLY,	M. P. DELAUNAY,
ALEXANDER ISABEAU,	HENRY LARIVIERE,
BOISSY,	KERVELEGAN.

(Signed also)

CAMBACERES, President; F. BERLIER, Secretary.

20th September.

By virtue of the same resolutions, Louisa Maria Adelaide Bourbon Penthièvre, widow of the Duke of Orleans, was also set at liberty, with the permission to retire to her house at Armainvilliers, or any other she might deem more convenient.

DECREE RELATIVE TO THE FRENCH COLONIES.

In the National Convention, on the 4th of August, the following Decree was passed :

THE French colonies in the old and new world form an integral part of the French Republic, and are subject to the same constitutional laws.

THE NETHERLANDS.

Report presented to the National Convention in the Beginning of Sept. 1795, by Robertjot, respecting the future Boundaries of the French Empire.

WHAT naturally presents itself first, is the question, whether it behoves the Republic to unite the countries conquered by the armies of the north, the Sambre and the Meuse, to its territory; whether this union shall comprehend the whole, or only a part; and in this case what should be the limits?

This proposition requires the most serious examination: I shall consider it in every point of view.

The French nation, finding itself in a capacity to dictate the terms of peace to a formidable enemy, should dictate it with all the conditions that may tend to increase his weakness, and to secure its own force.

As the boundaries are to be fixed by the treaty of peace, they should be traced so as to secure the utmost stability; and the articles of the treaty should be calculated to prevent any future disputes.

Ambition, jealousy, and a spirit of rivalry, may again induce that enemy, in other times and places, to attempt fresh enterprises against the French nation; this treaty should diminish as far as possible his means, if it cannot destroy them entirely. The disposition of the convention should be so defined, as for every clause to tend to the advantage and establishment of the Republic.

These principles being granted, and it is impossible to contest their justness, we can easily resolve the proposed question.

There are generally three opinions with regard to the future state of the conquered countries.

One opinion is, that it is consistent with sound policy and justice to abandon these countries, and resume our own frontier, contenting ourselves with having repulsed the enemy.

Another is, to carry the limits of our territory to the course of the Meuse.

The third is, to carry them to the Rhine.

The first must have its support, on the necessity of making peace, on the inconvenience that might result from too extensive territory, and on the necessity for depriving the enemy of every reason or pretext to attack us ; attempts, which he would not fail to make, say the partizans of this opinion, if he were deprived of countries, the loss of which must occasion a lasting resentment and regret.

The second is founded on this consideration, that the territory, comprehended between the Meuse and the ocean, belonging to France, will facilitate and promote the advantages to be expected from the opening of the Scheldt and the navigation of the Meuse, secured by the treaty of peace with Holland.

On this principle, that it is just and proper that the French nation should be indemnified for her expences in defending her liberty by those who strove to ravish it from her ;

On the assurance that this territory, from the richness of its soil, and industry of its inhabitants, cannot fail of being profitable to the Republic.

Those who maintain this opinion, think that a greater extent of territory would not be advantageous.

Lastly, the third is founded on the principle of giving a firm establishment to the Republic, which they think can only be done by making the Rhine its boundary ;

On the impossibility in which Austria, with such limits, would be placed, of forming fresh enterprizes against the French ;

On the indemnity justly due to the nation for the expences of a three years war ;

On the obstacles which this arrangement would put to the ambition of the house of Austria, the power of which it is necessary to diminish.

It is founded also on the necessity for opening fresh sources of commerce, which the union of all this country would assure us, by enabling us to form a beneficial commercial intercourse with the north, and some of the circles of Germany, and to augment our maritime trade.

Hence also would result the free navigation of the Rhine, the smallest interruption of which renders whatever other portions of it we might possess of no advantage, whilst the profits of its entire navigation are incalculable.

To these considerations are to be added, the certainty of hence supplanting, in some important branches of commerce, the English, our most ardent enemies ; the good disposition of the inhabitants of the countries between the Meuse and the Rhine, who have repeatedly addressed the National Convention to be incorporated with the Republic, and the general wish of the French people to make peace only on favourable conditions.

First Opinion.—A Return to the antient Limits.

I shall not dwell long in refuting this opinion ; it is chiefly that of the partizans of Austria, and of those who too readily conceive false alarms.

In admitting this principle, we should voluntarily give up all the advantages which France has to expect from the opening of the Scheldt, and the navigation of the Meuse, which will be two great means of enriching the frontier departments.

The nation would degrade itself in the eyes of Europe, if it were so lightly to abandon the fruits of its victories ; it would leave to Austria, so jealous of our prosperity, all the means of injuring us : for she would be enabled to break, whenever she chose, our commercial connections in those countries, and to take advantage of the first favourable occasion to overturn the edifice of our liberty, and to revenge the humiliation which her armies experienced in the last campaign.

It would be conferring upon our enemy the means of recovering from the exhausted state into which it has been plunged by the losses of the war, to enable him soon to rally, to form new combinations, and taking advantage of our dissensions or our wants, by plans more maturely digested and better concerted, to levy a fresh war against us.

It is then neither politic nor just to return to our antient limits.

Boundary of the Meuse.

Let us now examine the second opinion.—Although it may be more calculated, in certain respects, to consolidate the Republic than the first, yet there are persons who consider the boundary of the Meuse as by no means a sufficient or a sure one.

They admit, that the French nation would, in the countries reserved to her by that boundary, have a proportionate indemnity for the greatest part of the expences occasioned by the war ; but that is not the only point of view in which the question should be considered : we must consider whether we should not leave to Austria the means of re-possessing herself of the countries thus retained by us ; and whether such a settlement would be conducive to a permanent peace ?

The river of the Meuse, its bed and situation, do not offer a sufficient obstacle to prevent an enemy from attempting a passage, and

and to invade the territory on the other side : it cannot then serve as a frontier to secure the country between it and the ocean. Its only use would be to fix the limits between the two powers free from dispute, without presenting a rampart, means of security, or sufficient points of defence.

The enemy, placed between the Meuse and the Rhine, will always be able to assemble his forces, to furnish himself with provisions, to procure iron in great quantities for the service of the artillery, to equip his troops with the cloth of Limburg ; the territory furnishes all these resources.

The country between the Meuse and the Rhine is rich in population, in productions of every sort, in horses, industry, mines ; it required all the courage of the French, their enthusiasm for liberty, that intrepidity which is acquired by a succession of victories, the terror and discouragement inspired into an enemy constantly defeated, the ascendancy given by the persuasion that men are shedding their blood for the salvation of their country, and not for a master ; that they are fighting for themselves, for their own good and that of their brethren—it required all those causes to enable the French armies to drive the Austrians from these countries beyond the Rhine.

The limits fixed by the course of the Meuse do not sufficiently secure the liberty of the French people : the enemy, it is true, would be less powerful to declare war ; but he would still have sufficient means to do it, whenever he should think it for his interest to attack us.

Advantages of the Boundaries of the Rhine.

Let us now consider the third opinion, against which there is a great number of opponents, and which it is perhaps not the interest of one power, with whom we have treated, to see adopted.

Those who hold that opinion, are persuaded that by the adoption of this plan, Austria and the circles would be disabled from making fresh enterprizes. This river differs much from the Meuse. Its current is more rapid ; its bed is generally of double the width ; its depth is proportionally great ; it is in every respect more difficult in its navigation and passage.

In taking the Rhine for our boundary, there is then greater security than in taking the Meuse ; but that is not the only consideration that should make us assume the Rhine for our frontier.

I have already observed, that the country between the Meuse and the Rhine offers immense resources to the enemy that may occupy it ; and that he would always find abundance of provisions, and other articles necessary for an army. It is then our interest to take advantage of circumstances to strip our enemy of those possessions, the benefits resulting from which would be the greater to us : as the Austrians, forced to occupy the right bank

of the Rhine, could not maintain themselves there long, but at a considerable expence, which would soon oblige them to cease hostilities.

For many years we have felt the ambition of the house of Austria; this last war is a convincing proof of it. It was less to restore the *ci-devant* King to his pristine privileges, than to wrest some province from France, that Austria entered into the coalition. To strip that house of a territory that may serve to nourish its ambition, to force it to content itself with a dominion which good policy can maintain, and of which nature has traced the limits, would be to serve the interest of the nation.

Our generosity towards such an enemy should not be so great, as to make us lose sight of the happiness of our fellow-citizens for the time to come. These motives alone might be sufficient to determine Frenchmen to extend their boundary to the Rhine; but there are other considerations which the partizans of that opinion may urge, and which shall be developed.

It imports us to endeavour to acquire an advantageous balance of trade, since that is the source of relative power. It is well known, that hitherto it has been against us, though nature has been favourable to the French, and their genius has urged them to attain it.

Now it is easy to prove that France, by this union, will obtain that advantage, since to the effects of her own industry and the produce of her soil, will be added all that is the result of both in the new territory. These countries are enriched with a produce that by more than two-thirds exceeds their consumption.

Another motive, not less urgent for the preservation of this country, is the prodigious advantage that would result from the free navigation of the river. Assured already by what we possess, and by a treaty with Holland, of a considerable part of its course, shall we without necessity deprive ourselves of the prospect of advantage beyond calculation, and consent to barriers and interruptions that would serve only to impoverish us, and to enrich our neighbours or our enemies?

But one of the great causes that should engage us to take the course of the Rhine for our frontier is, that we shall be enabled to appropriate to ourselves some considerable branches of commerce, which England has got hold of. In uniting these countries to France, we shall immediately release them from the restrictions that were put upon their trade; they will at once have the liberty of exporting freely; they will furnish the same commodities with the English; and the moderate price of labour, the facility of transport, the exemption from taxes of passage (permits) will soon establish a competition that will set the English at a distance, since they will not be able to furnish articles at so low,

low a price, and the Republic will enjoy directly that branch of commerce, to the exclusion of its enemies.

Many other collateral advantages will arise ; arts and industry will acquire a fresh spring ; the greatest part of the neighbouring nations will, in preference, purchase in the united countries, and commercial connexions extending will increase the commerce of the French nation.

Wish of the Inhabitants to be incorporated with France.

Another reason for retaining the country to the Rhine arises from the wish so often expressed, and declared at your bar, of a majority of the inhabitants. Without doubt there are amongst them some enemies to the liberty of nations, brought up in the midst of oppression, with prejudices in favour of slavery, and interested, perhaps, in the maintenance of the old system. These personages would, no doubt, wish to establish their will, as that of their fellow-citizens ; but you have only to traverse those countries to be convinced of the contrary.

Great errors prevail respecting the state of those countries. It is commonly thought that they are less enlightened than the French ; and it has been imagined that the climate and manners are so different, that our principles and our revolution could never take root there ; that their union to France would be a new source of troubles, and that the effects of it might even spread into the interior of our departments.

They are held to be entire strangers to our cause ; nevertheless they follow the progres of the revolution with an astonishing activity ; they execute, in a great measure, the French laws ; they created, at the moment of invasion, administrations similar to our departments and districts ; they established tribunals, justices of the peace, and municipalities.—The great epochs of the revolution are celebrated, as in France, by civic festivals.

There is a mixture, indeed, of idioms, but the French language is generally spoken, particularly since the entrance of the French armies. There is no more difference between those people and ours, than there is between the people of our northern and the southern departments. Their usages and customs are indeed different, but they are more suitable to a republican government even than our own.

The abolition of religious worship was, it is true, an insurmountable obstacle to the union ; but as the people will have the means of following it as they think proper, and as the civil reform of the clergy will not deprive them of that consolation, that obstacle will subsist no longer. Leave to this people its form of worship and its ministers, its ceremonies, and its creeds, and you will attach it to your principles, your lot and liberty.

Promises

Promises made to the Inhabitants.

Forget not that you gave reason to the people to expect this union ; they trusted to your word. The representatives of the people, who must be acquainted with your intentions, proclaimed it loudly. Your committees of government recommended that the minds of those people should be prepared for an union with France. Steady to fulfil your purposes, they omitted no opportunity of freely declaring that we should soon be brethren and friends. Will you, when you can put your promises in execution, break them, to their loss and your shame ? No ; your good faith would urge you to the performance of them, even if the general interest did not prescribe it.

Another motive is, an Indemnity for the Expenses of the War.

Finally, after so many victories and successes over the coalition, after the French nation has exhausted itself in sustaining a war made against it by injustice, hatred of liberty, jealousy of its rising prosperity, and all the passions united to sink and destroy it, will it be politic, will it be right to exact no indemnity from our enemies, to take no measure for retrieving our finances, increasing our commerce, opening our ports to abundance of productions, and thus repairing the losses which the war has occasioned ? Is it becoming so generously to devote ourselves to weakness and to want, when we have the means of satisfying the latter, and repairing the former ? We should insist, then, on this indemnity. It is to be found in the retention of the extensive countries now occupied by our armies.

Our first object in terminating the war, in making peace with the powers ranged against us, is to establish the Republic. The happiness and prosperity of France depend on that government. What nations will dare to venture upon our territory, when we are fortified with such means of resistance ? What potentate, when we have a frontier so easy to defend, a force so formidable and compact, will dare to attack us ?

Peace is not only the means of consolidating the Republic; our enemies might again attempt, when recovered from their exhausted state, to overturn the edifice of our liberty ; but with peace, an increase of territory, an augmented force and increased riches, the revolution is confirmed, the Republic established, and the prosperity of the nation secured for ever !

The question, whether the Netherlands should or should not be incorporated with France ? was ordered to be again taken into consideration by the committee of public safety.

In the National Convention, on the 24th of September, Merlin, of Douai, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, presented a Report upon the conquered Territories, more particularly on Belgium and the Territory of Liege.

HE stated, how unworthy it would be of the French people to abandon a nation to which they had promised liberty, to the resentments of its old rulers. He thought the Republic interested in this case, in fulfilling the engagements she had contracted. It is of importance to us, said he, not to allow Austria to approach our frontiers, and to withdraw from them as far as possible, those governments that will still for a long time be our secret enemies. It is of importance to us to multiply our resources of commerce and navigation, and not to separate ourselves from Holland, where England will unceasingly multiply her intrigues and plots, to recover there her old despotism. It is important to us that the Belgians and people of Liege shall be no further free, but as they shall become French, to defeat the stratagems of the malevolent, who, as was the case at the commencement of the revolution, may try to detach from France the northern departments and Pas de Calais. And finally, it is important to us to increase still the pledge of our assignats, by that immense quantity of ecclesiastical and emigrant property, which we shall find in those countries as soon as their union with France shall be pronounced, and which amount at least to the value of two-thirds of our assignats. These considerations alike apply to the other countries subdued by our victorious arms. It would be as dastardly as imprudent to surrender them once again to our enemies. A thousand times have you crowned with your applause those who declared that the Rhine was the natural barrier of the Republic. These principles are those of your committee; but we can at this time declare our will relative to a great part of the conquered territories; there is nothing in our treaties with Prussia and Hesse Cassel that opposes such a measure. The interest of the commonwealth, the necessity of depriving the Emperor of every hope of making peace at the expence of Belgium, the desire of extending the empire of liberty; every thing, in short, calls on you to determine without delay on this great question. The following is what I have to propose as the plan of a decree on the conquered territories:

I. The decrees precedingly enacted for uniting to France the departments of Gemappe, Austrian Flanders, Brabant, the territory of Liege, &c. shall be carried into execution without delay.

II. All the other countries which the house of Austria possessed at the commencement of the war, on the French side of the Rhine, such

such as Limbourg, Luxembourg, &c. are also incorporated with France, as are likewise those specified in the treaty of peace concluded between the French and Batavian Republics.

III. The French Republic accepts also the desire expressed for the union of the cities of Ypres, Namur, Tournay, Ghent, and Mons.

IV. The citizens of these several countries shall enjoy the rights of French citizens, such as they are specified in the constitution.

V. The national representatives shall divide these countries into departments and cantons.

VI. The territories preceedingly united shall instantly appoint their public functionaries.

VII. In those which are about to be united, the public functionaries shall be provisionally appointed by the national representatives. And,

VIII. The legislative body shall determine on the number of deputies to be on mission in these countries.

The discussion of the above report was adjourned for a few days.

In the National Convention, on the 1st of October, Merlin, of Douai, in the name of the Committee of Public Welfare, read a second time his Report on the Union of Belgium and the Country of Liege, submitting his Plan of Decree to the Discussion of the Convention.

HE recalled to the mind of the convention the deccrees of the 15th of December, 1792, of the 31st of January, 1793, of the 2d of March, &c. which ordered the convocation of the primary assemblies in Belgium, and in the country of Liege, and acceded to the wish of the citizens of those countries. He stated some facts with a view to refute the calumnies spread by Dumourier and his partizans against the liberty granted to those citizens to declare their will.

Whilst you issued these deccrees, (continued he,) whilst by wise deliberations you aggrandized the dominion of liberty, intrigue and the force of arms acted in concert, to deliver up your own territory to the coalition of kings! Our generous warriors were obliged to evacuate successively the country of Liege, Brabant, the county of Namur, Flanders, Hainault, and the county of Tournay; however, in evacuating these places, they swore by their arms to return victorious; and soon after, when reinforced by those brilliant youths, of whom your decree of the 23d of August, 1793, had suddenly established formidable legions, they fulfilled their oath. The victories of Moubrion, of Courtray, of Fleurus, broke the new yoke which Austria had imposed on the unfortunate Belgians; and on the 10th of Thermidor, that ever-memorable day when the National Convention struck within their own assembly

bly the monsters who tyrannised France, our armed brethren restored liberty to the brave people of Liege, and drove from that country the priests, who had again seized the sceptre of despotism, as well as the sword of vengeance.

Then arose the question, whether the decrees of union, passed in the preceding year, ought to be executed or reported ? a question which has so long been adjourned ; but it ought now to be resumed, and submitted to a discussion worthy of the representatives of a great people.

This question, as you see, is complex, and must be reduced to the following three points :

1st. What part does justice command us to take with regard to the people of Liege, and those of Belgia ?

2d. What are the interests of the French Republic in this respect ?

3d. Is it prudent, is it politic, under existing circumstances, to come to a decision upon this point ?

With regard to the first question, there is one principle which seems alone sufficient to influence a decision, namely, contracts between nations are as obligatory as those between individuals.

When the people of Liege and of Belgia had voted for their union with the Republic, and when you acceded to their wish, from that moment a contract existed between them and the French people, in the name of whom you had united them together : a contract which at present ought neither to be broken, nor to remain without execution.

Is it in your power to detach from the great society of which the French Republic is composed, the departments of the North, of the Pas de Calais, of the Upper or Lower Rhine ? No ! certainly. Well, according to principles, the inhabitants of these four departments have no more right to remain Frenchmen than the people of Belgia and of Liege.

Would it not, besides, be an insult to the national character, to suppose you capable of restoring to their ancient masters, men whose fetters you have yourselves broken, and whom you yourselves have invited to enjoy the blessings of liberty.

Let us not be told that without replacing them under the yoke of their former masters, there is no necessity for rendering them Frenchmen, and that it would be sufficient to form them into a separate Republic, in order to render them as free as they would be by an union with France.

This idea we know is very pleasing to the friends of England, who, in its execution, already see infallible means of speedily producing a civil war in Belgium, and by that means, of bringing them under the reign of a new Stadtholder, which the house of Brunswick keeps ready for them ; and particularly of breaking without the least effort, by physically separating us from Holland, by an intermediate state, the ties of alliance which unite the Batavian

vian Republic with that of France : an alliance, the happy effects of which the English government has well calculated to us and our friends, as well as the fatal consequences which must result from it to them and their adherents.

But above all, it is impossible for any man of common sense not to see that the interest of the Republic accords with its duty, and that in this case, as well as in all others, it is of consequence for the Republic to be just.

It is, indeed, of consequence to the Republic, that the house of Austria should never more enter a country, which, by keeping it in perpetual contact with us, would make it continue to be what it has long been, the cause and the theatre of two or three wars in every century, as long as they were bloody.

It is of consequence to the Republic, that the house of Austria should no longer find, in the riches of those countries, resources to nourish its ambition, in order incessantly to disturb the tranquillity of Europe.

It is of consequence to the Republic, to multiply its means of defence against governments, who, even after having laid down the arms which they at present carry against it, will ever remain its secret enemies, and will not be long in finding out a favourable moment for declaring a new war.

It is of consequence to the Republic to secure a preponderance in the scale of commerce, and to take from the English several branches of the trade which they carry on with so much advantage ; and consequently, not to suffer to escape from its hands the incalculable profit to be derived from the possession of a country the productions of which constantly exceed the wants of its numerous population, by two-thirds. Not to be deprived of the advantages secured by the free navigation of the rivers and canals, which have always proved the greatest sources of public prosperity ; to entertain with the Batavian Republic immediate connections, which would weaken daily, and would entirely be annulled, if an immediate neighbourhood did not exist between the nations, and if sentiments of amity were not to be guaranteed by local proximity.

It is of consequence to the Republic to extend its territories in such a manner that the north and, the south should balance each other, and afford a reciprocal support, in such a manner that the central commune of the government should no longer be at so great a distance from the centre of the countries governed, as it is at present ; in such a manner, in short, that Paris may form the centre of a circle.

It is of consequence to the Republic, and I call the attention of its true friends to this point in a particular manner, for its object is to defeat an intrigue which perhaps has already succeeded in a certain degree, and which tends to nothing less than to the dismemberment

memberment or destruction of the Republic. It is, I say, of consequence to the Republic, that the inhabitants of Belgium and of Liege should be no farther free and independent than as Frenchmen. Why?—Because if they were to form a separate Republic, they would be too weak to resist the attacks of their ancient masters, and would ultimately be incapacitated from serving us as a barrier against our natural enemies; because, if they were to associate themselves with the United Provinces, and were by that means to add their territorial power to the maritime power of Holland, there might, one day or other, proceed, from such amalgamation, consequences which we should not have much reason to be pleased with; because, above all, in this last case, an immense advantage would be given to intriguers. What do I say? To the conspirators, who, at a certain epoch of the revolution, have flattered themselves with the hopes of persuading the departments of the North and the Pas-de-Calais, that their right and interest accord in the propriety of detaching themselves from France, to unite with their ancient brethren in the Netherlands, and to realize, in conjunction with them, the ancient plan of a confederacy of the seventeen provinces; because, at all events, the French Republic might one day experience, even from the republican government of Liege and Belgium, an act of ingratitude, of which the most modern diplomatic system would furnish an example. I mean to say, that exercising their right of sovereignty, and availing themselves of some momentaneous embarrassment in which France might be involved, the Liegois and Belgians might, influenced by perfidious counsels, enter into a treaty with the enemies of the French Republic, by which means we should be reduced to the same situation as if our enemies had remained masters of Belgium and the territory of Liege.

It is, lastly, of consequence to the Republic, and, indeed, of the greatest consequence, to dispel the fear which malevolence and folly have conjointly excited, on the insufficiency of the present security for our assignats, and consequently to strengthen that security by the domains which the clergy and the house of Austria possessed in Belgium and in the country of Liege.

Far from us be the thought, that either prudence or policy require the reservation of a means for making peace with the house of Belgium and of Austria, at the expence of the people of Liege! I have already proved, that the French Republic cannot, under any circumstances, abandon her friends, her adopted children; and our brave armies assure us, that our enemies shall never acquire such an ascendancy as will make us conclude a disgraceful peace, which must, of necessity, prove illusive, since it would replace our enemies at our door, and supply them with the most powerful means of aggression.

The question then is reduced to this one point: shall we wait, in order to complete an union which was voted and decreed nearly

three years ago, until the house of Austria and the Bishop of Liege shall be pleased to give it their sanction? I propose the following decree:

Art. I. The decrees of the National Convention of the 2d and 4th of March, and of the 8th of May, 1793, which annexed the countries of Liege, Stavelot, Logne, and Malmidy, to the French territory, shall be executed according to their form and tenor.

II. The decrees of the National Convention, of the 1st, 2d, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 19th, and 23d of March, which annexed to the French territory, Hainault, Tournaisis, the country of Namur, and the majority of the communes of Flanders and Brabant, shall be in like manner executed.

III. The National Convention accepts the wishes expressed in 1793, by the communes of Ypres, Grammont, and other communes of Flanders, of Brabant, and that part of Austrian Gueldres not comprised in the said decrees, for their union to the French territory.

IV. All the other countries on this side the Rhine, which were before the present war, under the dominion of Austria, and those which have been preserved to the French Republic by the treaty concluded at the Hague, the 27th of last Floreal, between their plenipotentiaries and those of the Republic of the United Provinces, to which none of the dispositions of the present decree attach, shall be also united to the French territory.

V. The inhabitants of the countries of Liege, Stavelot, Logne, Malmidy, and those of the communes of Belgium, comprised in the articles two and three of this decree, shall enjoy from the present moment all the rights of French citizens, provided they otherwise possess the qualifications required by the constitution.

VI. With respect to the communes comprised in the fourth article, the inhabitants shall enjoy, until it has been otherwise provided, all the rights guaranteed by the constitution to strangers who reside in France, or possess property there.

VII. The countries mentioned in the four first articles of the present decree, shall be divided into nine departments, viz. the Dyle, (Brussels, chief place;) the Scheldt, (Ghent, chief place;) Gemappes, (Mons, chief place;) Des Forets, (Luxembourg, chief place;) the Sambre and Meuse, (Namur, chief place;) De Lourthe, (Liege, chief place;) La Meuse Inferieure, (Maestricht, chief place;) Des Deux Nettes, (Antwerp, chief place;) La Lyse, (Bruges, chief place.)

VIII. The representatives of the people sent to Belgium are charged with fixing the different boundaries of these departments, and to divide them into cantons like other parts of the Republic.

IX. They shall nominate provisionally the functionaries who shall compose the administrations of the departments, those of the cantons, and the tribunals of the countries of Limbourg, Luxembourg,

bourg, Maestricht, Venloo, and their dependencies, with Dutch Flanders.

X. The legislative body shall determine the number of representatives of the people that each of the departments formed according to article VII. shall nominate, conformably to the constitution, at the epoch of its renewal, which shall take place the 5th year of the Republic.

XI. The representatives of the people sent to Belgium shall take care that the extraordinary contributions levied on these countries, and forming their contingent of the expences of the war of liberty, be levied and paid.

XII. The custom-houses now existing, whether between France and the countries mentioned in the four first articles of the present decree, or between the different parts of the same countries, shall be suppressed. Those which are established between these same countries, the United Provinces, and the countries not annexed between the Meuse and the Rhine, shall remain as before.

The above decree was passed with great applause.

Proclamation of his Majesty, as Elector of Hanover.

GEORGE III. by the grace of God, &c. &c. Whereas the depots of different bodies of emigrants, and other free corps, formerly stationed in the field with our army, were provisofly quartered in our German territories, till such time as they could be removed elsewhere; but whereas a continuance of their stay produces disorder, and becomes grievous and burthensome to our subjects, and whereas we have also long ago caused to be declared our acquiescence in the treaty of peace concluded on the 5th of April of the present year, at Basil, between his Prussian Majesty and France: We do therefore will and command by these presents, that each and all emigrants, and other foreign corps, be embarked without delay, and removed from our German territories, and that in future, such corps be, in no shape, permitted again therein to remain: on which account we give this information to all our subjects, that they may act accordingly, and we command our officers, &c. throughout our German territories, not to grant to any such corps or detachments of men, from the moment of the impending embarkation, any residence or quarters, and still less to suffer, that the least depots, detachments, or posts of the embarked corps do remain behind any where, nor to let any transports of recruits belonging to them, march into or pass through the said territories, but immediately to stop, send off, and suppress all such transports, detachments, or corps; to conduct them beyond the frontiers of our territories, or to deliver them to the next garrison, to be transported further; and to require, if there should be need, the assistance

ance of the military for that purpose; all which things ought to be most punctually attended to; as all such officers as may be guilty of neglect shall be responsible for the same.

Hanover, Sept. 21, 1795.

Imperial Court Decree, concerning the separate Treaty of Peace concluded between the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the French Republic, published at Ratifson, the 10th of September, 1795.

THE diet of the empire declared but very lately in the second part of the advice of the 3d July, occasioned by the Imperial court decree of the 19th of May, before all Germany and Europe, in the most solemn and positive manner,

That it still remained the constant wish and firm determination of the empire, in undissolved and unalterable junction of all the members of the empire, with its chief, by constitutional means to obtain a general peace for the empire, and through it, the restoration of the integrity of its dominions.

The political relations of the Germanic empire, and the pressing urgencies of the present posture of affairs, seemed to require that his Majesty should answer this truly patriotic declaration with the same clearness and undisguised frankness which becomes the father of the empire. His Majesty, therefore, declared, in the court decree of the 29th of July, 'that the aforesaid constant wish and resolve did not only afford him peculiar satisfaction in his quality as supreme chief of the empire, but that also (as according to the fundamental laws of the German institution in all matters concerning both the conclusion of a peace and the determination on a war of the empire, neither the supreme chief could be separated from the members, nor the latter from the former) the said declaration was the genuine and glorious expression of constitutional and patriotic sentiments; and that the Germanic constitution might still flourish for a long series of years, if the electors, princes, and states, sensible of their moral and legal obligations, and animated by a becoming public spirit, would remain faithful to their solemn professions: that, therefore, his Imperial Majesty, having so often and so lately testified his zealous attachment to the Germanic constitution, and the preservation of all its parts, members, and rights, would act in open contradiction with his own actions and declarations, if he did not readily sanction the whole tenor of the aforesaid second part, which so perfectly agreed both with his paternal affection for the empire, and his duty as chief of it.'

Pursuant to these sentiments, thus solemnly declared by the diet, and sanctioned by his Imperial Majesty, the former continued to deliberate on the Imperial court decree of the 19th of May, especially concerning the concurrence of the states of the empire in the

future negotiations for peace with France, and proposed for that purpose an extraordinary deputation, consisting of ten members of the Germanic body. His Imperial Majesty, in order to promote the said negotiations, was pleased most graciously to sanction this advice of the empire, and its legal inseparability from its chief, and by co-operating with patriotic German perseverance in the important business of a peace of the empire, would constitutionally endeavour to support and promote the common interest and welfare of the German empire. Since the 7th inst. the diet has again been constantly employed in deliberating on the remaining objects pointed out by the said court decree, and especially on the important instructions which ought fully and clearly to prescribe, not only the terms of peace, but also the manner of treating.

Whilst the Germanic empire, united under its supreme chief, endeavoured, and still endeavours, by constitutional means, to obtain a general peace of the empire, private negotiations for a separate peace were carried on by his Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel with a French deputy, the result of which appears, by the adjoined printed copy of a treaty of peace and amity,* concluded on the 28th of August, the ratification of which is to be exchanged within a month's time, or sooner.

His Imperial Majesty will yet suppress his just feelings, roused by an event, which, on account of the above-mentioned solemn declaration of the diet of the empire, of the 3d of July, he had so little reason to expect. This event, if some reports are to be credited, may be followed by transactions of a similar nature, whereby the defence of Germany, and the attainment of the restoration of the integrity of the empire, and safety of its constitution, by means of a just, reasonable, solid, and honourable peace, would be rendered more difficult, if single states have it in their power, at their own pleasure, thus to withdraw from the confederacy of the German empire, by separate treaties of peace and secret articles, to separate their interest from the general interest of the empire, and to dissolve the latter into mere separate concerns.

His Imperial Majesty finds a consolation in proposing these very serious considerations and consequences, together with several others of the highest importance for the Germanic constitution, to the patriotic deliberation of the diet, and he places in the electors, princes, and states, the fullest paternal confidence that they will take the said occurrence into that serious consideration which its importance demands, and supply him not only with full and satisfactory advice, concerning the light in which this treaty of amity and peace ought to be considered, but also recommend to him the measures which it will be most adviseable to pursue, in order

* Vide the treaties.

to maintain the German constitution, and to assert the unity, dignity, and independence of the Germanic body.

The diet cannot but be sensible that the deputation appointed by the late conclusum of the empire, together with the instructions to be drawn up for the deputed states, would be altogether nugatory and useless, and be at best only the honour of signing the future treaty of peace, if the existing doubts were not previously removed by means of the demanded advice: and if even other states, who experience the disasters of the war, should follow the examples already existing (in the fifth article of the Hessian treaty of peace, the general peace to be concluded between France and the German empire is no longer called a general peace of the empire, but a peace to be settled by the other parties as yet concerned in the war with France). For this reason it becomes the more urgent, that the advice of the empire, demanded by his Imperial Majesty in his quality as chief of the empire, should be delivered with all possible speed.

(Signed) PRINCE OF COLLOREDO MANSFELDS.
Vienna, September 18, 1795.

Pro Memoria, or Note, delivered by the Prussian Directorial Envoy to the States of the Circle of Franconia, assembled at Nuremberg.

THE epoch has arrived, in which his Majesty the King of Prussia can publicly denote the value which his Majesty sets upon that confidence, which his co-estates in the circle of Franconia have testified by the letter of the 13th of May of the present year. Immediately after the conclusion of peace at Basle, his Majesty apprized the circle of Franconia of the measures which he was also about to take for the welfare and safety of this circle, though that justice has not been done to his endeavours which his Majesty could claim. Though the undersigned envoys have not yet received the definitive declaration demanded in their notes of the 2d and 9th of May, his Majesty has nevertheless weighed the various coincident considerations, and is resolved to devote farther his care and attention to the welfare of this circle, regardless of all other matters, and thereby to convince it of the generous extent which his Majesty is still inclined to give to his relations and duties, as director of the circle, or convocating prince, and as co-state. The sacrifices of the King, and his continual efforts for the welfare of Germany, for the preservation of its constitution, and the return of peace, are publicly manifest, and universally acknowledged by the Germanic empire. The most recent occurrences, after the passage on the Rhine by the French army, have probably, by this time, justified the advantages, and the value of those endeavours, with the states of the empire, as likewise their motives; they have, no doubt, convinced all Ger-

many with what ardour his Majesty strove to make his co-states feel, as much as it depended on him, and in moments of the most imminent danger, the effects of his zeal for the welfare, the tranquillity and the safety of Germany. In consequence of those patriotic sentiments, and steady principles, his Majesty, notwithstanding the silence of the states, and relinquishing all other considerations, has procured respect to the line of demarcation, stipulated in the additional convention of 17th of May. In consequence of these sentiments, his Majesty has hitherto generously granted the solicited protection to all his co-states and their dependents, who sought refuge in his territories.

But now the time is come, in which general and uniform measures ought to be taken, in which the King must positively know, how far it is intended to make use of his patriotic sentiments, how far he may unfold his partiality to his co-states in this circle, and his care for their safety. The eventual declaration of his serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Hohenlohe, commander in chief of his Majesty's troops, destined to observe the line of demarcation, proves, that his Majesty is inclined to set no other bounds to his noble endeavours, but such as the sentiments of his co-states shall please to trace out. His Highness the commander in chief is ready to draw that cordon on the line of demarcation, and for its safety, respecting which the annexed supplement contains a full explanation.* The undersigned envoy of his Majesty is now come to the point, of requiring a definitive declaration of the circle of Franconia; whether or not it be intended, on the part of the circle, to make use of the King's generous offers? To provide afterwards farther for the said cordon, for the troops of which, who will find their own provisions, nothing but quarters will be required, though the safety of the territories of the state be their sole destination. The open, generous, magnanimous, plain, and disinterested manner in which his Majesty marks his conduct, even in this case, will surely be every where answered by the sentiment of its full value, and by thankfulness, as it is in other respects superior to each and all equivoques. The experience which the circle has hitherto had of the King's patriotism, of his attachment to the constitution of the empire and the circle, of his care for the tranquillity of his co-states and their territories, the dangers which threaten these in the vicissitudes of the occurrences of the war, and the duties for the safety of

* This supplement contains more circumstantial instructions respecting the points on which the line is to be covered from Oehringen, Nordlingen, Mergentheim, and as far as Crailsheim. In the declaration of the Prince of Hohenlohe, printed in German and French, and dated Frankfort, October 1, all the French generals are requested to respect the places and districts of the circle of Franconia, as being under the protection of his Prussian Majesty, and to pay for every thing in ready money, &c. &c.

their possessions and subjects, may now dictate to the circle and its states their decision. The urgent relations of the time, and the measures which depend on it, render it unavoidable, to expect peremptorily, and once for all, the said definitive declaration inclusively till the 7th instant. His Majesty is far from forcing the effect of his efforts for the welfare of Germany and his protection upon the circle ; but his Majesty owes it to the sacrifices and labours, which he till now continued, for the prosperity of Germany ; his Majesty owes it to his dignity, to make himself in a moment sure of the sentiments of the circle. Should the circle of Franconia, contrary to the sense of its letter of the 13th of May, addressed to his Majesty, not deem it proper to make use, in the social union, to which his Majesty himself belongs, of the measures proposed for its safety, or to declare itself positively upon it within the said period, his Majesty must renounce with regret the execution of his patriotic intentions, and confine himself to measures of safety for his own territories, and to that protection which his Majesty has hitherto granted to those states who claimed it by name, and not deny it to those who may yet claim it, till the expiration of the above-mentioned period. Then it will no longer depend upon his Majesty to alter any of the measures taken for that purpose ; his Majesty will see its cordial interest, if the circle of Franconia, against all events, will find means in another manner to provide for its own tranquillity and safety, and for that of its dependents.

But his Majesty could then no farther, singly or wholly, take any share in it, and would be obliged to leave it entirely to those of his co-estates, who shall not have made any use of his Majesty's offer, how they shall effectually secure themselves, their subjects and property, against all danger ; his Majesty will zealously continue his good offices for the restoration of the general tranquillity of Germany, and tranquillize himself in the consciousness of his pure intentions for all the fatal consequences of a too great and supposed safety, or of the non-acknowledgment of the purity of the said intentions ; and while his Majesty, in the face of all Germany, gives, by this declaration, a fresh and unequivocal proof of his Germanic patriotism, his Majesty may also expect from all Germany, and from the circle of Franconia in particular, the justice to have done all that depended on him, to avert from his co-estates and their subjects the unhappy consequences of the war, and to have fulfilled, in the most generous and disinterested manner, all the duties incumbent upon him in all his relations as a state of the empire.

(Signed)

JULIUS COUNT SODEN.
L. F. CHR. SCHMID.

Nuremberg, October 5, 1795.

Message

Message from the Executive Directory of the French Republic to the Council of Five Hundred, assembled on the 6th of December, 1795.

THE executive directory thinks that our situation is most afflictiong ; that all expedients crumble to pieces in their hands ; that the most fatal catastrophe threatens to swallow up the Republic, if it does not speedily take some measures. That for want of the circulation of provisions and of money, they fear we shall perish—that the uncertainty respecting the finances heightens the evil—that the resources of the public treasury are exhausted—and that we verge on the period of our existence, if the finances are not speedily restored.

The directory adds, that the depreciation of assignats is such, that their effective value for the public service becomes the most urgent of our wants. It thinks that the only means of extricating us from this embarrassment is to order a forced loan of six hundred millions in specie, to be levied on one million of citizens ; to break (on the 1st Germinal) the machinery for fabricating assignats, and to exchange the assignats for a hundredth part of their nominal value.

The above message was referred to a commission to examine and present a report upon it.

Report addressed to the Executive Directory, on the 10th of December, 1795, by the Minister of Finance.

THE minister at war has several times already exposed the wants which the armies have manifested on all sides. It is in consequence of this urgent necessity that I assured the directory yesterday, that there should be deposited in the hands of the minister of war a part of the commercial bills which are in the treasury, and that to satisfy the contractors for the armies of the Rhine, Sambre, and Meuse, and the north, the treasury should even this morning negotiate a part of the commercial bills, in order to pay in specie the drafts of the minister of war.

The directory are not ignorant of the increasing value of the louis on the exchange. All kinds of negotiation are extremely difficult. It was not possible to negotiate to-day bills upon Spain, the only bills which the treasury have at this moment.

At five in the evening I wrote to the treasury to send agents to all the capitalists who have money, to propose to them to furnish money immediately, because 600,000 livres would be wanted to-morrow. The treasury states, that it is possible to procure them : on the other hand, the treasury will, this evening, adopt means to exchange bills upon Spain for other bills, which may be made use of in the armies, or for specie.

I must

I must do the treasury the justice to say that they do every thing in their power ; but you have heard and read an account of their situation. But, citizens directors, neither the treasury nor myself can furnish resources as speedily as wants occur. We cannot substitute plenty for poverty. It is my duty to present the naked truth to you ; if I were to disguise it, I should accuse myself of involving you in a fatal security, and I should perhaps prevent you from adopting the means of saving the public weal.

If the war departments, the marine, and the interior, require millions in specie, and immense sums in assignats, there are no means of satisfying them. I have already, by my own private connections, procured the treasury credit upon divers foreign commercial places ; but this is a resource which takes up ten or twelve days, and is much inferior to the demands, which are multiplying daily. The length of the debates in the legislative body upon the plan of finance, which ought to furnish the executive directory with resources, paralyzes every thing.

The zeal of the directory, and their devotion to the good of the Republic, are not sufficient to save it. We must have means—these means cannot exist without being able to pay for them. What payments can the directory make ? The arrears of expenditure increase daily. Already, before the produce of the fabrication of assignats is felt, the knowledge of there being new paper to multiply the assignats, produces the most fatal effects upon change. If in two days we gain by the number of assignats paid in, we lose as much and more by their depreciation.

In four lines the following is the state of the public treasury.

It owes seventy-two millions in specie, it has not wherewithal to pay it ; twenty millions in bills of Magon upon Spain require time to be converted into cash. One hundred millions in assignats per day have not hitherto supplied a third of the sum wanted. Fifteen hundred millions, which will be paid in within this decade, will produce but a feeble sensation.

Citizens directors, such is the afflicting portrait which I submit to you. We must have measures to put an end to this frightful situation of affairs.

I leave it to your wisdom to determine what is best to save the public weal. It is my duty to state to you the urgent nature of circumstances. I am ready to demonstrate my devotion to your glory, and above all to the liberty which you defend. But not being able to create means where they no longer exist, I have been willing to address you in the language of frankness and truth.

The Minister of Finance,

(Signed)

FAYPOUL.

Report

Report relative to the Forced Loan.

THE commission to which the message of the executive directory, relative to the necessity of a forced loan, had been referred, having presented their report, the council of five hundred, in consequence of that report passed the following decree on the 10th of December :

The council of five hundred having taken into consideration the urgency of the message received from the directory, on the 16th instant, (Dec. 6.) respecting a loan for six hundred millions in specie, resolves that prompt and effectual measures shall be devised.

The council, after deciding on the pressure of the occasion, resolves, that,

1. In order to defray the expences of the country, there shall be a fund instituted in form of a loan, collected from the rich citizens of each department, and in their usual place of residence.

2. This loan shall attach only upon a quarter of the citizens most liable to be taxed in each department.

3. The administrators of each department are charged to give in without delay, a list of the citizens who are liable, in virtue of the preceding article, to contribute to the loan. They shall describe their condition, either according to the tax-roll, or according to the notoriety of the moveable effects and estates, including the produce of their industry, and the amount of their funded and moveable property.

4. The lenders shall be arranged, according to their abilities, in sixteen classes, all containing an equal number of names, except the last. The quota of each class shall be regulated as follows :

1st class	50 livres.	9th class	600 livres.
2d —	60	10th —	700
3d —	80	11th —	800
4th —	100	12th —	900
5th —	200	13th —	1000
6th —	300	14th —	1100
7th —	400	15th —	1200
8th —	500		

The 16th class shall be composed of persons possessed of a capital of 500,000 livres and upwards, according to the estimate of 1790. The tax imposed upon this rank shall be from 1500 to 6000 livres in a ratio proportioned to their fortune.

5. Such citizens as do not appear upon the roll, and who may wish to become subscribers to this loan, may contribute what sums they may think proper.

6. The loan shall be paid in specie, or in gold and silver.

7. Should not the subscribers be possessed of specie, &c. grain, according to the estimate of 1790, shall be received in lieu, and stowed in the national granaries for the use of the Republic.

Assignats shall likewise be received in lieu of money, at the rate of a hundredth part of their nominal value.

The above resolution was transmitted to the council of ancients, by which it was immediately approved of. Subflance

Substance of a Message transmitted by the French Directory to the Council of Five Hundred on the State of the Marine.

ARDUOUS as is the task imposed upon the directory, they do not shrink from it. Already they have given orders to concener in our ports all the elements of a powerful marine; to recall to habits of industry, men whom a relaxed state of discipline has rendered deaf to the voice of duty ; to purge the marine of royalists, of cowardly and unskilful seamen, who at present disgrace it, to man our fleets with experienced and brave republicans, who burn with ardour to meet and vanquish the foe, whose political perfidy at once justifies our resentment, and calls for our vengeance. In order to attain this desirable object, the directory have not confined their efforts to simple measures of government; they have sought new resources in the maritime organization, lately decreed by the National Convention ; but they have perceived with regret that this organization, the work of their last moments decreed, amidst that confusion of events and labours of all sorts which perplexed and embarrassed their last operations, presented to the government nothing but obstacles and difficulties, and (they openly declare it to you) fettered them in all their means of execution. The executive directory will rapidly sketch the motives which induced them earnestly to request the legislative body to apply their attention in order to establish new principles of maritime organization.

The object of a government, which wishes to create a naval force, is to be able to equip, and send out ships, fleets, and naval armaments. A naval armament is then the sole and grand object of many military, administrative, and commercial combinations. The establishment of naval arsenals, dock-yards, workshops, their magazines, all is created to build, refit, and equip vessels. The finishing, completing, and the whole result of so many labours is committed to sailors, officers, and admirals. They are the persons, who in the most remote seas direct and preserve the whole fleet in motion.—They are exclusively charged till their return into the docks of France with the movements, the repairs, the supplies, and all the mechanical operations of the naval art. They have even the direct superintendance of all that relates to responsibility. It is evident that every thing which relates to the building, the arming, and the equipping of ships, and to the superintendance of all the elements which compose them, cannot be foreign to the military functions of naval officers ; and it is upon this principle that, in the artillery, all the administrative details have been committed to officers in that corps ; and yet, by the organization lately decreed, admirals and sea officers are interdicted from all inspection and all authority in those arsenals, where are produced the elements.

of their personal glory, which is in this instance so inseparable from the public interest. By the same organization an admiral is forced to commit himself to the ocean, to brave tempests, and to encounter the enemy, in ships, of which he has received the command, without having any means of nautical experience. The defects of this regulation are not the only objections which occurred to the directory, as applied to the new organization; for instance, in the present state of our ports, surrounded as they are by domestic and foreign enemies, is it prudent, is it possible to put under the immediate and exclusive controul of officers of administration, strangers to the art of command, such an immense number of sailors and workmen, as fill our ports, and to withdraw them from the direction and authority of their own officers, who are called upon by their duty to command them in the moment of action, and who are best qualified for the task? The legislators must undoubtedly be convinced, that the principle of unity and subordination ought to be preserved in the ports; that consequently a superintendant-general ought to be chosen in all the different classes, in all the civil, military, or administrative professions, and that he ought indispensably to have had several years experience of the naval service, at least ten, on board the national fleet.

The superintendant-general shall correspond with the ministers of the marine, and shall be invested with authority over all the civil and military functionaries; the service shall be simple, active, uniform; and the superintendant-general, being himself well acquainted with naval details, shall present the administration of the ports with the plans for the equipment of ships, and all the multiplied and extensive details connected with that business—a responsibility which cannot be eluded. In order to avoid a confusion of powers, and facilitate to each the discharge of his particular duty, the administration ought then to be divided into two great directions, the one under a military director, the other under a civil director.

The military direction shall include the officers, the troops, the police, and the guard of the port, the building, keeping up, and repairing the ships, their military stores and equipment, the manufacturing of cables, the manoeuvres, and in general all the discipline of the port; whatever relates to the artillery shall be under the controul of this military director.

The civil direction shall include the supplies of provisions, the management of labour at the arsenal, and the sufficiency of materials, the office for arms, and the distribution of prizes, the review of the civil and military establishments, the administration and police of baggage and hospitals, the responsibility and controul of funds, and the inspection of provisions. Each of these great directions shall be subdivided according to the series and subordination of functions, and each shall be subject to the superintendant-general. We shall thus obtain that concentration of force, which the present

present state of the marine so imperiously demands. We shall avoid all that interference of powers, which injures the service, and ruins subordination, by giving rise to endless contests. Each finding himself in his proper station, the ports, instead of presenting, as they have too frequently done, the scandalous exhibition of a perpetual warfare between the civil and military administrations, will display a grand and important spectacle, worthy of a great Republic, which is desirous to have its marine on a respectable footing.

Citizens legislators, those principles of organization, which we present for your deliberation, are the same which have brought to their present pitch of improvement the navies of those powers the most distinguished for their maritime strength. They at first acted upon the same maxims which we adopted in the infancy of our maritime administration; but experience demonstrated, that in order to carry on the naval art in the ports, as well as at sea, it was necessary to call in the aid of skilful and experienced seamen. It was thus, by resorting to the proper means, and simplifying the plan of their administration, they were able to produce the greatest effects.

Impressed by those living examples, the executive directory, supported by your wise laws, hope to be able to disentangle the marine from that confusion of different powers, which retards and embarrasses its operations, while it exhausts the national treasury.

Such, citizens legislators, are the observations which the executive directory think themselves bound to present to you, inviting you take them into your most serious consideration.

In addressing to you, as the first of their labours, their observations on the state of the marine, and the means of rectifying what appears at present to be defective in its organization, they conceived that they only gave a just preference to that great object, on which depend the glory and happiness of France, a speedy peace, founded on the defeat and humiliations of our naval rivals. Such is the object of their wishes, such will be the end of their labours, such is the unanimous demand of all France.

10th December.

The above message was referred to a commission to examine and present a report upon it.

Message from the Executive Directory of the French Republic to the Council of Five Hundred, transmitted on the 19th December, 1795.

Citizen Legislators,
THE directory employed in enforcing the most speedy and complete execution of the law of the 19th Frimaire, (Dec. 10.) relative to the forced loan, think it their duty not to neglect the adoption of a measure equally conformable with justice and with

the interest of the public, which is calculated to increase its produce.

The persons who are subject to the operation of the law are divided into sixteen classes; the last of which comprises all those, the capital of whose fortune amounts to 500,000 livres and upwards, estimated at the value of property in 1790.—This description of persons, whose contributions are fixed, the lowest at 1500, the highest at 6000 livres, appears to us to be rated too low.

If, on the one hand, this class includes rich patriots, who will eagerly contribute to the utmost extent of their ability, it contains, on the other, a multitude of persons, whose zeal requires a stimulus, although they have made new fortunes by immense, and perhaps unlawful profits, on the Republic.

The directory think they perceive, in the public opinion, a general wish to give a greater latitude to the distribution of the fourth loan upon the sixteenth class; on the other hand, it is just that the contributions of men, whose fortunes considerably exceed the sum of 500,000 livres, should be increased in proportion.

The directory are, therefore, of opinion, that the highest contribution to be exacted from this class may be extended to 25,000 livres, in specie; and they accordingly invite you to take this message into consideration.

REUBELL, President.

LAGARDE, Secretary General.

A resolution conformably to the message of the directory, was passed by the council of five hundred, and sanctioned by the council of ancients.

To the Right Honourable HENRY DUNDAS, his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department.

The Memorial* of the West India Planters and Merchants,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your memorialists are impelled by the present critical situation of the West India Islands, respecting their intercourse with the United States of America, to submit to the consideration of his Majesty's minister the following facts:

That the British West India Islands, containing about 500,000 black, and about 50,000 white inhabitants, have been, for many years, greatly dependent for food upon a supply of flour, rice,

* This memorial was drawn up so long ago as October, 1794. As it has not, we believe, been made public in this country, and as it contains some very important matter, we have thought proper to insert it here, notwithstanding its being of so old a date.

Indian corn, oatmeal, bread, and other articles of dry provisions, received by a speedy channel, and in quantities proportionate to their wants from the countries now under the sovereignty of the United States of America : that by no internal resource can they render themselves independent of such a supply, accepting by a total change of their agricultural system, at the expence of their commerce and revenue of the mother country ; and that experience dearly bought on such occasions, has now sufficiently evinced, that by no other external channel can such a supply, adequate to their wants, and suited to the emergency of circumstances, be obtained.

That besides the important articles of food, timber for the purpose of building their houses and manufactoryes, and staves and heading, of which to form packages for their produce ; horses and other cattle for agricultural uses (the indispensable vehicles of those benefits which Great Britain derives from these islands) cannot in many cases be obtained at all ; and in no case, on reasonable and advantageous terms, excepting by an intercourse with the United States of America.

That the British colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John, instead of supplying the West India Islands with lumber and provisions, have, upon a fair exprise, been found nearly at all times, to consume their own productions of these articles ; and, upon some occasions, even to need a supply from their neighbours of the United States.

That many obstacles stand in the way of the West India colonies obtaining lumber and provisions from Great Britain, or any other country in Europe ; more particularly the precarious circumstances of such a supply ; its distance in time of emergency, and the perishable nature of the articles of food, which forbids a provision of large stores from a resource so remote ; and even were it practicable for the colonies to exist under a dependence of the necessaries of life, and cultivation, upon means so uncertain, yet the enormous expence of those means, particularly in respect to lumber, must prevent their cultivating their lands to any beneficial purpose, either to themselves in the first instance, or finally to Great Britain.

That the British colonies have found, in an intercourse with the United States, a market for their superfluous produce beyond the European consumption, and particularly for the article of rum ; for which, at different times, the European market would not afford the cost of package and transport, and that exclusive of rum and molasses, the exports from the West India Islands to America have been to an inconsiderable amount.

That since the separation of the United States from Great Britain, their intercourse with our islands having been restricted to British vessels only, the price of lumber and provisions at the West India

India markets, under the most favourable circumstances of peace and regular supply, has arisen from fifty to one hundred *per cent.*

That the intercourse, while confined to British vessels, has for various reasons been principally carried on by a direct trade between the islands and the United States, in vessels constructed and fitted for the purpose, which must evidently have the advantage over vessels employed in the circuitous trade from Great Britain; as the last could not be at once proper for the transport of lumber from America to the islands, and for that of produce from the islands of Great Britain; nor afford means of barter in rum and molasses, nor be navigated on equally advantageous terms with those smaller vessels, nor equally suit their expedition to the wants of the islands and to the state of markets.

That upon the breaking out of a war with France, these small and defenceless vessels have either fallen a prey to the enemy, or been employed in other trades; and that this cannot be accounted a circumstance accidental, or that admits of future remedy; since the nature of the intercourse in question forbids an establishment of regular convoys to and from all the islands at such times as may be suited to their wants; and the immense expense of outfit, seamen's wages, and insurance, discourage adventure in a trade attended with such imminent risk, and which, if a supply by such means were even possible, must swell the expence beyond those bounds which the cultivators in those islands can possibly support.

That notwithstanding the existing or similar restrictions, the governors of the West India Islands have, at different times, impelled by invincible necessity, opened the ports of the respective islands to American vessels; and yet, even by this extraordinary measure, as it could not have the effect of a regular system of intercourse, a partial and very expensive supply has only been obtained; articles of food, or of immediate necessity, having been sold occasionally at three hundred *per cent.* beyond what was the average price of markets, subsequent to the American war.

That a scarcity of provisions in the West India Islands, dreadful as must be its effects, may arise from accidents which human abilities cannot avert, and against which human prudence is unable to provide; a convulsion of the elements may destroy at once the few internal resources those islands possess, and overwhelm them in one sudden and general affliction of famine and pestilence; that against such a calamity, stores cannot be laid up of an article so perishable in warm climates as grain; and that the extraordinary measure of opening the ports in such emergencies, has been found to afford but a tardy and ineffectual relief; that humanity and policy seem to dictate that an extremity of distress, at once so probable and so extensive, should be guarded against by a regular system of supply, through the most speedy and natural channel.

That

That the British West-India islands have at present to contend with the usual concomitants of war, in a very great addition to the expences of freight and insurance on the transport of their produce to the British market ; circumstances which equally affect the cost of every article they import from thence, comprehending nearly the whole of their consumption ; that the expences of their establishment, &c. have been swelled, beyond all former example, and that they have moreover at the same time, contrary to all past experience, to struggle with greatly and suddenly reduced prices of their produce at market ; owing at once to accidents, which impede and diminish consumption, and to the opening of new sources of permanent supply from countries in some instances no way subject to colonial regulations, not encumbered with any of those restrictions which in the intention of benefitting the commerce of the mother country, have been laid upon the British West-India islands ; and that under such disadvantages, a perseverance in the present system of their intercourse with America must form an accumulation of burthen, which will entirely preclude a fair competition with their rivals in cultivation, will stimulate and assist the progress of cultivation in the Dutch and Spanish settlements, and immediately tend to the distress and ruin of the inhabitants of the British West-India colonies, and of the numerous classes of their fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland connected with and dependent upon them.

That had your memorialists less of strong necessity on their own side to plead, yet they would beg leave to suggest, that policy in respect to the general commercial interests of Britain seems to require, that America should be encouraged to persevere in the agricultural system, to which she must in a great measure be led, by a ready means of supplying the West-India colonies, instead of being driven to objects of manufacture ; whether impelled thereto by necessity, induced by policy, or urged by resentment ; and which must happen should we deprive her of those advantages which she has hitherto enjoyed, in an intercourse with some of the West-India islands ; that a very small extension of our present system, while its accomplished ends, so important to ourselves, would answer the purpose of keeping the industry of the Americans directed to such objects, as must best accord with the interests of Great Britain.

That upon considerations similar to the foregoing, but what have since received the sanction of experience, the West-India planters and merchants have, upon former occasions, earnestly entreated from his Majesty's ministers, the permission of an intercourse with the United States, under certain regulations of wise and liberal policy, in American vessels ; and there is good reason to believe, that had they obtained their wish, the comparative increase of shipping and seamen to Great Britain, arising from so natural

natural and evident an encouragement to the cultivation and commerce of the British colonies, would have far more than counterbalanced any benefits of a similar nature, which in the first instance might have been conceded to America ; that upon this head it is impossible to avoid remarking, that our system of exclusive possession of those benefits has been found in times of emergency impracticable, and that the participation which, at such times, we have granted to America, has had neither the merit of a concession with that country, nor the advantage of effectual relief to ourselves.

That deeply impressed with considerations so interesting to them, your memorialists indulge at this juncture, a consolatory hope, that, independently of the intrinsic weight of their case, and the testimony it has derived from experience, they may find in the recent, very considerable extension of the British West-India colonies, (in consequence of the success with which his Majesty's arms in that part of the world have been crowned) new and unanswerable arguments in favour of a revision and extension of the system on which their intercourse with America, and consequently much of their future welfare, must depend.

That the conquered islands have in a great measure derived their prosperity, which was so essentially felt in the commercial balance and naval power of France, from the privileges which in this very instance that country granted to her colonies ; privileges which your memorialists have understood, will at least have temporary continuance under the British government ; and that they cannot but understand such continuance as a pledge that the faithful subjects of Britain in her old colonies, shall not remain in a worse footing respecting an object of such importance to their welfare, than the inhabitants of conquered islands ; nor are they without hopes, that a just sense of the evil of extending the difficulties of the present system to possessions large and populous, and unprepared to combat with them, together with the consciousness of the superiority of which Great Britain now holds in a commerce, the direct and relative advantages of which are almost beyond estimation, will call upon the legislature for new and liberal regulations and provisions, which, disregarding the semblance of a trivial sacrifice in the means, may be directed to the important end of establishing beyond competition the prosperity of the British West-India colonies, and consequently of the British empire.

That your memorialists, therefore, humbly pray, that his Majesty's ministers will be pleased to recommend to Parliament, that the temporary privileges granted to the conquered islands, respecting their intercourse with America, may be extended to the British islands ; and also, that such alterations may take place in the existing laws relative to that intercourse as may provide

provide against the necessities of the colonies, without interference with the permanent benefits which the mother country derives, and ought at all times to derive from them, in respect to commerce and navigation.

7th October, 1794.

In the name of the French People.

PROCLAMATION.

André Rigaud, Commander in Chief of the armed Force, in the Southern Departments, and the adjacent Quarters; and Louis Gavnon, Civil Governor of the said District.

CONTINUALLY occupied in increasing activity in every part of administration committed to our care, we have not seen without the most lively sensations, the enormous abuses that have crept into the conduct of some of the captains of our privateers; it is, therefore, our duty to employ efficacious means of repressing the same, which, if they were allowed to continue, would tend to nothing less than the destroying that activity, which, on the contrary, it is so necessary to encourage.

It is of reiterated pillages, committed by the crews of some privateers on board of vessels fallen into their hands by the chance of war, that we wish to speak.—We have seen with indignation and surprise, French republicans, forgetting what they owe to themselves, and what they owe to the rights of nations; not considering that they have not acquired the right of property over any vessel taken by them, until the judgment of constituted authorities have declared it a good prize; we have seen them, we say, appropriate indiscriminately, every thing that fell into their hands, and go even to the length of stripping of their clothes, individuals on board the vessels taken by them.

These reproaches, undoubtedly, cannot fall upon the officers of the privateers; we hope better of them; but they cannot by any means escape the just reproach of not keeping sufficient subordination among their crews.

Another abuse, not less shocking than the first, is that which is still allowed on board some privateers, viz. to treat as enemies the crews of neutral vessels which they have searched, or which they have thought it their duty to detain, on account of contraband trade. In these instances, they have equally committed pillages, they have taken provisions by force, and what is more intolerable, they have maltreated the people very much. Undoubtedly republicans ought to make war generously, not as pirates.

Privateers have, besides, less right to dispose of any thing on board of a neutral vessel stopped, as first it must be determined, if they had a right to stop her, and afterwards, supposing her to be confiscated, a third part only comes to the captors. This right of stripping is not established by the laws of war, but takes place only on account of any infringement, and the privateer (captor) in this case, having only done an act of watchfulness over the execution of the laws concerning the navigation of neutral vessels, these laws grant to her for that watchfulness only a third part of the confiscation.

It becomes then indispensably necessary to remedy in the promptest manner, the abuses we have sustained—What would be the effect of our neglecting to do it? On the one hand, captains would not wish to risk their property at sea, with the apprehensions of being pillaged by those even in whom they would put their trust, fearing besides their being held answerable for the damages, &c. justly due to neutral vessels found to be improperly detained, or those who were plundered or maltreated, they would cease from arming, and would not undertake it again; on the other hand, neutral vessels, fearing to be plundered and maltreated upon falling in with any privateer, would cease to frequent our coasts, would deprive us of objects the most essential to us, and in carrying their claims before their own governments, would give rise to disaffections that would expose the dignity of the French Republic.—Wishing to remedy all which, we order as follow:

Article I. The laws which forbid plunder on board of any prize made by privateers, shall be executed according to their strictest form and tenor. We therefore forbid all captains, officers, volunteers, and seamen, belonging to French privateers, to open, on board of any vessel captured by them, any chests, bales, bags, pipes, barrels, casks, or arm-chests, or to take away or sell any goods from the prize; we likewise forbid any person from purchasing or concealing the same until the prize has been judged, or it has been ordered by justice, on pain of the offenders being pursued and judged according to the utmost rigour of the law.

II. As soon as the captain of a privateer shall have made himself master of any vessel, he shall seize all permits, passports, sailing directions, charter parties, bills of lading, and all other papers concerning the freight and destination of the vessel, together with the keys of the chests, arm chests, and state rooms. He shall cause to be shut the hatches and other places where they may have goods, and shall place seals upon every place that is capable of holding goods.

III. In case of there being found on board any vessel captured, any ammunition or provisions, of which the privateer stands in need, the captain will first set forth that need, and his urgency,
by

by a declaration, signed by the officers, and shall afterwards cause to be made out a circumstantial account of the ammunition and provisions which he has taken out of the prize, which declaration and account shall be preferred to the administration, as well as to the admiralty, immediately upon the arrival of the privateer into any port; in default of these formalities, as well as those precautions pointed out in the preceding article, the captain of the privateer shall be personally responsible for every article missing on board the prize, and shall himself, with his crew, remain in the hands of the law.

IV. We expressly forbid all captains, volunteers, and seamen of privateers, to dispose of any thing found on board the neutral vessels, which they may have occasion to search or to detain, on pain of being proceeded against in an exemplary manner, and punished to the utmost rigour of the law.

If ever they should be in want of provisions, they may ask of the captains of the neutral vessels they search a supply; in which case, they shall get from the captain of the neutral vessel a declaration that they have paid for the things they have received, and his declaration shall be presented upon their arrival.

They shall nevertheless be bound to take the same precautions on board neutral vessels which they shall detain, as pointed out by article 2d, under the same penalties implied in article 3d.

V. We equally forbid all captains, officers, volunteers, and seamen of privateers to maltreat, either by words or actions, individuals become their prisoners by chance of war, or the crews of neutral vessels which they shall detain, under pain of the offenders being punished in the most exemplary manner.

VI. The detaining of neutral vessels, and their confiscation, being only in consequence of a breach of the laws of commerce, and not by the laws of war, and privateers in these cases, only performing an act of watchfulness over the execution of these laws, there does not go to the crews of the said privateers, but one third part of the nett produce of the confiscation produced against the neutral vessels, which they have stopped and carried into port, the remaining two-thirds go to the Republic, agreeable to the same laws.

The present article will be in force from the day of the present proclamation, even against the privateers now at sea, in case they should detain any vessels; there being nothing therein contained of a new import, being only a confirmation of the things contained in former proclamations.

VII. All captains of privateers now in the road, those who arrive there, or any who in future arm privateers, are bound to furnish themselves with a copy of the present proclamation, which shall be delivered to them at the offices in taking their papers.

They shall be likewise bound to make them read to their crews every time they are going upon a cruize, and the reading shall be attested at the bottom of the copy by the officers, and proved immediately upon again coming into port. In default of the execution of the present article, the captain shall suffer the penalty contained in the third article.

The present proclamation shall be printed, published, and fixed at every place where occasion requires, registered at the office of the comptroller of the marine, and at all the offices of admiralty in the southern department, and sent to all the military commanders in administration in the ports of the said department.

Done at Aux Cayes, the 31st Thermidor, third year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

A. RIGAUD.

By the Commander in Chief,
BONNET, Aid de Camp and Secretary.

GAVNON.

By the Governor,
GARRIGOU, Secretary of Administration.

PROCLAMATION,

*By his Excellency Sir Adam Williamson, K. B. Commander in Chief
in Jamaica and St. Domingo, &c. &c.*

WHEREAS it is certain that the troops and squadron are already arrived at St. Domingo, it is my positive orders, that all male inhabitants of St. Domingo, at present in Jamaica, who receive subsistence of any kind, do prepare to embark before the expiration of this month for the Mole, St. Marc, Port-au-Prince, or the Grand Ance, as they may chuse; in default of which their subsistence is to be immediately stopped, and the commissary will have orders to ship them by the first opportunities to North America; and such as are proprietors in St. Domingo, and do not repair to the general defence of the colony, will not be permitted hereafter to return to their habitations until his Majesty's pleasure is known.

(Signed)

ADAM WILLIAMSON.

*King's House, St. Jago de la Vega,
the 13th of April, 1795.*

LIBERTY, LAW, AND EQUALITY.

The Commissioners delegated by the National Convention to the Windward Islands, to General Chatowelle, Chief of a free Nation.

THE French nation, in combating with despotism, is allied to all free people. It exacts nothing but liberty. It has always sustained the Caribs against the vile attempts of the English.

The time is arrived when the recollection of the ancient friendship between the French people and the Caribs ought to be renewed. They should exterminate their common enemy—the English.

We swear friendship and assistance, in the name of the French nation, to you and to your comrades. We send 100 guns, and 300 weight of powder, 200 cartouches, 500 flints, and four barrels of salt provisions, which you will share with the French people who are with you.

Attack ! Exterminate at St. Vincents all the English ; but give means to the French to second you.

We have nominated Citizen Toraille captain, and Citizen Michell Mather, lieutenant of the infantry of the Republic. We shall send them to you with a particular packet, containing divers things, which we beg you to accept, and another for your brother ; likewise a sabre and a ham to each of you, and a cask of wine and two barrels of salt.

*Port of Liberty, the 25th Ventose, 3d year of
the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

(Signed)

VICTOR HUGUES.

The following Declaration was drawn up by Lieutenant-general Sir John Vaughan and Vice-admiral Caldwell, in answer to some Publications of the French Commissioners ; but, on account of the Death of General Vaughan, and other Circumstances, was never published.*

DECLARATION.

GREAT Britain having been involved in a war with the French nation, the officers engaged in his Britannic Majesty's service, in situations and circumstances as extraordinary as novel, have endeavoured all in their power to permit no act of hostility to be committed, but what the licence of civilized warfare has

* Vide Page 99. Part I.

authorized, nor employed any means of annoyance that has not been warranted by the usages and practices of other European states.

In all military enterprizes which have been undertaken in the West Indies, the sword has not been wantonly exercised, nor fire employed to destroy works and buildings which, in their nature, contributed nothing to offence or defence. The rights of individuals have been respected; nor have the political combinations of society in the islands been disturbed. The hand of the slave has not been excited against its master. Prisoners of all ranks have been subject to neither indignity nor insult—they have not had to complain of want of food or cloathing; nor can it be urged with truth that they have been rigorously imprisoned, or devoted to slaughter. If, after capture, it has been found necessary to confine them to floating prisons, the measure was justified by policy, which would not admit of communication with their countrymen on shore, whose principles, whenever opportunity offered, they tampered with, and endeavoured to corrupt. Health has not been injured, or comforts of any kind restrained, by this mode of confinement. If republican colonists have been shipped from the islands, or suffered by obtaining passports to retire to America, or the neutral islands, treatment far from unmerciful, it is justified by the same principle of political expediency, of not permitting men to remain in the bosom of a country, who, when protected, and enjoying tranquillity, were daily projecting schemes for the introduction of anarchy and bloodshed.

His Majesty's officers have, in every instance, consulted the dignity of their own characters, and the honour of the British nation; and as the laws of war are interwoven in the code of the law of nations, it was expected that they would be held in equal observance by the enemy; but the salutary restrictions which these laws prescribe have been upon all occasions violated. Instead of fair and honourable means of warfare, arts, practices, and adverse operations, have been introduced, long since exploded by the usages and opinions of civilized nations. Proclamations have been from time to time issued, and as singularly introduced to the notice of the British commanders: these writings, teeming with arrogance, replete with falsehoods, and dealing out the most vulgar personal reflections and abuse, can never conduce to the end and object of the war; they may exasperate the animosity and hatred of an enemy; but they never can exhaust his resources, weaken his spirit, or deaden the vigour of his enterprizes. If the fabricators of them mean to cast an obloquy upon the conduct of the British generals, or an odium upon the reputation of British arms, they defeat their own purposes, the calumny recoils upon themselves, and the neutral powers, to whom they strongly appeal, will examine by what principles the republicans

republicans have been actuated, and what have been the distinguishing features of their acts and achievements since they got footing in the West Indies.

It will be found that the horrors and calamities of war have been aggravated by them to an extent never known, even to the most rude and barbarous nations. Neutral states might doubt that the chief of a nation, which claims to be civilized, nay, which presumptuously sets up to illuminate and civilize the other nations of the globe, disturbed the long-buried remains of a soldier; yet they must credit it, when they read that chief's proclamation, glorying in having disinterred the earthly part of Major-General Dundas, and thrown it to the winds!

The sick and wounded British soldiers found in the town of Petit Bourg, in the island of Guadaloupe, incapable, from their situation, of annoying, and ever regarded as objects of mercy and relief, were all indiscriminately put to the bayonet.

The sick and wounded at Berville Camp were suffered to perish, without medical assistance, without fresh provisions, and without comfort of any kind. The brave garrison who survived, although expressly, by capitulation, stipulated to return to Europe, remains yet, officers and men, rigorously and indiscriminately confined in prison ships, in the sickly port of Pointe-Petre, a prey to disease and death!

The same hard lot seems to await all that the chance of war throws into their hands; for, as a refinement of cruelty, they are totally cut off from the purchase of fresh provisions and comforts, all communication from the shore being prohibited.

The loud-proclaimed and much-vaunted exploits and successes of the republican armies in the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, would make any other European nation blush to be engaged in. None but a people dead to national honour would presume to boast of them; for what have been the means employed in those islands.

In the island of Grenada, the principles of revolt were sown with silent diligence among the slaves. The minds of the French white and coloured residents (subjects of Great-Britain since the cession of the colony, in the year 1762) were excited to treason and rebellion. A handful of republicans, who had stolen into the island, was sufficient to light the flame; it blazed forth in the night, and, like all other plans in which such diabolical agency is exercised, the footsteps of the perpetrators were marked with slaughter, plunder, and devastation. The inhabitants of the towns of Lebaye and Guoyave, asleep in their beds, fell unsuspecting victims to the fury of those perfidious and unrelenting barbarians. Sugar-works, buildings, and cane-fields, have been equally objects of their fury and destruction. One enormity stands horridly prominent in this picture of modern republican warfare,

the

the murdering in cool blood forty-four gentlemen of the island of Grenada, at the head of whom stands Lieutenant-governor Home, who had been surprized, and were in their power as prisoners of war! an event which will consign all that pretend to the name of French republicans to the execration of the latest posterity.

In the colony of St. Vincent, the specimens of republican hostility have been equally outrageous, sanguinary, and unprecedented. The claiming treaties of alliance and amity with a body of Caribs, long and universally known to have taken the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to the King of Great Britain, and to be living in harmony and friendship in the same territory with his subjects, is a new species of political connection, and worthy of the republican name. The urging, by bribes and inflammatory correspondence, this people, whom British generosity spared in the year 1772, and again pardoned in 1783, to fall upon and murder the unsuspecting planters, their wives and children; to burn, lay waste their estates, and massacre their slaves, without the smallest previous notice of hostility, is such a new and enormous transgression of all that has ever been held sacred among civilized nations, that the heads that could devise, and the hands that have executed, must be held in the same detestation, and devoted to the same infamy.

The representatives of his Britannic Majesty in these colonies have been boldly reprehended for the legal punishments inflicted on the Caribs of St. Vincent, and the French traitorous resident subjects, both of that island and Grenada—even insolent threats of reprisals have been proclaimed. The honour and dignity of the British nation can never suffer by unfounded or imaginary imputations of cruelty and inhumanity; nor will empty threats of retaliation deter its officers from proceeding with the utmost severity against all acting the parts of traitors and rebels. The general laws of war cannot be applied to men who act in open contempt and violation of them; much less can they be claimed by persons who are not within their reach or influence. The King of Great Britain was not at war with the Caribs, or with his French resident subjects; on the contrary, they were living within his peace, and enjoying the benefit of his laws, and the favour of his protection. The moment, therefore, either resident Carib, Frenchman, coloured person, or slave rose in arms, with a design to levy war in those colonies, he forfeited his life as a traitor to his acknowledged sovereign, the King of Great Britain. Death must, indeed, be deemed a mild punishment for miscreants whose views were not conquest, but extirpation, and whose tracks were methodically marked with confabulations, rapine, and murders.

A late attempt upon the island of Martinique is a continuation of the same abominable system of the republican chiefs. The vigilance of the guards upon its coasts, and the activity of one of his

his Majesty's citizens, have frustrated that daring and mischievous enterprise. It fully discovers to the world the unnatural hostility in which the enemies of Great Britain are determined to persevere; it shews, that the noble and open conflicts, by which the spirit and courage of nations are tried, are totally thrown aside; it proves, that the glory of arms, and the honour of a flag, are empty names, and trodden under foot; and that, by republicans, are substituted the dissemination of treason, the promotion of crimes; the dissolution of social order, and the extension of every human calamity.

We, therefore, the undersigned commanders in chief of his Majesty's land and sea forces in the West Indies, do hereby declare, that no acts have been committed by us, or those under our command, in these islands, contrary to the known rules of war, or usages of civilized nations; and that, if punishments have been inflicted in the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, they have been lawful and just retributions for treason, rebellion, and murder.

And we do hereby further declare the charges of cruelty, rapine, and violence, made against the British officers, and against the honour of the British arms, in the West Indies, in various proclamations, to be foul and illiberal assertions, calculated by the republican chiefs to inflame, and still more to mislead their infatuated and unfortunate followers.

And we do hereby further declare, in order, if possible, to restrain the barbarous and unparalleled system of republican warfare in the colonies, that, whenever humanity is wantonly violated, and recourse had to practices and operations of war unlicensed by the usages and opinions of civilized nations, the most ample retaliation shall instantly follow; and that, if any rash and impudent experiment shall again be tried, secretly to put small numbers on shore, to foment rebellion, and excite commotion in the colonies, we shall not regard the persons landed and so engaged as fair and decided enemies, but as spies, and who, when taken, shall be delivered over to military tribunals, to be treated accordingly.

And we do hereby further declare, that all Frenchmen, free coloured persons, or slaves, in this island, or in any other island or colony, who have sworn allegiance to the King of Great Britain, or who may be living under, or protected by his flag, and who shall conceal or harbour, or aid and assist, in any manner whatever, such persons so clandestinely landed, or who shall be found in arms, or otherwise co-operating with them, to disturb the peace of the government, will be considered as traitors and rebels, and punished with death.

And we do hereby further declare and promise most amply to reward any white or free person in the island of Martinique who shall discover or apprehend any person or persons that may have been put on shore on the evening of Saturday last, near Precheur,

or who may hereafter be landed in a similar manner ; and to all slaves making the same discovery, and arresting such person or persons, and bringing them to head quarters, we do hereby offer immediate manumission.

And, lastly, we do hereby declare, that should the enemy land in an open and avowed manner to contest, by force of arms, the superiority of the two nations to the sovereignty of any colony, we, and those under us, shall conduct ourselves towards them in all respects as the laws of civilized hostility warrant ; and in case the fortune of war should throw them into our hands, they shall receive that humane treatment which has ever distinguished the British nation towards its prisoners.

(Signed, &c. &c.)

(The Papers, of which the following are Translations, were found on board the Republican Sloop of War, captured off Grenada, towards the End of 1795, by his Majesty's Frigate the Mermaid.)

Morne Fortunée, the 10th Vendémiaire, 4th Year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.

THE commissary delegated by the National Convention to the Windward Islands, appoints citizen Joseph Sugue to fulfil all functions relative to the administration of the island of Grenada, which are entrusted to him provisionally, till a definitive organization is formed.

GOYRAND.

Sealed with the seal of the National Convention.
DEROZIER, Secretary of the commission.

A R R E T.

THE commissary delegated to the National Convention in the Windward Islands, considering that the citizens Fedon, late commander of the army of Grenada, and Sabazan, major in our service, are accused by the citizens Nogues and Le Grange, our particular delegates in the said island, are recalled by us to the island of Guadaloupe—

It is ordered, that the citizens Fedon and Sabazan do embark the moment the notification of the present decree shall be made to them by the citizen Girod, who is invested with our powers as commander in chief of the republican army in the island of Grenada, on board the sloop of war the Republican, to come here; from whence they are to be sent to Guadaloupe, to answer

to the accusations made against them by the citizens Nogues and La Grange.

No pretences whatever can excuse their neglect of the present opportunity to obey our orders.

Citizen Girod, commander in chief of the republican army at Grenada, is enjoined to execute these presents according to their form and tenor.

GOYRAND.

*Morne Fortunée, Island of St. Lucia, the
11th Vendémiaire (Oct. 3,) the 4th
Year of the French Republic, One and
Indivisible.*

*At Morne Fortunée, St. Lucia, the 13th Vendémiaire, (Oct. 5,)
fourth Year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.*

The Commissaries delegated by the National Convention to the Windward Islands.

IT is ordered that citizen Girod, commanding in chief the armed force of the island of Grenada, do procure an account of, and transmitt all silver plate, gold trinkets, jewels, rings, and specie, in gold or silver, which have been found and seized, either on the persons, or in the houses of the English, the emigrants, or other traitors ; to send me a proper list of them, and to address them to me here in a trunk or chest, tied and sealed with his seal, by the conveyance that I shall point out to him, sending me at the same time a duplicate of the account of them.

GOYRAND.

A R R E T.

THE commissary delegated by the National Convention in the Windward Islands, considering that the enemies of the Republic have not been annihilated at Grenada, because passions, inherent in human nature, have excited a domineering faction, which has substituted private interest to the public good ;

Considering that several individuals have desired to act a part in this revolution, who, from a spirit of jealousy, of ambition, or the insanity of pride, have endeavoured to revive prejudices condemned to profound oblivion, by a decree which does honour to reason and humanity ;

Considering that cabals, arising from mistrust and fear, have created a monstrous commission, styling itself civil, military, and of inspection ;

Considering that such a commission is illegal, and usurps the power that my colleagues had entrusted to citizen La Grange,

deputy in this colony, to recall all minds to the bosom of the Republic, and the sooner to expel the ferocious English;

Considering that this conduct has invaded the authority which had been delegated to citizen La Grange, rather from a profound ignorance of the laws of the French Republic, than from any counter-revolutionary intention to overthrow the beneficent projects of the commissaries delegated by the National Convention in the Windward Islands;

It is ordered,

I. That citizen Girod, named by us commander in chief of the armed force at Grenada, shall signify to the pretended commission, composed of twenty-four members, that its functions shall cease from the instant of reading the present decree, which he shall cause to be done in the place where it was accustomed to hold its fittings.

II. It is enjoined to the president or register of the said commission to transmit all their registers, well and duly sealed, and docketed. He will enjoin all the members to separate instantly, to be incorporated in our armed force, where they will be of more service to equality and liberty.

III. Citizen Girod is ordered, upon his responsibility, to transmit us, by the first vessel, the register of the said commission, and to prevent by all means any similar corporation from forming such another dictatorship.

GOUVERNEMENT.

Morne Fortunée, Island of St. Lucia, the
13th Vendémiaire, (Oct. 5,) the 4th
Year of the French Republic, One and
Indivisible.

Conditions of the Armistice agreed upon between the Austrian General Kray and the French General Marceau, as Plenipotentiaries of the Generals in Chief of the two Parties.

I. FROM the date of the 31st of December, 1795, hostilities shall cease between the two armies, and shall not be renewed till the party desirous to break the truce, shall have given to the other ten days previous notice.

II. This notice shall be given in writing, and be sent by an officer, who shall remain as an hostage till the ten days have elapsed.

III. The positions of the two armies, and of their advanced posts, shall remain exactly on the same footing as at present, with the exception of such changes as may afterwards be agreed upon. If any misunderstanding shall arise on this head, the officers of the advanced posts shall settle the difference.

IV. Neith

IV. Neither of the parties shall enter into a pass, which has not been previously evacuated by the other.

V. The patrols shall not extend beyond their line.

VI. The Austrian advanced posts shall remain in their present line, from Eckenhausen to Koppstein ; from this point they shall extend towards the Simmerbach, towards the Thaun, beyond the Nahe ; and on the other side of that river, all the way to Neunkirchen, from which they shall be drawn out from Ottweiler, along the river Bliefs.

VII. The French troops shall occupy the line of Nierdiebach, Manrisbach, Forsthaus, Gellweiler, Creynon, Arweiler, Breunel, Morscheid, Herborn, Veltoroth, Volsmersbach, Idar, and Nockenthal, and shall extend from the side of the Nahe, all the way to Sellbach, and towards Bliefs, all the way to Ottweiler.

VIII. The passes which are not occupied by the advanced posts, shall remain unoccupied. None shall be permitted to come there, except those guards which the troops who evacuate them shall leave behind.

PROCLAMATION.

Etienne Lavaux, General and Governor of St. Domingo.

THE most salutary of all revolutions has just now impressed on the hearts of the French an energetic, indelible character. The Convention have erected the monument of their admirable constitution, on the basis of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and they have at last consolidated its foundation on the innumerable victories which they have obtained over their exterior and interior enemies.

Too long the French Republic has been a prey to the villainy of the insolent British, whose aim was to convert all France into one vast, profound grave, to inter its innumerable victims, to annihilate a free people, and to find in its destruction new means of over-swaying the other nations whose ruin they had basely purchased.

The British, like the impetuous torrent which seems to precipitate from the top of a rock, to absorb its limited channel, and spends its impetuosity against a public, have, at last, in biting the dust at Quiberon, impaired their insolent pride ; they are vanquished by French patriots ; they are forsaken by every power they intended to involve in their downfall ; all the kings have opened their eyes, and are intimate with our principles, and private interest has induced them to solicit peace with this free people. Generosity, which is the basis of their treaties made with Prussia, Holland, and Spain, evinces that the French no less cherish humanity than liberty ; that in the midst of victories they

study

study to reign over the hearts of their neighbours, and not over corpses.

Citizens of all Colours,

France calls us to share in her successes ; we all are children of the country which we defend ; she has declared that the colonies were integral parts of its forces, and that nothing could dissolve her indivisibility. Let us be worthy of this glorious advantage, by co-operating, with all our might and the faculties of our soul, to the re-establishment of that order and harmony which always govern a free people.

Citizens in Arms,

The National Convention have decreed honourable mention of us, and have decreed, that all the men armed in the Windward Islands, for the defence of the Republic, have deserved well of the Republic, have deserved well of the country.

If we have deserved well, let glory increase, if possible, our zeal.

The duty we have to fulfil towards our country, is a sacred duty ; it lays on us the obligation of shedding our blood for the defence of the country when endangered ; it imperiously commands us to blindly obey our chiefs who command us in virtue of the law ; it orders us to protect in his field the peaceful inhabitant, whom the demands of life call to another occupation, no less honourable, and far more useful than that of the warrior ; to protect trade and commerce, by which the states flourish. Finally, to respect properties, and to cause them to be respected, is the most sacred of our duties.

Citizens Cultivators,

This is the period to crush the enemies of your rights, who in their impotent ferocity want to persuade you that your liberty is not compatible with a love of industry. Now is the time to shew those convulsionaries that experience has taught you, that you are indebted to nature for every instant of your life, and that your hearts and arms, freed from bondage, attend only to sentiment, and yield only to the love of industry.

In your industry, my friends, lie your happiness, the prosperity and education of your children, and the stability of the rights of men, to which you are called by the French people.

The treaty of peace with Spain gives to the French Republic the entire possession of St. Domingo.

Let henceforth, and from this day, all hostilities cease between us and the Spanish nation ; let harmony and friendship prevail in our conduct ; let all resentment be extinguished, since they have, by an happy peace, become our allies, our friends, and our brethren.

Charged by the French nation with a great extent of power and authority, acquainted with her will, animated by the principles

ciples of justice which characterize her, I announce to the people who inhabit the Spanish part of St. Domingo, which after the promulgation of peace shall be submitted to my command, that they all will find, in the republican government, safety and protection for their persons, and the utmost respect for their properties.

I inform them, that if they are attached to the soil of the island, either by their fortunes or family, they will be at full liberty to become citizens and inhabitants on the conditions prescribed by the laws, entitled to all the privileges and advantages which the French citizen enjoys, without even prejudice to the privileges of worship, which a free people has a right to choose, and which our constitution authorises,

The friendship which this day unites our nations shall be the pledge of the solidity of my promise.

Ye Africans, and ye offspring of Africans, who, by false promises, have been seduced into error, come now to the bosom of this country, which has adopted you all for her children ; come, enjoy the bliss of liberty ; come to your families, be citizens like us ; come to recognize your rights ; forget your errors, and we will forget our wrongs.

We have other enemies to fight besides the ferocious British and the French emigrants ; let us eradicate out of the soil of liberty those enemies sold to egotism and cupidity ; let us not foster within our bosom a den of sycophants, whose poisoned breath would taint our happiness ; let the divine impulse of virtue crush beneath our feet the idol of slavery, and shiver into annihilation the sceptre of tyrants.

Polverel and Sarthonax, who first have at St. Domingo been bold enough to dare the bloody dagger of those venders of human flesh, and to proclaim the general emancipation, have just now received the glorious recompence of their toils ; they have not only defeated their enemies (and, of course, your's and our's,) by the eminence of the cause which they have pleaded before the tribunal of human justice ; but they have the two-fold pleasure of seeing the auspicious decree ratified by the Convention.

Formidable means are expected from Europe to aid us in our toils.

Citizens, in order to complete those toils, and compel all the nations to admire our virtues, let the strictest fraternity be henceforth our guide ; let us forget every subject of disaffection : let us become one body ; should we, in the indispensable intimacy which should unite us, be prompt to seek for victory, we surely should wrench her from the hands of our enemies, and we could, after attaining her, rest with our laurels.

Let not the error of our misled brethren stimulate us to vengeance. Let us learn how to distinguish the guilty traitor, who fought

fought against his own country, from him whom either a blind ignorance, or the treacherous promises of a perfidious nation, have detached from our tri-coloured standard. Let all those who should be called to the blessings of forgiveness be sure of finding it in our hearts.

Let, on the contrary, vengeance be our actuating principle towards such despicable Frenchmen as have turned their arms against us.

At Port Paix, 26th Vendemiaire, fourth year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

E. LEVAUX,
Governor of St. Domingo.

By the KING.

We, William Parker, Esq. Rear-admiral of the Red, and Gordon Forbes, Esq. Major-general and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces by Land and Sea,

HIS Britannic Majesty, feeling for the distresses of the colony of St. Domingo, has received favourably the submissions of a great number of the inhabitants of every quarter, and granted them his protection.

It was to be believed, that all who had been instructed by the excess and the universality of calamities, would have hastened to unite themselves under his tutelary authority.

Thus his Majesty did not think it proper at first to display that appearance of power which would have announced the conqueror rather than the emancipator. He sent only a small force, which was sufficient to secure the general police, if the effervescence of opinions had been calm, but insufficient for reducing by force the great body of the mistaken inhabitants.

The beneficent views of his Majesty have been partly frustrated, when he concentrated his forces on some particular districts to which he has restored their tranquillity, their worship, and their opulence.

He has abandoned for a moment, and with regret, the remainder of the colony to the ravages of anarchy.

But his Majesty owes it to the glory of his arms to complete by force the work which he undertook from generosity. He owes it to public morals to annihilate a system destructive of all the social bonds which unite the colonists among themselves, and which unite the whole to one sovereign.

He owes it to his personal sensibility to hold forth a succouring hand to a multitude of worthy men, who groan in every part of the island, and invoke his protection. He owes to his clemency the pardoning of errors. In fine, he owes to his justice the punishment

ment of those who persist in refusing the paternal and regular government which is offered them, and who, after having made acts of submission, break their oaths by committing acts of rebellion.

His Majesty by a continuation of naval victories has so reduced the marine of the French Republic, that it is absolutely impossible for the government of that country to send any aid to its partizans in St. Domingo. He has even forced the convention itself to proclaim, by an express decree, its impotency in that respect.

His Majesty has, therefore, determined to send to St. Domingo such a body of forces, that all resistance shall henceforth be impossible.

In confiding to us the command of his forces by sea and land, his Majesty has commanded us to fulfil exactly the views by which he is himself directed.

We bring, then, to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, and to each individual, peace or war, prosperity or destruction.

We promise in the name of the King, that those who submit willingly, shall find under the protection of his Majesty the pardon of their errors, individual safety, and the preservation of their property.

Those who, after a voluntary submission, wish to leave the island, shall be at liberty to embark for the American continent, or for France, upon taking an oath not to bear arms against his Majesty during the war.

We declare, in the name of the King, that those who shall resist his arms, shall experience all the rigour of the laws of war, and that whoever violates an oath of fidelity, shall be punished with death as a rebel.

Given in the house of the King, at Mole, St. Nicholas, December 10, 1795.

(Signed)

PARKER and FORBES.

*Proclamation from the Executive Directory to the French People, dated
2 Nivose, December 23.*

THE legislative body, and the executive directory, animated with the same spirit, have sought with perseverance the means of re-establishing the national credit, and there is reason to hope, that by means of the resources now at the disposal of the government, we approach to the end of our evils. The executive directory will employ all its efforts to second them, and give them efficacy. Abuses shall be extirpated; the most rigid reform shall be made in every part of the administration; the constitution shall be maintained with firmness; the emigrants shall be pursued without ceasing; anarchy shall be crushed, and all factions shall be destroyed with equal vigour.

VOL. III.—PART II,

A a

Patriotic

- : Patriotic agents, of probity and information, shall in all parts of the Republic actively execute the laws and the measures of government ; and if in the multitude which the executive directory has at once been obliged to choose, it has named intriguers or evil-disposed persons, it will be anxious to reform its errors when they have been demonstrated by experience.

- : It is with this vigilance that the state will be enabled to supply all its wants ; that the price of goods will be brought within the power of the consumer ; that we shall be enabled to provide every thing necessary for those brave armies, who have shewn a heroic perseverance in the midst of the most pressing wants, and have invariably forgot their own sufferings in their anxiety for the safety and glory of the Republic.

We find it our duty, however, to advise you, that expiring loyalty and stock-jobbing unite all their efforts against a plan, of which the success will be their ruin : We are assured that England has poured in her treasures to raise the price of money ; that the stock-jobbers have made great sacrifices to attain that end, and to prevent the success of the measures about to be adopted by the legislative body ; but it is easy to perceive that this undue lowering of the assignats, if it takes place, can only prolong itself till the term of the first payment of the forced loan ; for then the guineas of England, already exhausted, will fail in opposing the genius of liberty ; and the ruin of those atrocious men, whose avarice devours us, will be the consequence of their own manœuvres.

Frenchmen ! instructed by six years of revolution, you will not abandon to avarice the fruit that you ought to gather yourselves ! you shall not be reduced by the tricks of stock-jobbing, which, to lower the public credit, and to raise the price of goods on which it speculates, one time, makes an insidious sale of money, and another circulates the most alarming news by the mouths of the false, and by the perfidious journals ; one time it is reported that the executive directory refuses all propositions of peace, when, on the contrary, it is the object of all its wishes, and that our enemies only keep peace at a distance in the chimerical hope of destroying France, and reducing it to the fate of Poland.

A generous indignation against so many base and criminal projects will redouble your energy and your courage : all of you should unite yourselves to give success to the measures which can alone secure to the indigent his bread, and to the opulent his life and fortune.

As for us who, always guided by the desire of saving the Republic, we think only on the means which ought most powerfully to unite all parties, to restore confidence, and bring back abundance and peace ; we will second the wishes of the true citizens, in causing the laws to be executed with the greatest firmness and activity.

REUBELL, President.
Proclamation.

Proclamation of General Scherer to the Army of Italy.

Soldiers of Italy,

YOU have vanquished your enemies—you have displayed a heroic valour, and you have deserved well of your country. Those of your number who have distinguished themselves by extraordinary instances of valour, shall have their recompence—and I will not fail to publish to France the glorious exploits of which they are capable. But after having triumphed in the cause of liberty, many of you have incurred disgrace by pillage, by firing houses, and by criminal conduct with respect to women. Your blind fury has proceeded to such disgraceful excesses, even in the territory of the Genoese, who have done you no mischief, and who have constantly refused to coalesce with your enemies. Soldiers, your father warns you for the last time, no longer to be guilty of such proceedings which stain the reputation of the army of Italy.

You are not ignorant of those laws which prohibit, under the penalty of death, the excesses into which you have been hurried; You will be without excuse even in the boundaries of a conquered country, since you have taken up arms only to extirminate those who took up arms against France, and not against the unfortunate, and peaceable inhabitants. In consequence I announce to you, my firm and determined resolution to punish with the utmost rigour of law, the first of you who shall be guilty of those excesses which can only cover you with disgrace. I know, that among those who command, there are officers sufficiently degraded, to declare themselves the protectors of such misconduct, but they have been punished themselves, and they shall still be punished more severely than the private soldier. I render the commanders of companies, the chiefs of corps, the generals of brigades and of divisions, responsible for all the excesses which shall be committed in cases where no prohibition shall have been employed with respect to such offences. For this purpose, all officers of brigade, without exception, shall visit their cantons, shall there ascertain the offenders, and shall send them to the head-quarters, in order that they may be amenable to justice. Every second day the general of brigade shall give in an account to the generals of the conduct of their respective demi-brigades, and the conduct of the officers.—The report shall be made in writing without any delay. The smallest negligence in this respect shall be punished with the most exemplary severity.

December 10;

WEST-INDIES.

Message of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, in January, 1796.

Citizens Legislators,
THE executive directory can no longer defer to call the most serious attention of the legislative body to the emigrants in the colonies.

The National Convention thought proper to adjourn this discussion of the greatest urgency and importance ; on the 5th Messidor, third year, when the committee of public safety proposed, in a report concerning the state of St. Domingo, to enforce the execution of the laws respecting emigrants in the colonies, as well as in the mother country. The moment is arrived when the legislators of the Republic, sensible of the mischief of too much indulgence, ought to crush with their anathema the most irreconcileable enemies of liberty and equality. It is necessary that the emigrants, in whatever place they reside, or whatever disguise they assume, should no longer be able to elude the sentence of the law pronounced against them.

Any distinction between the emigrants of France and those of the colonies would be extremely unjust and impolitic. It would occasion the loss of our colonies, whom liberty alone can attach to us, and along with the loss of our colonies, would destroy every hope of re-establishing our commerce, and of procuring to the Republic an inexhaustible source of real opulence and prosperity.

The National Convention was for a long time led into an error in consequence of the prevalence of a factitious and unfounded opinion. They retained an idea, that it was possible to dispense with nature and justice with respect to the freedom of the blacks, and to save our colonies by committing a criminal outrage against the rights of man.

Some legislators, deceived by the artifices of the colonial aristocracy, were ignorant of the real causes of those calamities which desolated our colonies ; but the report of the commission appointed to investigate the truth, which so much intrigue had been employed to conceal, could not fail to open their eyes.

Will the protectors, the defenders of the emigrant colonists, who have successively been demagogues, royalists, and moderés, according to the different periods of the revolution, still be able to interest your compassion, by representing to you the loss of their fortune, and destitute situation in which they are placed ?

But have not the clergy and nobility of France, and all the emigrants in Europe, cause to regret the loss of the privileges on which they founded the slavery of the people ? And have they not been the authors of their own wretchedness and disgrace ?

They

They also appeal to the compassion of the French people—they also style themselves the victims of a revolution, which has compelled them to abandon their homes, and yet the constitution forever interdicts all of them from returning to the country.

Will these emigrant colonists say, that they only retired to the United States to avoid the horrors of war, and that they have remained in a neutral country?

But did not a great number of those very emigrants from France, who occasioned so many mischiefs to the country, resort to a neutral country? Why did not these colonists, always rebels to the laws, not take up arms to defend them, as well as the magistrates, who were their organs? It can now be no longer doubted, from letters that have been intercepted, and the official reports of the agents of the Republic, that Philadelphia was the seat of an English committee, which, without doubt, eluded the vigilance of the American government, and of which the colonists were the agents, in the same manner as the Austrians at Basle were the more ostensible agents of an Austrian committee.

Even supposing that the emigrant colonists were only so cowardly as to withdraw themselves from the evils of the war, which they provoked by their resistance to the laws respecting the emancipation of the blacks, and that they only sought an asylum in the United States, ought they not to have taken the first safe and honourable opportunity which presented, in order to return to the French territories? Yet in vain did the ministers of the Republic, in America, invite them by official intimations, by journals, and by placards, to return to France, offering them a free passage aboard the ships of the Republic. They still refused, hoping that the triumphs of England and of Spain would speedily facilitate their return to their native soil again, polluted by slavery, and would enable them to carry along with them the pride of dominion, insolence, and death. Men who call themselves refugees, and victims of persecution, to whom the Republic stretches out her arms when she has the right to be severe, and who rather chuse to keep at a distance during that revolution, which calls for the united efforts of all, are not such in reality emigrants? After this statement, is it possible, without criminality, to make any distinction between the emigrants of France, and those of the colonies? Undoubtedly, citizens legislators, you never can be of that opinion, and your justice will never be disarmed by the arts of perfidious men, who now basely and hypocritically cringe before the triumphs of the Republic.

Their property, justly forfeited to the Republic, will amount to two milliards of crowns, when it shall have been restored to its proper value by wise and discreet management. You will thus, by enforcing the just severity of the laws, find a new fund for the expence of several campaigns, which the wisdom and moderation of

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the people may not be able to avoid, or, in case of peace, a particular resource, which will raise to the highest pitch the prosperity of the Republic.

The executive directory, impressed with the importance of the object which they have now suggested, propose to the legislative body to take their message into the most serious consideration, and to declare, that the laws respecting emigrants shall be sent and executed in all the colonies, as well as in France.

(Signed) REUBELL, President.
By the Executive Directory,
LEGARDE, Secretary.

Extracts from a Memorial of the Province of Friezland to their High Mightinesses the States General, in answer to a Deputation sent to them by their High Mightinesses:

WILL not a people, animated with a desire of liberty, do every thing to sanction that liberty, and to defend it by all means against all kinds of external and internal violence? Do not the people of Friezland admire the triumphs of the French arms, and of the French convention, over their internal enemies? But has not the epoch of this conventional power been the most horrible of which history, in tracing the horrors that have overwhelmed the human race, makes mention? Did not that epoch erect scaffolds in all parts of France? Were not the prisons filled with innocent victims? And did not the blood of the most ardent friends of liberty flow? By how much the Friezland people love liberty, by so much they detest violence, and tremble at the horrors which always accompany unlimited power.

Certainly the French convention, by the heroic courage of their legions, and their own concentrated firmness, have astonished all Europe. But has not the Batavian nation in former times done the same without a convention? Was it an unlimited national assembly that opposed the proud and powerful Philip? Was it a national assembly that produced the payment of a tribute to these provinces from each quarter of the world? Was it a national assembly that immortalized the Ruyters, Tromps, and so many heroes? It is not to be denied, that the *regime* of our confederation ought to be rectified, and that, not only for the present state of affairs, but also for the future. If we wish to fix the revolution upon a firm basis, we should give power to the executive government. On this head, the representatives of Friezland, as especially charged with the will of the people, do not desire better than to concur with the deputation of their High Mightinesses.

Hague, 26th December.

Hague, December 30.

YESTERDAY being the day in which the resolutions of the provinces, with respect to the last report concerning the National Assembly, were to be referred to their High Mightinesses, the deputies of Zealand, in the name of their constituents, made known, that the province desires,

- I. That the provincial sovereignty be preserved.
- II. That their quota of the expences of the union be diminished.

Friezland on the other hand is for the holding of a National Assembly, and

- I. That the representation be not founded upon population.
- II. That the provincial sovereignty be preserved.
- III. That there be formed a counterpoise to the power of the National Assembly.

The province of Overyssel has proposed, that each of the nine provinces should name one or more deputies, who shall assemble in a particular place, not the Hague, in order to settle in what manner the different sentiments of the provinces can be conciliated.

Arrêt of the Executive Directory for the Celebration of a Fête in honour of the Downfall of Royalty.

THE executive directory, jealous of firmly supporting the execution of the laws, and of evincing, on all occasions, its unshaken resolution to keep up the republican spirit, and to inspire, from age to age, hatred against royalty, enacts and ordains as follows :

Article I. Pursuant to the law of the 21st Nivose, in the third year of the Republic, purporting, that the just punishment of the last King of the French shall be celebrated by all the communes and armies of the Republic, all the public functionaries of each canton, presidents, municipal officers; in one word, all those who hold any place under government and receive any pay from the Republic, shall meet on the 1st Pluviose, the day corresponding with the 21st of January, in the chief place of the canton, and shall there declare, in the presence of the people, that they are sincerely attached to the Republic, and that they vow an eternal hatred to royalty. A verbal process shall be drawn up of the declaration made by every one of the public functionaries who are present.

II. In order to avoid all altercations about precedence, on an occasion when every thing ought to shew the utmost harmony and concord,

concord, all the public functionaries are to meet under the presidency of the president of the canton.

III. In those communes which are the seat of the administrative bodies of the department, the public functionaries shall meet under the presidency of the president of the administrative body, and the secretary of the department shall draw up the verbal process.

IV. The verbal process shall be signed by all the public functionaries, and the names of the absentees shall be inserted in the verbal process, and further state what sort of public functions they perform in the canton.

V. The commanders of the land and sea forces are to adopt such measures as they shall think most proper to cause that festival to be celebrated by the different troops who are under their orders.

VI. The commissioners of the executive power shall endeavour to render this ceremony as solemn and impressive as local circumstances will allow without causing extraordinary expences.

VII. The commissioners of the executive power shall send in, as soon as possible, all the verbal processes drawn up with respect to this festival.

Done in the national palace of the executive directory the
22d Nivose, in the 4th year of the French Republic.

(Signed) REUBELL, President.

Message from the Directory, addressed to the Council of Ancients, dated the 5th Pluviose (Jan. 25) and read in a Secret Committee.

Citizens Legislators,

THE enemies of France have spoken of peace, but it was to relax our preparations, while they themselves redoubled their efforts for continuing the war; they wish to weaken the courage of our defenders, by lulling them with the hopes of approaching peace, which they themselves do not cease to elude by the most evasive forms, and the most frivolous pretexts. This perfidy on their part is not new, and the reports they have affected to circulate on this subject, since the commencement of hostilities, have always been seized and believed by the foreign faction which they maintain among us. But these manoeuvres have never been countenanced by the executive directory, who, in offering peace to the coalesced powers, on conditions as moderate as are consistent with the national dignity, have neglected nothing for assuring new triumphs to the republican arms.

The French should know that they never can have peace with their enemies till they shall have rendered it impossible for them to pursue their disastrous projects. This epoch is not far off;

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it must crown a vigorous campaign, and we have reason to think that that which is about to be opened will yield in nothing to that of the third year. The government already acquires strength every day, and the hopes of the enemies of the interior of a disagreement between the legislative body and the directory disappear every day ; the circulation of provisions begins to be re-established ; the young citizens are desirous of rejoicing their colours ; the general activity contributes to second the salutary and decisive measure of the forced loan ; the certainty, in short, of seeing all the factious punished, whether their royalism be open or concealed, whether they dissemble it under the last forms of anarchy : every thing, in short, announces, that if we are forced by our implacable enemies to cover still their bloody plains with our soldiers, it will be to gain soon new laurels, to enjoy from henceforward the unalterable repose that is assured by the constitution, sworn to by all Frenchmen, and the return of morality and justice, the love of labour and economy. Citizens legislators, you are aware of what renders the service so painful in the present moment, notwithstanding the prodigious resources which are still to be found in the Republic, is the absence of representative signs of exchange, swallowed up by that avarice which renders it impossible to provide the necessary supplies for the armies. We must devise some substitute, and the directory can perceive no other except that of raising articles in kind, at least those which are at present most necessary and indispensable, such as horses for carriages, and for the use of cavalry.

The principle cause of the little success of the last campaign was the deficiency of the means of conveyance, and the superiority of our enemies' cavalry. The evil increased every day, and we are obliged to tell you, citizens legislators, that if there is not taken, in this respect, a measure prompt and efficacious, we must expect defeats. The directory requests that you will authorize it to raise the thirtieth horse in every part of the Republic. Experience assures the success of this measure ; all others will only have doubtful consequences, slow, and attended with much expence, and the sending out a prodigious quantity of specie.

The directory had determined not to make to the legislative body the proposition of an extraordinary levy of horses till after the subject had been long considered, and it shall be sensible that there exist no other means of assuring the service.

This levy shall be made by the administrative bodies. The legislative body may itself state the mode of the execution, or leave it to the directory, who will follow the most economical and the least vexatious to the citizens ; whatever decision you may make in this respect, circumstances require that this measure may not be deferred.

Citizens legislators, the directory invites the council to take the object of its demand into the most serious and the most prompt consideration.

REUBELL, President.

A resolution conformably to the message of the directory imposed by the council of five hundred, and sanctioned by the council of ancients.

Rescript which the Emperor sent to Baron de Hugel, in Answer to the Letter of Congratulation of the Diet on Account of his Imperial Majesty's Victories.

WE have perused the contents of this letter of congratulation and of thanks which the general diet has very humbly addressed to us under the date of the 27th ult. This solemn expression of the most lively gratitude for the extraordinary sacrifices, and the generous efforts which we have made, for the energetic and persevering assistance which we have furnished; and for our indefatigable solicitude for the safety and preservation of the country and constitution of the German empire—the noble and patriotic expression of the sincere part which the diet takes in the brilliant and ever-memorable victories which we have obtained, under the protection of the Most High, by our unconquerable firmness, and the bravery of our armies, have excited in us the most agreeable sentiments. We order you, in consequence, to testify, in our name, to the general diet of the empire, our satisfaction as supreme chief of the Germanic body.

The fate of Germany would have been decided by the loss of the richest, most populous, and most considerable provinces, if the enemy, full of confidence in their project of schism, tending to favour the full execution of their plan of aggrandizement and conquest, had succeeded in striking the last blow which they were preparing against the German empire.

We explained ourselves in a very detailed manner on this subject, according to the importance of the object, in the decree of commission which we sent to the diet on the 19th of November, last year; we join to it the very remarkable proclamation of the representative of the French people, Merlin of Thionville, to the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine, of which we have just received information.

This proclamation furnishes a new and irrefragable proof of the formal and decided project of the enemy to take all the left bank of the Rhine as the boundaries of their conquests, and to lay as a basis for the approaching peace the dismemberment of that part of the body politic of Germany. The victories gained by my generals since the middle of October, are so much the more important,

important, inasmuch as they have turned aside the mortal blow directed against the empire of Germany and the constitution.

At the same time it results from the faithful exposure of the actual state of the political relations contained in the decree of ratification, and principally in the reply of the committee of public safety, to the first overtures of peace made by us, in our name, and in that of the empire, that it is the decided expression of patriotism, harmony, warlike valour, and perseverance, that can alone bring the enemy to a just and permanent peace; and it is only with arms in our hands that we can accelerate the peace of the empire, which we so ardently desire.

However agreeable the solemn expression of the gratitude and congratulations that have been expressed to us may be, we shall think it proper, nevertheless, to set very strict limits to the just confidence, which we have in the patriotism of the states of the empire, if in the part which they take on one hand, in the glorious victories gained, and on the other, in every thing that may assure the preservation and prosperity of Germany, we do not recognize the conviction of the indispensable necessity, and the renewal of the constitutional assurance, of co-operating with the greatest energy in this so important and decisive moment, by the general union and the most vigorous exercise of all the armed force of Germany, in the defence and support of the country, and in the preservation of its liberty and constitution: and this for the purpose of accelerating a peace which shall not dishonour the German name, and of putting an end to all the inevitable burthens and evils of a war to which the empire was forced.

No one can misunderstand the rectitude of our views in these sentiments, which we manifest with confidence, in our quality of supreme head of the empire, and which you will communicate without delay to the counsellors, ambassadors, and ministers of the general diet of the empire.

Given at Vienna, Dec. 22, 1795.

*PROCEEDINGS of the DIET of RATISBON,
Relative to the Roman Months.*

ON the 11th of January the session of the diet re-commenced. Treves, Bohemia and Saxony voted in the electoral college upon the last Imperial court decree. The former two declared themselves for 100 Roman months; the latter, however, made no decisive declaration. Bohemia, Augsburg, Brunswick-Wolfenbutte, Eichstadt, &c. voted in the Princes' college. All the votes in the college of the Princes of the empire are for 100 Roman months.

The reigning Duke of Brunswick has sent a letter to Count de Westphalia, of Furstenberg, the Imperial envoy at the circle of the Lower Rhine, dated December 11, of which the following is the substance:

I have received the honour of your's of the 26th ult. in which you were pleased to acquaint me with his Imperial majesty's court decree of the 19th ult. directed to the diet assembled at Ratisbon, respecting an honourable peace for the empire. My envoy has, in the mean time, sent to me the said decrees of ratification, in which I perceive with true veneration, the sentiments of his Imperial Majesty, and find myself greatly moved by those most noble maxims contained therein, by which the integrity suitable to the honour and the true weal of the empire can only be maintained, and its constitution be inviolably preserved.

To the most wise dispositions made by his Imperial Majesty, the prudent conduct of his generals, and the truly heroic valour of his armies, the empire solely must ascribe the salvation of such of its provinces as groaned under the yoke of an enemy superior in numbers, the preservation and deliverance of the important fortresses of MENTZ and Ehrenbreitstein, and the re-conquering of Manheim. This meritorious service, never to be forgotten, which the supreme head has lately rendered to the empire, ought to inspire it, and all its patriotic inhabitants, with the most lively gratitude; and you will lay me under infinite obligations, by availing yourself of an opportunity in representing to his Imperial Majesty, how far my duty makes me feel it. The most beneficial consequences, may, under the auspices of Heaven, be looked for from these fortunate occurrences, as an honourable and lasting peace is only to be expected by prudent and effectual measures from an enemy, who indisputably had the weakening and dissolution of the empire in view. In the firmest hope that the victorious arms of his Imperial Majesty will soon restore the empire and all Europe to the enjoyment of a happy peace. am, with a repetition of my assurances, &c.

January 17. Austria made the proposition, and declare thereon, that taking a decided part in regard to the opening of new ways and means now so much wanted, as the French had declined to listen to the proposals of a just and equitable peace, appears most clearly by the Imperial court decree of ratification of the 19th of November, no other means therefore seem to be left, than to force the enemy to accept the said peace, with arms in hand, agreeably to the approbation of the ratification of the empire, of the 22d of December, 1794; namely, to keep prepared with the universal union and strength of the princes of the empire, and by using the proper means, zealously and speedily to furnish every requisite for the prosecution of a war forced upon

the empire, and for the welfare of the country, according to the conclusions of the empire already passed.

In the vote itself, in which Austria presses hard for the granting of the 100 Roman months, it is principally entreated, that the full complement of the army of the empire may appear in the field without loss of time; and although his Imperial Majesty has, in the course of this war, with the greatest exertion of the strength of his estates, contributed every thing in his power for the defence of the German Empire; and has more especially rescued it latterly from the most perilous situation; he is, nevertheless, ready and willing boldly to persevere, and not to lay down his arms, until the enemy shall be compelled to hearken to just and equitable proposals. His Majesty expects, therefore, of his co-estates, that they will make every constitutional preparation for the unavoidable prosecution of the war, for the purpose of defending, with united strength, and all possible exertion, the honour of the German nation, and receiving due and ample satisfaction for the manifold injuries occasioned to them.

The Elector of Saxony is not specific as to the number of Roman months, but declares, upon conviction, that the most powerful support of the chest of operations of the empire is the surest means for accelerating an acceptable and desirable peace; on which account he has never been found backwards either in justly discharging his quotas of money with punctuality, or in fulfilling every other of his obligations for the general defence. That, however, the present want in the chest of operations of the empire obviously and principally proceeds from an increase of arrears of several quotas, and should it so happen that a number of the states of the empire should either be backward in making their payments, or totally withhold them, a burthen, entire unconstitutional, must inevitably fall upon the states that do pay. For which reason, and in consideration of the very considerable share that falls to his lot, the Elector ought to act on the reserve, in order not to load himself, his country and subjects, with a burthen that ought to be borne by others. His Electoral Highness, however, convinced of the necessity of raising, in the present situation, the necessary means, as a proof of his patriotic readiness in contributing all in his power to the common weal of the empire, will not withhold his consent to the granting of a constitutional number of Roman months.

Magdeburg, Bremen, &c. keep their votes in reserve; the plurality of votes in the Princes' college is for 100 Roman months, to which the ducal envoy of Brunswick, Gemmingen, also assented immediately, on the first day.

January 19. In the sitting of the diet yesterday, there were some more suffrages given in the college of Princes. Basle voted for 100 Roman months, under the reservation, however, of inability

ability to furnish them. The Grand Master of the order of St. John voted for 60 months ; Saxe Gotha, Saxe Affenburg, Wurtemburg and Montbeillard, voted for 50.

January 21. On the further consultations of the diet, on the propriety of granting the new Roman months, several states, those of Baden and Wurtemburg among others, the latter of which voted for 50 Roman months only, urging the necessity of endeavouring to make new proposals for peace. Wurtemburg expresses itself in the following manner :—that his Imperial Majesty, in consideration of the great calamity in which the empire is involved, and in consideration of the situation of affairs being in some measure altered, will be graciously pleased to renew his endeavours with the French Republic, and to press for a categorical declaration, whether they are inclined to give their assistance in bringing about an equitable and just peace, or mean to abide by the sentiments of the late committee of welfare ? Even in France, where the present destructive war is productive of the greatest miseries, the finances are in a most lamentable condition ; that government is under greater necessity than any other, to strengthen their constitution by the olive-branch of peace. Such motives give reason to expect that the new French government would offer an aiding hand to procure an acceptable peace much more now than before. Even the Elector of Mentz evinced an ardent desire for an honourable peace.

January 23. On the 19th, the Elector Palatine of Bavaria voted in the two colleges. He declared that he could no longer furnish money for his territories on the Rhine : as to his estates in Bavaria he voted for 50 Roman months. On the subject of peace, he referred to his former declarations. Hesse Darmstadt and Schwarzenburg voted for 100 months.

The Elector of Brandenburgh stated, that agreeably to his former declarations, to which he still adhered, he could take no part in the present deliberations, or in their result.

February 1. On the 29th ult. the general assembly of the empire unanimously resolved, in all the three colleges, to pay the farther sum of 100 Roman months. In the act of opinion of the empire sent to his Imperial Majesty, it is stated—that as the French government had refused to enter into negotiations with the German empire, it was absolutely necessary to carry into effect the decree of the empire, made on the 22d of December, 1794, for the express purpose of meeting such an event, to unite all their strength, and put themselves in both an offensive and defensive situation, so as to compel the enemy to comply with the wish of the head of the empire, and all the states, to conclude a peace, on the grounds already specified ; and that for this purpose, the chest of the empire consents to pay 100 Roman months, the payment of which to be made in four different terms, the first in four, and the three others

at the end of six weeks successively ; and that all the arrears are to be demanded with the greatest strictness.

The conclusum of the Princes was laid down as the basis of the opinion of the Empire, when granting the 100 Roman months by a majority of voices. The college of Cities in their resolutions had not named a fixed number, but left this to the majority. The duchy of Bremen, with the rest of the Brunswick votes, and Lubeck and Holstein-Glückstadt declared on the 29th, that they had not received any instructions. Hesse Cassel declared that it could not take part in the consultation at all ; and Magdeburg, Bavaria, &c. referred to their former declarations.

Hague, Jan. 16.

THE provisional representatives of Holland, on the 7th, published a declaration, of which the following are the articles :

1. That the primary assemblies shall assemble on the 26th of this month of January, throughout the whole Batavian Republic, to chuse electors and *suppleans*.
2. On the next day, the 27th of January, the electors of each of the 30 primary assemblies shall meet at places affixed by the representatives of each province, in order to elect the representatives and *suppleans* for the general national assembly ; and that on the 18th of February next, the general national assembly shall meet here, at the Hague.

After this was published, the deputies from the provinces who were adverse to the convocation of a national convention, have further explained themselves thereon. Those from the provinces of Groninguen sent, on the 7th instant, a resolution to the States, in which, in approving the conduct of their deputies, upon the resolutions of 13th and 30th December, relative to the deliberations concerning the national assembly, the representatives of this province declare, that they will convoke the primary assemblies on the 26th January, and next day they will chuse electors, but insisting again, once more, that all possible conciliation should be made in order to engage all the confederates to accede to the national assembly ; upon which it was resolved to pray the deputies of Zealand and Friesland to use all their interest with their constituents, to persuade them to concur in a national convention.

Monday, the 11th of January, the deputies from the province of Zealand gave in to their High Mightinesses the resolution of their constituents, in which they consider the conclusion made on the 30th December for the convocation of a national convention, as irregular and absurd, judging that the resolution of that day, and the regulations annexed thereto, do not leave the least shadow of sovereignty to the provinces, they declare that the said

said regulations are an impolitic monster to which they cannot concur ; and, after several remarks in support of this opinion, they declare—that they will wait quietly for any thing which may happen ; and that, firm as a rock, they will not suffer themselves to be shaken ; reserving to themselves to take such measures as they may judge necessary for the preservation of the sovereignty of Zealand, and the independence of the people of their province. Those of the province of Overysel likewise gave in a resolution, in which their constituents declare—they would accede to the national assembly ; that on the 11th January they had invited all citizens to give in their grievances, in case they had any, on account of the want of unanimity among the confederates, and desiring themselves that every means might be employed to gain over the consent of those provinces who oppose the measure. In effect, we learn that the province of Friesland has declared—that she would shortly prefer some further propositions to their High Mightinesses on the proposed national convention.

The States General, on their side, have intreated the representatives of Zealand, that as it was understood the representatives of Friesland would send deputies to smooth the difficulties which were in the way of a national convention, they also would send some on their side, charged with a like mission, and in order to prevent any prejudicial consequences, they would accede to their assembly.

Hague, Jan. 30.

ON the 25th instant, the representatives of Holland declared in an extraordinary sitting of the States General, convened at their particular request,—that the representatives of Holland, tired of the opposition to the convening of a national convention made by some provinces, had now resolved, without any further hesitation, to carry into effect the resolution of the States General of the 30th of December, on that subject : that they were determined to waive any further deliberation on this head, until the dissentient provinces should have given in their ultimatum, by which it ought clearly to appear, that they would accede to the said measure, if in one or other article their opinion were adopted by the States General.

Pursuant to this declaration, through the whole province of Holland, (Amsterdam alone excepted, on account of its great population) the representatives of the people in the national convention are already appointed by the electors chosen by the primary assemblies.

Friesland has at last declared to the States General, that it will consent to a national convention, and convene the people on the 8th of February, on condition, 1st. that instead of the present committee

committee of confederacy, committees be appointed by the national convention ; the one for the direction of the finances, and the other for the war department ; by which means from thirty-six to forty-four thousand guilders would be yearly saved, and the executive government more strengthened. 2dly. That the convention do immediately nominate a committee for foreign affairs. And 3dly, appoint an executive directory, composed of members of the committees of finance, marine, war, the East and West India trade, and foreign affairs. Lastly, in case the new constitution should not be accomplished within a twelvemonth, these members be relieved by others of the same committees.

Hague, Feb. 6.

YESTERDAY the deputies from Friesland agreed to the calling of a national convention, to which they have been impelled by the divisions and disturbances which prevailed among them. Yesterday all the deputies of Zealand announced to the States General, that their province had also agreed to the calling of a national convention. All the seven provinces, including Drenthe and Dutch Brabant, have therefore now agreed to the calling of the long-wished-for national convention ; and preparations are making every-where to assemble it by the 18th of this month. Amsterdam will finish the nomination of 420 electors for the fourteen districts this day, and will proceed to-morrow to the election of representatives.

PROCLAMATION.

THE States General of the United Provinces to all those who may see or hear these presents, health and fraternity : Be it known, that in compliance with the wish and desire of the Batavian people, and the approbation of the respective confederates, we have passed an act, according to which a general national assembly for the administration of federal affairs, as well as to form the plan of a constitution for all the Republic, to be submitted to the approbation or refusal of the Batavian nation, should be convoked and put in activity : that this important work, of so great an interest for our country, has been conducted actually, under the Divine benediction, by the choice of the citizens having the right of suffrage in all the Republic, to the point that the members who will compose this general national assembly, and who will represent together all the Batavian people, have been effectively elected, or will be elected, are ready to begin their labours. In consequence whereof, we intreat and charge the

elected members, forasmuch as they are not yet arrived here, at the Hague, to repair there immediately, in order to assemble on Tuesday the first of March next, at the place destined, by eleven o'clock in the forenoon, that they may be enabled, by a commission to be named by us, conformably to the act passed, to open their assembly; that thus on the point of terminating our proceedings, at the moment when this assembly shall be constituted, we have thought it our duty solemnly to inform, by our present proclamation, our fellow-citizens thereof, and to testify, in the first place, our gratitude to the Supreme Being, that in the midst of all the difficulties which have weighed down this Republic since the revolution of the month of Jan. 1795, and which have menaced even the total loss of its liberty and of its independence, we behold at last the desired issue of our continual cares, that our political liberty and independence have been confirmed, and that also the nation will see itself perfectly and really represented by an assembly elected by herself, and which will be in effect honoured with her confidence, a circumstance which never yet happened to our ancestors; for which reason we may with good cause expect from it such a plan of a constitution, under the approbation of the whole people, as may be proper to regulate and establish its happiness on a stable footing, and may also assure ourselves firmly that this assembly will employ the power and authority which have been trusted to it, in such a manner as may be necessary for the safety and well-being of our country; by means of which all and each will be able to enjoy individual liberty, under the protection of the law, to defend their own interests in union with the general interests, and to assist the prosperity of the Republic to advance in such a manner as that she may be restored to her ancient splendour, and that her importance abroad may be re-established and defended as in former times.

We pray and require, therefore, the representatives of the people in the respective provinces, the country of Drenthe and Batavian Brabant, to publish and affix our present proclamation in all places where it is the custom to make such publication and affixing: we order at the same time, all and every one whom it may concern, to acknowledge the said national assembly as such, and to obey it according to the act passed before; and we inform by the present, the military as well as others, that as soon as this national assembly shall be solemnly constituted, they will pass immediately into the service of the said assembly, and will be obliged to pay it the same obedience they have until now owed us; forasmuch as we declare, by our present proclamation, publicly and solemnly, that all authority which may have belonged to our assembly will then pass, with our consent, into the hands of the above-named national assembly.

Done

Done and decreed in the above-mentioned assembly of the Lords
of the States General of the United Provinces, at the Hague,
this 19th day of February, 1796.

(Signed) By order,

HUBERT, Vt. W. QUARLES

The Speech of Peter Paulus to the Batavian National Assembly.

Citizens Representatives,

THE day so long desired appears then at last, in which a national assembly, convoked by the whole Batavian people, begins its sittings ! This grand, this glorious day, in which the general interests and the dearest interests of this same people will be discussed openly, and, as it were, in its very presence, and will no more, as heretofore, be subjected to everlasting deliberations ! This day then at last appears, which the greatest of our ancestors desired, but of which they never dared to hope the real existence, because they considered it as the indubitable dawn of true liberty and independence, as well exterior as interior, and consequently of so great happiness and so great national prosperity, that it seemed too grand and too brilliant ever to fall to the lot of this people ; and consequently they confined themselves to the desire. We therefore have advanced farther in the space of little better than a year, than our forefathers have been able to do in more than two ages. We have seen the executive power of this country instituted in a simple and uniform manner in all its parts : we have seen it freed from the obstacles and delays with which its administration was formerly shackled ; its direction of the military establishment, together with all which necessarily depends on it, was so much divided, as to be incapable of unity of government ; and the admiralty, with the direction of the important possessions belonging to the state in the two Indies, was separated into as many parts, often incoherent, as there were colleges, chambers, or colonies in America, to such a degree that nothing good could be expected from it. We have seen the provincial government of the countries established upon a simple and indivisible footing ; the courts of justice reformed, and the foundations laid upon which the superstructure could afterwards be raised. And after all this was completed and finished, we have seen, but not without long deliberations, the work crowned by the appointment and establishment of a national assembly. I can then, citizens representatives, since you have been pleased to name me the first president of this assembly, sincerely congratulate you and the whole nation that you represent, upon so important an event, which our enemies, internal and external, have foreseen with fear and dismay, to such a degree, that they have neglected nothing to turn us from it ; and to make use, on the contrary, of

he only means of safety that remained to us in the circumstances we found ourselves, to divide us, and thus to kindle in the midst of us a civil war, which would inevitably bring on our total destruction. They have been unable, through the direction of an adorable Providence, to succeed in their base designs, since all our provinces and our countries have solemnly consented to the sitting of this assembly, and those amongst them which were at first intimidated by the novelty of the thing, and the grand overthrow it would bring about of the ancient government, have, notwithstanding, finally acceded to it, either through the conviction of what would necessarily have taken place, or through deference to the opinion of their allies ; a proof that although the confederates, who in general love their country, may sometimes differ as to the means of saving it, yet in the end see the necessity of making their particular views give way to the general interests of the people. How could it be possible to remain divided, upon the holding an assembly which would unite in itself all the power and all the force of which the government of this country was constantly deprived, and by means of which it was so often obliged, at the issue of several dissensions between the provinces, and the troubles they occasioned among the people, to introduce the Stadholderian government, to succeed one evil by another ; and always to return to the same point from whence it set out, and at which it was so much embarrassed ? The default of being unable to conclude by the plurality of voices, affairs of the utmost importance, as well to the provincial as to the general government of the country, has been the cause why the most pressing objects could not be decided, that things of the greatest necessity for the wants of the general confederation, both by sea and land, could not be agreed upon ; that nothing was effected in proper time ; and that the Republic, in case of war, which is often prevented by an imposing appearance ; or when it was threatened, always found itself attacked before the means of defence were prepared, which could only be put in motion at the most pressing moment of danger, or even when it was too late : a situation of affairs which has produced to the Republic, for more than two ages, most bitter consequences, and to which may principally be attributed the disadvantageous treaties of peace, concluded in 1674, 1678, 1748, 1783, and 1785, without adding, that all the assemblies where the grand interests of the people should have been discussed and terminated, and where the members could not vote individually, contained within themselves the seeds of their own impotence and their own dissolution ; and if, besides, all these assemblies are not founded upon principles of population, of power, or of riches, upon which the assembly of the States General of these countries, just now dissolved, never was founded, they cannot fail of coming to nought, and must give place to other dispositions more analogous to the destination of man, and which

rest upon reason, and upon the true and eternal principles of liberty and equality. The national assembly, which as president, I have just declared, in the name of the people, to be the representative body of the Batavian people, will have the direction of foreign relations; of peace and war; of the conclusion of treaties; of the forming alliances with foreign powers; of the sending ambassadors, other ministers or agents abroad; and also of all that concerns the coin, the sea and land forces, and their equipment; to determine, to require, and in case of need, to cause them to be reported. All this, by the plurality of voices, without the members of this assembly being in the least subjected to provincial resolutions, instructions, or revocations, or any other thing of the same nature; but ruling by individual vote, without the least confusion, the common interests of the whole Republic. And the decrees of this assembly cannot be contradicted by any provincial authority, nor their execution delayed.

Every member of the assembly is a true representative of the whole Batavian people, and is to be considered by every one as having lost all provincial relations, so much so, that after the commission for the constitution shall be named, the names of the provinces are no more to be pronounced here; and it will be considered as a direct infraction of the rule made for this assembly, since from this moment all provincial relations and interests are considered as ended, and the interest of the whole Batavian people is become for every one the supreme law. The obligation, citizens representatives, which remains on this assembly to operate the true happiness and felicity of the people, becomes the more important on each of us, in proportion to the facility and the amelioration the means of execution acquire. There remains much for us to do; so much, that we cannot expect to attain the end, without the re-union of all the power, all the zeal, all the assiduity, and all the constancy imaginable in the daily acts and decrees of this assembly. Happy epoch, when after so many storms and so many tempests, the happiness and the prosperity of the nation will be preferred to the particular interest of cities, of members, and of provinces; when the dawn of unity and indivisibility in the government of the country begins to appear! Happy, thrice happy, that we have been able to attain it, without the surprising revolution which has taken place in this country, and in all parts of the government, being sullied by those scenes of horror which have marked, alas! those of other countries, and which have been granted to the people to enable them to profit by so dreadful an example; to learn them prudence, wisdom, and moderation. This Republic sees itself in the midst of a violent and bloody war, into which it has been drawn by the perfidious conduct of the English minister. The first and principal work of this assembly then will be, to learn the means of carrying it on with vigour, and

and thereby obtain an honourable peace. It will be principally necessary to equip a respectable fleet, to line our frontiers, and to keep up, as may be necessary, our army already so fine and so well organized ; for if we succeed in well securing our frontiers, and in sending a fleet to sea as formerly, by which, with the aid of our allies, we may be in a state to counterbalance the naval force of England, and to procure for the liberty of navigation, as well as to our colonies, the necessary aid and assistance, then there can be no doubt that England will find herself obliged to think seriously of peace, and to terminate on reasonable conditions a war cursed by every honest Englishman, as by all the people of the earth, and which has had no other end, during the whole of its existence, than the establishment of despotism among men. And why should we not, if we wish to do it really with all our power—why should we not go and seize by force our eastern colonies, basely given up by William V. to the English, after he had abandoned during the war, without the consent of the States General or the respective confederates, his charges and his dignities by a dishonourable flight, from the hands of the perfidious possessors ; and shew to India that the arms of the Batavian people, while they are not under foreign influence, are as powerful as ever ? What the marine of the state has done in nine months, ought to convince of what it is capable, since in this short space 77 large and small vessels have been taken up or put into service, all which will be ready, unless we fail in men or money, to go to sea in the spring ; a great part of them has already been at sea, and we recently had the satisfaction of seeing a large division sail under the orders of experienced commanders : without speaking of the construction of different other ships, frigates, &c. at different dock-yards in the country. Yes, citizens representatives, if the Batavian people, whom you represent, would unite all its force to advance and procure the national happiness, glory, and prosperity, by giving up all personal interest, all prejudice, and all spirit of party, I dare assure myself we shall soon see restored the glorious times of Tromp and De Ruyter, and with them the happiest days of the Republic : I dare assure myself that the naval force of the country, the true foundation of the Batavian prosperity and greatness, will soon be able to measure itself with the enemy, who shew at all times, as again last year on the coast of Norway, that they never dare approach it but with fear, and a great superiority of force : but then they have no shame in openly violating the rights of nations, or making use of the most vile means to get them in their power, in order that they may not one day meet their united force.

To furnish the necessary funds to the executive power in its different relations, in order to enable them to accomplish the above purposes, becomes then the first and principal object of the labours of this assembly, and it is in consequence of this, citizens

citizens representatives, that I recommend with all possible energy to your zeal, to your love for your country, and to your good intentions. The wants are great—I confess it; but will all means of assistance fail, if the Batavian people want them? Would any one prefer being rich, if the country was poor, and could only be saved by dint of money? Would the Batavian people be less disposed to make as many sacrifices for the acquisition of true liberty, and of a good peace for the future, than our brothers the French have been, to their immortal glory; who have devoted, and still daily devote, body and goods; who have suffered, for a long space of time, famine, and the absolute want of the most indispensable necessities of life; who have thereby given to all the nations of the earth the glorious example of what a people resolved to be free can do and endure? Do the Batavian people of our days possess less valour, less constancy, less love of liberty than the French and Americans? less than our ancestors proved in the war with Spain? Do you wish that the continually triumphant arms of our ally, the powerful French nation, should alone protect you? I cannot believe it—and I think I can assure myself that my words will be superfluous to make you observe, that all possible diligence is necessary for the execution of these means, and that success will chiefly depend on the unanimity and the vigour with which they will be concluded and maintained. Let us unite then, citizens representatives, our hearts and hands to accomplish the arduous task which remains for us to perform, and the Batavian people expect from us—Let us take care never to be misled by discord and division—Let us remember always, that the enemies within and without keep watch at this hall of council, to find out by what means they may be enabled to throw down the apple of discord, to the end that the assembly, occupied therewith, and losing sight of the grand intent of its institution, they may have time and opportunity to divide the Republic within, and attack it without! May the true fraternity, which is always open, never suspicious, be established permanently within us, and remain to the end in the bosom of this assembly! May this assembly, by its grand and glorious example, be the rallying point for all hearts! May the people one day know, what they have never seen before, that this is no longer a strife between stadholderian or an anti-stadholderian government; for we have too long seen the folly and the incompatibility of these forms of government, to dispute on that point; but that this assembly is really formed to establish the happiness and national prosperity of the people upon immovable foundations, by procuring peace within and without; and lastly, a constitution founded upon the eternal and imprescriptible rights of man, and of citizens. Then Europe, already astonished, but often imposed upon by false reports, will do you justice. Then she will be

be convinced that this assembly is not the conjunction of a faction, but that it is really composed of a free people, legitimately elected and assembled. She will then do justice to your decrees, and will no longer think of infringing them by violence. Your resolutions will then be respected as those of the nation, since, without that, all government would be placed on foundations not very solid ; and because, in fact, all national resolutions are not easily overturned. As far as concerns myself, citizens representatives, since you have done me the honour to name me the president of this assembly, I can assure you I will exert all my efforts to work with you to this effect, to aid, to direct your deliberations and your resolutions, so that they may attain the proposed ends, and that the whole work may be happily finished. I cannot abstain from remarking here, that, although infinitely sensible to the distinguishing mark of confidence with which you have been pleased to honour me, and by which you seem to intend placing the seal of your approbation on the part I have had in the conduct of affairs since the revolution ; and although I am entirely ready to answer the confidence you have placed in me, it will often happen that you must take the will for the deed, and support my weaknesses and my defaults ; because the year just finished has so much wasted my strength by the weight of the burden, that I am not in a situation to support a similar load. I promise solemnly to aid in protecting and maintaining, by all possible means, the dignity and authority of this assembly, as well within the walls, as without, during the time of my presidency ; and I trust myself in this respect to your encouragement and powerful protection. And thou, all-good and heavenly God, bountiful Father of all creatures, assist us all in the performance of the duties imposed on us.—Grant us thy powerful protection, that we may lay some stones in the august edifice of liberty, which has been constructed, or is now constructing, in America, France, here, and elsewhere. May we never want a Washington, a Pichegru, a Jourdan, a Moreau, or other heroes, to protect our liberty and our country without, both by sea and by land. Make every thing concur to the advancement of the national happiness of this people ! Accept favourably the solemn offering we make thee of their gratitude for the possession of so many blessings ! and may the sincere vow we now make between thine hands be agreeable to thee—“ That we will save our country, or die at our posts !”

Declaration of General Wurmser.

UNDERSTANDING that much industry was used in circulating a report, and stamping upon it the semblance of authenticity, respecting my conduct prior to and during the siege of Manheim, I feel it my duty to notice that report. I am charged with discovering a disposition to accede to a preconcerted neutrality with respect to that fortress, and with having actually treated on the subject with the French commander.

I should have adhered to my original intention of treating this calumny with contemptuous silence, did I not feel it a duty incumbent upon me, to set myself right in the opinion of the public, and to prevent them from forming an erroneous judgment on the subject.

I do therefore most solemnly declare, that I never entertained the most distant idea of acceding to any such propositions as are imputed to me, which, if I had, would have exceeded my instructions, disgraced the service in which I was engaged, and would have proved highly injurious to the general interests of the Imperial armies. The report is an impudent fabrication, circulated for the gratification of private resentment, and calculated to excite discontents in the minds of the people. I am no less surprized at the malicious and audacious rumour of an inclination on our part to sacrifice Mentz, in order to secure Manheim. The event has proved, that there was no reason to regret the vigorous defence that was made for the preservation of both these fortresses, so important to the general interests of the empire.

(Signed)

CTE. DE WURMSE, F. M.

Manheim, Feb. 29, 1796.

Message of the Executive Directory of France to the Council of Five Hundred, respecting the Emission of Mandats Territoriaux.

Citizens Legislators,

YOUR resolution of the 20th of this month relative to the creation of "Territorial Mandats," payable to the bearer, is one of those grand and happy measures, which at the most critical eras of the revolution, have operated to the welfare of the Republic. But it would be fatal if you did not hasten to make an addition which is indispensable, by giving to those mandats a compulsive currency. Without such a law, the new paper and the old would both fall into equal depreciation. The stock-jobbers would seize upon both, they would plunder the nation of its demesnes, and the government of its resources.

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Certainly

Certainly when paper money has but a remote, a doubtful, or insufficient security, nothing short of despotism can force its currency. Such would be the case, if it were intended to recal the assignats to their nominal value, before their mass was reduced to the amount of the national property at the disposal of government. But it would be a weak abandonment of the rights of the people, to leave to malignity and avarice to fix the value of a mandat, which can be immediately converted into real property, at the choice of the bearer, amongst the best possessions of the Republic. The citizens may be deceived as to their real interests by the cruel manœuvres of stock-jobbing. They have been deceived, and will be so still, unless their representatives foresee and warn them of the danger.

Have you not been compelled to pronounce certain penalties against those who refused the republican money, though it was evidently of more value than that which bore the royal stamp? Why should you hesitate to take the same part against those who may wish to depreciate a paper, which has more need of confidence, as it is not divisible into small portions, and therefore less fitted for ordinary transactions? If you do not take this step, this paper must fall, and with its own, will infallibly cause the ruin of the assignats.

It is in your power, on the contrary, to raise the one through the other, and to breathe thus new life through all the ramifications of the body politic, robust in itself, but weakened and dried up through the want of circulation.

There are those, however, who seem to despise in this paper the annihilation of the assignats. This is an error to which stock-jobbers will labour to give credit, as wishing to monopolize this representative sign, and to possess themselves of the public fortune. But it is evident, that, on the contrary, stock-jobbing will find its death in the compulsive circulation of this paper, and that in twenty-four hours the government will triple the value of assignats.

The assignat is now at the three hundredth part of its nominal value. When the mandats shall be at par with money, the assignats are to be exchanged at every office in the Republic for the hundredth part of their nominal rate. Thus is their value tripled. In a word, the assignats thus exchanged are to be burned, until there shall be no more than three milliards in circulation. The circulation will then be brought back to its usual course, and the paper to its natural proportion to the land which it represents. The mandat being on a par with money, and the relation of the assignats with the former being prescribed by the laws, stock-jobbing can no longer maintain its ground. It dies; and France is delivered from a scourge more horrible than all the inflictions of her combined enemies!

This

This proportion of one to an hundred between the mandat and the assignat appears to be more suitable for the present. It accords with the measures which have been taken for raising the forced loan. It leaves to the nation the resources which may be necessary for its occasions, until the system of contribution shall be settled, and the receipts collected regularly. In proportion as the circulating mass of assignats shall be diminished by burning those which are exchanged, the relative value of one hundred for one may be gradually ameliorated until the equilibrium shall be restored without any shock between the remaining assignats and the demesnes which form their security.

But it is necessary for this purpose, that severe penalties shall be decreed against those who attempt to make the smallest alteration in the relative value of republican money. Those who exchange mandats against money otherwise than at par, must be rigorously punished. It was by relaxing from this essential point that assignats have fallen into their present state of depreciation, and that it is impossible to raise them suddenly to their primitive value, without passing beyond the value of the security, and stripping the nation of its last resource.

It is solely from your firmness and fidelity in the adoption and execution of these measures, that France can be saved and revivified, and that she can arise free, glorious, and happy, after all the storms of the revolution.

We invite you, therefore, citizens legislators, to give this message an immediate consideration.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR, President.
LEGARDE, Secretary.

Decree passed by the Council of Five Hundred, on the 16th of March, 1796, and sanctioned by the Council of Ancients, relative to the Territorial Mandats.

Art. I. TWO milliards and four hundred millions of territorial mandats shall be created.

II. These mandats shall circulate generally as specie throughout every part of the Republic, and shall be received as specie at the public treasuries and private banks.

III. The form of these mandats, and the precautions to be taken to prevent their exceeding the above amount, shall be regulated in the safest and most convenient manner. A report shall be made on this subject within two days.

IV. These mandats shall bear in such a way on all the national domains throughout the whole extent of the Republic, as that the holders of them shall be entitled to claim of the administrators

trators of the department in which it is situated, any domain, after the estimation that shall have been made, and shall be put in possession on paying in mandats the estimated price.

V. (This article was adjourned.)

VI. The forests, containing more than 300 acres, and the buildings destined for the public service, are not included in the above national domains.

VII. The assignats which shall continue in circulation shall be exchanged for a part of these mandats, at the ratio of 30 for one. Of the surplus of the mandats, six hundred millions shall be paid into the national treasury, and the rest disposed of in the chest with three keys.

VIII. The holders of assignats shall exchange them for mandats within three months, during which time they (the assignats) shall circulate as specie at the rate of 30 for one. After that time they shall be amply exchanged for mandats, and shall have no other circulation.

IX. The *coupures* (cuttings) of assignats of fifty sous and upward shall alone preserve their currency, at a tenth of their nominal value; and at this value they shall be successively exchanged for copper specie.

X. Until the mandats shall be fabricated, the national treasury is authorized to give promissory notes of mandats, which shall be circulated like the latter, with this condition, that they shall, to prevent forgeries, be indorsed by those who circulate them. These notes shall be exchanged for mandats as soon as the latter shall be fabricated.

XI. The assignats which shall be withdrawn from circulation in consequence of having been exchanged for mandats, shall be defaced in the presence of the holders, and afterwards burned.

XII. The mandats which shall be withdrawn from circulation by the sale of the national domains, shall be submitted to the same processes.

XIII. The list of the national domains, destined for the pledge of the mandats, shall be annexed to the present decree.

XIV. New mandats on the same pledge shall on no pretext be created.

XV. The law which declares gold and silver merchandize is rescinded.

XVI. The law for the forced loan is not affected by the present decree.

XVII. The commission shall present, without delay, the mode by which the law reserving a milliard of livres for the defenders of the country shall be executed.

XVIII. The former resolutions relative to mandats are rescinded. And

XIX. A form of instruction for the execution of the present resolution shall be drawn up.

Decree passed by the Council of Five Hundred, on the 21st of March, 1796, relative to Foreigners.

I. FOREIGNERS born in countries neutral or allied with the Republic, may travel or reside on her territory, on condition that they provide themselves with passports from the French minister residing with their government.

II. When in France they shall produce their passports ; in Paris, in three days, to the minister for foreign affairs, and to the minister of police ; and in the departments, to the commissioners of the directory.

III. The passports shall contain the name of the strangers, and shall be renewed every three months.

IV. The present resolution shall be printed, and immediately sent to the council of ancients by a messenger of state.

Proclamation of the Executive Directory of the French Republic.

Frenchmen,

YOUR legislators have just created a new species of money, founded at once upon justice and the necessity of providing for the immense wants of the state ; they have conciliated the interest of the Republic with the interest of individuals, or rather it is in this private interest even that they have found new and abundant resources for the government ; and such will be always the calculations of a true and only policy. In short, after so terrible a war, after so many violent shocks, the nation is, all at once, lifted by the creation of territorial mandats to the same state of fortune and of means which she possessed in the first period of the revolution. To render these means fruitful—to recover the same degree of opulence and splendour, we must only have the same latitude of confidence in the representatives of the nation—the same obedience to the laws—the same fraternal union between citizens.

Your fate, O Frenchmen ! is then entirely in your hands ; let the law relative to territorial mandats be faithfully observed, and France will come out from the revolution happy and triumphant ; if the law be despised, a profound abyss will be immediately dug under all our feet.

The territorial mandats have a precious advantage which the assignats had not—it was the want of it that occasioned their depreciation.—This advantage is the faculty attached to the mandat of being realized in a moment, without hindrance, obstacle, or sale, by the immediate and incontestable transfer of the national domain, upon which the bearer of mandats may have fixed his choice

choice in the whole extent of the Republic. It is a territorial bank, with funds well ascertained, whose notes may be exchanged in open market, and whose guarantee is fortified by the authority of the law which gives them the forced currency of money. It was necessary thus to prevent the criminal efforts of stock-jobbing and disaffection, which incessantly endeavouring to convert the most wholesome remedies into poison, would not have failed to have depreciated and monopolized the new money before the mass of the citizens could have been informed of its real value.

When, by his sordid avarice, the stock-jobber depreciates by one sol a note of 100 francs, it is not solely the one sol of which he has robbed the public credit, it is a loss to the national treasury of so many sols as there are 100 francs in the Treasury; it is an immense sum which he has annihilated in the public banks, and in the hands of all the bearers of bills. He has ruined his fellow-citizens, he has assassinated his country; and it is not, therefore, by the smallness of his robbery in itself that we must measure his crime, it is by the enormity of misery which it produces. Never was it more evidently true, that the safety of a whole nation may reside, and, in fact, does reside, in the inviolable prosperity of all the members that compose it.

Yes, morals and obedience to the laws, each day ought, Frenchmen, to convince you, are the sole safeguard of free countries. The slightest attack made upon them shakes the state to its foundation. All our evils arise from our dissensions, from the spirit of rapacity, the neglect of labour, from refusal to pay the contributions, from the depreciation of the national money.

These evils cannot be cured but by a contrary *regime*, by the reciprocal esteem of citizens, by their eagerness to acquit themselves to the public treasury, by the restoration of industry, by the rigorous support of the integral value, and without the least alteration, of the money established by the legislature.

The executive directory will know how to display, on this important occasion, the whole extent of the power deposited in their hands; they will make the national will, expressed by the representatives of the people, be respected.

It is to you, good citizens, friends of wisdom and liberty; immense majority of Frenchmen! it is to you that it belongs to second the efforts of the government; form a sacred league to defend the constitutional edifice, which rests now upon the success of the mandats; repel those who flatter you to draw you into a frightful abyss. You can only save yourselves by austere truths. What have these operated for your good, who have laboured hitherto to render you immoral; who have only irritated alternately and cherished your passions; who have sharpened hatred among you, and formed parties? What else have they done but favoured your external enemies, who long ago would have de-

manded peace of you, if they had not been enabled to set you against each other, and to make you tear out your entrails with your own hands ?

It is against these external enemies that we must wake the vengeance of the state. Cover with indignation and contempt their eternal advocates ; those cowardly writers who connect themselves with traitors ; who have nothing to present but frightful portraits ; who avail themselves of an object only to make the citizens miserable, and divide to defame them. It is time that each of us should be proud of being Frenchmen ! What are the crimes of some miserable men to the national glory, men whom nature has cast upon the territory of freemen ? View the revolution with the same eyes that posterity will view it ; with the same eyes which the foreigners whom you combat view it. Resume that proud energy that produced victory ; recollect your triumphs, and let them be the pledge of new triumphs.

Frenchmen, be assured of this great truth ; it is, that the safety of all and each of you is in the rigid execution of the law relative to mandats. Already have the happy effects of their creation been felt by the bearers of assignats, which increase in value rapidly, although it has been pretended that it would complete their depreciation.

Let no infringement be made upon this law, and soon a beneficent dew will vivify the happy soil that nature has adjudged to us. France will rise from that deplorable languor, a devouring stock-jobbing will cease her ravages, activity in arts and commerce will succeed, the roads and canals will no longer be in ruins, the public functionaries of the state will be indemnified for their painful labours, the long sufferings of the creditors and pensioners of the state will be at an end, the melancholy lot of our intrepid brethren in arms will be ameliorated, and the national felicity, which a diabolical spirit had thought to be able to separate from public probity and the social virtues, will revive and assume new life in those immortal and fruitful sources of all prosperity.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR, President.

*Proclamation of the Dutch National Convention for manning the Navy,
published at the Hague, March 16.*

CITIZENS OF THE NETHERLANDS !

Dear Countrymen,
THE unjust and destructive war in which we have been involved by the British ministry cannot but attract our whole attention. It is the first object of our solicitude, that by our courage

courage and prudence in the conduct of it, we may procure an honourable peace, firmly establish our freedom, and maintain the independence of the state, and the glory of our ancestors. Our navy, under Divine Providence, is the natural and only means to set bounds to the immeasurable insolence of the British ministry, and to defend our country against their treacherous conduct and cruel treatment. To this object the endeavours of the best patriots have been uniformly directed since the time when our heavy chains were broken by the assistance of our French brethren, since the day when the Stadholder left the Batavian shores, the day when we began to breathe a freer air, and were at liberty to exert ourselves for the improvement of the sources of our prosperity, our trade, our fisheries, our navigation, our colonies, and our manufactures. By their navy, fellow citizens, did our ancestors become great. The Batavian flag was known, feared, and honoured in each of the four quarters of the world. Under our late government it was insulted, and became the ridicule of nations. It is therefore our first duty to restore our marine. The zeal of the committee of marine has done much, where nothing scarcely had before been done. Its exertions were incessant. But in the present state of our navy, all hands seem to have lost the habits, and all hearts the inclination necessary for the service. The Batavian youth are no longer accustomed to the labours requisite on board the armed fleets of their country. Is our nation then less brave, less indignant against its enemies; or do we less love our native land than in the time of a Ruyter or a Tromp?—No, fellow citizens, no; far from us be such a thought! We rely with confidence on your patriotism, and cannot doubt but you will act with vigour in the present critical situation of our country; for why should we conceal that such is our situation, when to make it known must procure the remedy? Our ships, which are very numerous, and more than sufficient to secure us a superiority in our seas, and to cut off from the enemy all supplies of provisions and stores from the north, and thus compel them to peace—our ships are in want of men. The recruitings proceed with languor, and the measures hitherto taken have had little effect. Nor should this excite our wonder: they were of a partial nature, and not in consequence of the expression of the will of the assembly, representative of the whole Batavian Republic. This will is now made known: supported by you it shall deliver our country. Let the people be called together in all the towns and villages of the Netherlands. Let the example of Haerlem be proposed to them; that town so zealous for liberty, that it has already raised two hundred young men for the navy. Let all the constituted authorities remind the Batavian youth, that their country looks up to them for her defence; they will not be deaf to her call. The time of oppression

pression is past. The fleet of the Republic is under the command of true patriots, who do not consider their comrades as slaves, but as fellow citizens.—The attention of the representatives of the people will be continually directed to provide for the wants of the mariner, and they will consider the rewarding of heroism and faithful service, as the most pleasing part of their great labours. Let, therefore, fathers exhort their sons; sisters, their brothers; and the people in general, the youth of the country, to acts of heroism, and to engage in the naval service, to maintain the honour of the Batavian flag, and defend their native land. When they shall thus nobly have fulfilled their duty, they will find their reward in our tender care for them and their relatives, in the approbation of every noble mind, and the congratulations and gratitude of all their countrymen.

VAN DE CASTEELZ.

The Executive Directory to the Citizens of Paris.

ROYALISM, at length despairing of being able to seduce you in its own colours, now takes to bring you under its odious yoke, a way, perhaps, more winding, but far more perfidious and less dangerous. For several days incendiary papers and placards have been profusely distributed. Seditious propositions and menacing discourses are heard, and groups are formed in the public squares. The heads of the party no longer conceal their object; they audaciously declare it. They wish to overturn the republican constitution, to destroy the national representation and the government; to put in force the atrocious and impracticable code of 1793; and to effect the pretended equal division of all property, even in the most inconsiderable nature, such as little shops, &c. They are desirous of plunder.

They are, in a word, desirous to re-erect scaffolds, and to bathe as formerly in your blood, gorging themselves with your riches and the smallest produce of your labours. The foreigner who pays them knows very well that the present government being once destroyed, the multitude wearied at length with various agitations, which must tend to augment their sufferings, will throw themselves into the arms of a king. The miserable agitators, whom he makes his instruments, must themselves desire this, to place their plunders under the safeguard of an authority which would be their work, and to secure the means of committing fresh ones with impunity, by sharing in all employments. Who can indeed doubt but that they are in agreement with foreigners to royalise France, or to reduce it to a state of debility and confusion, the inevitable consequence of which would be its dismemberment. Do our most declared enemies hold another

language and another conduct ? They say openly that they will carry ravage and fire every where, rather than allow peace to be made ; and at the same time they circulate a thousand lying reports to discredit the national money, and thus deprive the government of the means of securing to our armies the faculty of hastening, by new trials, a glorious and durable peace, which is the constant object of the views of the directory, and the aim of all its labours. To these odious manœuvres they add atrocious calumnies, to deprive the government of the force it needs ; they even assert that the executive directory has done nothing towards the consolidation of the Republic. Well-intentioned men ! go back to the moment of the installation of the directory, and judge whether in a few months it could have done more. La Vendée has been disarmed, and its chiefs either killed or taken.

The revolt in l'Indre and le Cher was extinguished at the very moment when it broke out ; and the war against the Chouans is carried on with activity and success. The armies which were in a complete state of dissolution are now re-organized, and are in a condition to cope with the enemy, and to fix victory on the standard of liberty. Severe measures against the refractory priests and the emigrants have been called for, and those which existed have been executed with vigour. Administrators, whose patriotism was suspected, have been replaced by energetic republicans ; and, finally, subsistencies have been procured, and their circulation, which was impeded on all sides, re-established. These emissaries of foreigners dare to add, that the directory does not cherish the patriots, but abandons them to prosecution. Certainly it does not cease to cherish them ; it has not desisted, and will not desist to support and defend the patriots, and will never suffer the errors into which they may have been led, by an ardent zeal for liberty, to be confounded with guilt. It has an affectionate regard for those pure and sincere patriots, who unite wisdom to the ardour of a burning civism ; who, impatient of every yoke but that of the laws, are equally averse to the establishment of their own nomination. It will always know how to distinguish these from the disguised partisans of royalism, from the brigands who usurp the glorious title of patriots, merely to honour it. The directory is the warmest friend of the patriots ; and are not the fate of the patriots and that of the directory intimately connected ? Are not their destinies common ? Citizens, and you generous defenders of the country, instructed by a long experience, you have repulsed, with contempt, these dastardly and atrocious miscreants. You are not ignorant, brave warriors, that if the government is destroyed, the Republic is lost. You will know how to preserve, by the wisdom and energy of your conduct, a liberty secured by your triumphs. You, citizens, who live by the fruit of your labours, will not forget the magnificent

pifcent promises which the tyrants, covered with a cloak of popularity, have so often made to you, and which have never had any other result than their own fortune, and the public misery. You will constantly perceive that a regular government, solidly established, can alone secure good order and tranquillity, which on their side can alone procure the resources necessary for the support of your families. You who are apprehensive for your property, judge what you have to expect from the system now on foot, if instead of rallying round the republican constitution, you favour by your neglect the dissolution of the government. As to us, faithful to our duty, we will maintain the Republic and the constitution with an unshaken firmness; we will cause public order to be respected; we will keep a watch on those who attempted to disturb it, and will repress them with all the force of the laws, the execution of which is confided to us. Incapable of being the accomplices or the instruments of any faction, we will return with honour to the private life which awaits us, or will perish with glory at the post to which we have been called.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR, President.

Manifesto against Great Britain, by the National Assembly representing the Batavian Nation.

THE Batavian nation, once more unjustly attacked by the kingdom of Great Britain, has just taken up arms. This nation, so often ill treated, oppressed, trod upon, and pillaged, under the mask of friendship, now animated and excited by liberty, and at length breathing for the first time after so long an interval, resumes the primitive energy of its brave and valorous character, courageously rears its head, and will no longer suffer its prosperity to be undermined by envious neighbours. It will no longer allow itself to be dragged in the dust; and it will cease to be the sport of the infamous and ambitious ministers of England, who, by the dazzle of piratical treasures, blind the English nation, which fancies itself to be free, with respect to the terrible calamities they have brought on Europe, and on the whole of the human race. The Batavian people will defend their rights and their independence; they will save their country from the ruin by which it is threatened.

Will Europe still doubt, that the Batavian Republic has not rightfully drawn the sword from the sheath, when he is constrained to a just defence? Will Europe still doubt that the Batavian Republic has been led to the very brink of utter destruction, by the disastrous policy of the same ministry? Will Europe still doubt that the regenerated Batavian Republic will not, with

the help of its illustrious ally, vigorously repel the arrogant domination of the English cabinet, and will not consolidate the liberty so dearly and perilously acquired, at the expence even of all by which she is interested?

When England attempted, by the force of arms, to subjugate her American colonies, which she had driven to a just insurrection, and when the scourge of war extended to other empires, the States General of the United Provinces were careful to observe a strict neutrality; they did not suffer Dutch vessels to transport any other commodities to America, those excepted which were declared free by the express terms of treaties. The most efficacious precautions were carefully taken to prevent war-like stores from being conveyed to the American colonies, as well as to prevent any fraudulent commerce from being carried on with them; precautions which did not a little shackle and injure our own commerce to the West Indies.

It availed the Republic, however, but little, to observe the conditions of treaties with exactness, as to what was by them prohibited; the English ministers consulting merely their temporary convenience, went so far as to dispute what these very treaties allowed; they would not suffer the Republic to enjoy those very advantages of treaty which England herself had enjoyed in a similar case; but violating the rights of nations, they condemned the cargoes as prizes to the crown, and employed the materials in the royal arsenals; other vessels were forfeited by the arbitrary sentences of partial courts of justice. The privateers and armed ships of England, seeing that their piracies were legalized, multiplied their depredations, and the merchant vessels of Holland daily became the victims of their brutalities. Finally, the atrocities of the British ministers were carried to such a point, that they no longer respected the flag of the States, but carried a convoy of Dutch vessels into the ports of England, declaring ships richly laden to be lawful prizes, and violating, as well in Europe as elsewhere, our neutral territory. The only mode which could be adopted to put a stop to these unprecedented injustices, without, however, breaking with the kingdom of Great Britain, was employed by their High Mightinesses.—This mode consisted in joining with all possible speed the alliance of the three northern powers, concerted by the Empress of Russia, and destined to protect, by the force of arms, the rights of the neutral nations, each of them more or less violated by England.

Their High Mightinesses, we say, would have acceded to this treaty, had not an obstacle been thrown in the way by the perfidious machinations of the English cabinet. This was the sign which led England to break every tie, to distribute letters of marqu

marque for making reprisals on the inhabitants of the Republic and their possessions, and to declare open war against the United States. A ministry to which all means were alike, could not want pretexts for that purpose. It was not at the same time difficult for their High Mightinesses to demonstrate the frivolity of all these pretended grievances; but what purpose could this answer with a rapacious, obstinate, and unjust ministry, which was desirous to revenge on a peaceable ally the loss of the British colonies, and to appease, for a time at least, by the booty obtained by an unforeseen attack, the murmurs of the English nation?

It was soon after learned, that the squadrons and armed vessels of England captured, by virtue of orders already furnished, the Dutch vessels they fell in with beyond seas, without the smallest suspicion on our side, and against the faith of treaties. We learned the cruel manner in which the island of St. Eustatia was devastated, by seizing on the possessions of the merchants, which, when collected, formed treasures; while richly laden vessels returning from the ocean, were surprised unawares in the channel by small vessels, which readily made them their prey. By such vile means, unworthy of a generous nation, did the British ministers dishonour the flag of their king; for can it be considered in any other point of view, than that of acting, under the royal flag, the part of pirates?

The Batavian Republic was at length, after so many losses, forced to provide for her defence, to maintain her rights and independence by the dint of arms, and to protect her commerce and her possessions. Ah! if she could then have combated under the banners of liberty, how would the English ministry have repented of its rashness and perfidy! But the English cabinet knew all its influence in this country. It was aware that it could succeed in shackling within the Republic the preparations of war; it was certain of finding in Holland partizans who would contrive to put into its possession our ships of war, and who would find the means to prevent the display of all our strength. The event soon proved that the English ministers were not mistaken. They mocked our feeble efforts, which, even before they were carried into effect, were paralyzed in their outset by the adherents they had in this country. These adherents supplied them with intelligence of all that was concerting here. Supported by the Stadtholderian influence, they even contrived to render nugatory the orders given by their High Mightinesses for the junction of the Batavian squadron with the French fleet. It was easy for the English ministry, after such treasons, to obtain successes in that war. And this is what they call glory! But when a particular occasion presented itself—when a fleet belonging to the States accidentally met with an opportunity to display its courage and its valour,

valour, the Batavian mariners, although novices in fighting, proved that they had not degenerated from the bravery of their ancestors. They drove the English fleet, covered with confusion and shame, into its own port, without having lost one of the merchant vessels they had under convoy.

A war carried on in such a way necessarily terminated in a treaty of peace burthensome to the States. Instead of being indemnified for the incalculable losses they had sustained in their commerce, they considered themselves as fortunate to be enabled by the speedy assistance of the French forces, which checked the English in the two Indies, to save a part of their possessions; while they found themselves obliged to yield to the enemy the important factory of Negapatnam on the coast of Coromandel; and to allow to British vessels the free navigation of the coasts of the Molucca Islands, notwithstanding it might have been foreseen that the navigation of the English in those seas would tend to nothing less than the complete destruction of our trade in the East Indies.

We shall not enter into details concerning what passed in the sequel, when the Batavian nation, seeing how much its interests were constantly every where sacrificed to those of its ancient rival, even by the persons appointed to defend its rights, meditated a fundamental regeneration in the form of the government. We shall not retrace how England, knowing that the limitation of the scandalous usurpation of power and influence, on the part of the Stadholder, would also diminish its influence in this Republic. How, we say, the British ministry, far from interceding for the Batavian nation, or coming to its succour, when legions of foreign troops seized on these countries, committing the most atrocious disorders, pillages, and violences, considered, on the contrary, this devastation and this oppression with a malignant satisfaction; and concurred, when the mischief was completed, in guaranteeing, in a solemn manner, the system of a tyranny which resulted from it.

When the French nation, wearied with the insupportable tyranny of kings, shook off its yoke, and formed itself into an independent Republic, the British ministers thought that they could not have a better opportunity to dismember a part of that fine empire. They accordingly united in the treaty concluded at Pillnitz, on the 27th of August, 1791, by the princes of Germany. The French Republic, well knowing that that of the United Provinces of the Netherlands would be constrained by England to take a part in this plot against its liberty, declared war against the British ministers, as well as against their subject William V. Stadholder of the Seven United Provinces, and his partizans.-- It is thus that the Batavian nation was once more drawn against its will into this bloody war by its dependence on those same ministers: its treasures were lavished, and its arsenals nearly emptied,

to aid the extravagant plans of Pitt and his cabal. Auxiliary English troops were sent to this Republic, and when a defeat, sustained near the Meuse by a part of the French army, had procured a momentary advantage, the army of the States was forced to pass the limits of our frontiers, and those of France, and to wage an offensive war on the French territory. Soon, however, the victorious French repulsed their enemies on all sides, and from day to day the armies of England and the States retrograded towards our frontiers. The Republic found itself on the brink of its ruin, since appearances pointed out that the theatre of war would be removed to the very heart of its provinces, and all the country inundated. Never were the States in so critical a position since the war with Spain ; but this danger brought about their deliverance ; Providence defeated the perfidious plans of its enemies, who were desirous rather that the Republic should be destroyed than that it should be free. When the frost permitted the crossing of the rivers, the valorous French troops drove before them the English bands with so much speed, that the latter had not time to effect their infernal design ; they fled, but their road was traced by fire and pillage. It was nothing but their speedy and precipitate retreat that preserved the Republic from a total devastation. We soon witnessed the extraordinary spectacle which the citizens presented on all sides, holding out their arms to their conquerors as to their only deliverers. We saw the allied troops sack and plunder, and those who were called our enemies respect public and private properties.

It was thus that the Netherlands were delivered from their most dangerous enemies. The Stadholder abandoned, in a dastardly way, his country and his friends, and sought an asylum at the court of the King of England. The standard of liberty was planted in all places, while the French Republic declared the Batavian nation free, and re-established it in its primitive rights.

The British ministers, enraged at seeing this Republic still exist without being in their hands, attempted at least to destroy it another way, by totally undermining its extensive commerce. Upwards of one hundred ships, the greater part richly laden, which either through foul winds, or as a measure of precaution, had sought shelter in British ports, as well as several Dutch ships of war, were laid under embargo, as if to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French. Their High Mightinesses, it is true, sent commissioners to London to claim them, demonstrating by the most solid proofs, that the Batavian Republic was no longer under the dominion of France since the solemn declaration of its independence, and that England ought to conduct itself towards the Batavian nation, as towards a free people ; they added, that the Dutch merchants would not risque the entry of their vessels into the ports of the Republic, if it was for no other purpose than

than to surrender them to the French. The British ministers had, however, already made up their minds to appropriate this booty to themselves; and, to augment it, they disseminated on all sides false rumours touching the situation of affairs in this country, so the end that they might, in the same way, allure into their ports the merchant vessels belonging to the Republic, which were still at sea. They have since entirely violated the rights of nations; and all the Dutch vessels, to which his Majesty the King of Great Britain had granted his high protection, were, in violation of the treaty of Breda, perfidiously declared lawful captures.

But what puts the seal to the acts of hostility and bad faith which the present British ministers have exercised against this Republic, is the treacherous mode in which they have endeavoured to make themselves masters of her colonies. For this purpose they sent letters, signed by the Prince of Orange, and dated at Kew, the 7th of February, 1795, to several of the colonies of the Republic of the Netherlands in the East Indies, and to the Cape of Good Hope. In these letters, this perfidious and ci-devant minister and commander in chief of these States, after having abandoned all his posts, ordered, on his individual authority, the respective governors to put the colonies of the States under the protection of the British arms; that is to say, in the artful and customary language of the English ministry, to surrender them to England. Notwithstanding this felonious stratagem has failed in the greater part of the colonies, through the fidelity of their governors, it was impossible to prevent the Cape of Good Hope from falling into the hands of the English; and several important possessions of these States, in the East Indies, have shared the same fate.

While all this was taking place, the British ministry conceived the plan of attacking also by land this free Republic, and of employing for that purpose those soldiers, who, being more attached to the Prince of Orange than to their country, emigrated on the flattering promises of England.—These fugitives were not only well received in the States of his Britannic Majesty in Germany, but were even kept in the pay of England; and if the desertion of the greater part of the army of the Republic could have been brought about, there is no doubt but they would have been led against their country under English commanders, for the purpose of renewing here, if the fact were possible, the scenes of 1787: of kindling up, as in La Vendée, a disastrous civil war, and of thus destroying the Batavian Republic by intestine commotions.

Is it therefore surprising that the Batavian nation, now free, seeks to reinforce itself against such unprecedented and numerous outrages, by an intimate alliance with a Republic which snatched it from the gripes of its enemies? A treaty of peace and alliance was accordingly concluded at the Hague, on the 16th of May,

May, 1795, between the two free Republics of France and Holland. That treaty of mutual defence by which the independent Batavian nation, supported by a powerful neighbour, and unshaken by the influence of a foreign minister, will be put in a condition to employ for the future its forces against its aggressors, and of paying them in their own coin; has also been cemented.

His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, after so many hostilities have been exercised, was at length pleased to proclaim, on the 19th of September, 1795, by his council of state, a manifesto of war against this Republic, but in which no ground of complaint was alledged. His Majesty, it is true, says in this manifesto, "that for some time divers acts of outrage, contrary to the honour of his Majesty's crown, and of the legitimate rights of his subjects, had been committed in the United Provinces, and that the ships of war which sailed from the ports of the United Provinces, had received orders to take and sink all British vessels." The acts contrary to the honour of his Majesty's crown which have been committed in the Netherlands, are the acts of his Majesty's own troops, and the English nation will, undoubtedly, sooner or later, punish their authors; and with respect to the orders given to the ships of war of the Republic, to repel violence by violence, has not the independent Republic, so cruelly treated, a right of resistance? his Majesty had forgotten that the Netherlands were no longer under the Stadholderian yoke, and that his Majesty's ministers had lost for ever, as we trust, for the safety of the country, all influence over the independent Batavian Republic.

It is therefore with a perfect confidence in that love of the country, in that energy, and in that courage with which liberty alone can inspire a nation, for a long time insulted and oppressed, that the independent Batavian nation solemnly declares in the face of Europe, through the organ of its legitimate representatives, that, obliged to defend itself against the acts of perfidy and violence of the neighbouring kingdom of Great Britain, it will repel every act of aggression on its liberty, its independence, its rights, and its legitimate possessions; and that it will put in execution all possible means to receive satisfaction and indemnity for the incalculable losses it has sustained through a perfidious ally:—in the firm hope that Divine Providence, who has so miraculously preserved this country from a total ruin, will bless its arms, and will not allow violence and oppression ever to fix their fatal abode on its free territory.

Done at the Hague, May 2, 1796, second year of Batavian freedom.

Address of the Executive Directory to the French Armies, April 1796.

DEDEFENDERS of the country, the moment approaches when you are again to take up your victorious arms ; the moment approaches, when you are to quit a repose to which you consented, in the hope alone that it would lead to an honourable peace ; but the seas of blood which have flowed have not yet satiated the rage of your enemies. They unquestionably imagine, that we are about to abandon the fruits of our victories, at the very moment when success is ready to crown them. They imagine that we are about to demand of them as cowards a peace which we have offered them as generous enemies. Let them conceive these unworthy expectations : we will not be surprised ; they have never combated for liberty—but what they cannot be ignorant of, is, that the brave armies with which they wish again to try their strength, are the same by which they have been so often subdued. No ; they have not forgotten the prodigies of French valour ; they still recollect with terror, both the redoubts of Gemappe, and the plains of Fleurus, and the frozen rivers of Holland ; they recollect that the Alps and the Pyrenees have opposed to you but feeble barriers, and that the peninsula of Quiberon became the tomb of all the parricidal slaves, who, in the hope of subjecting you to the yoke of a master, dared to set their feet on the soil of the Republic. If they could have forgotten all this, you will bring it to their recollections by blows still more terrible ; you will learn them finally, that nothing can resist the efforts of a great nation which determines to be free.

Brave warriors, you have afforded the example of a disinterestedness which cannot exist unless among republicans. Oftentimes, in the midst of the greatest scarcity of provisions, of an almost absolute want of the most indispensable objects, you have displayed that heroical patience, which, joined to your impetuous valour, so eminently distinguishes you, and will signalize you to all nations, and to the eyes of posterity. Republican soldiers, you will preserve this great character ; and at the moment when your situation has been ameliorated, when with an unanimous voice the representatives of the nation have taken measures to provide efficaciously for your wants, you will redouble also your vigour and courage, to put an end to a war which can be terminated by new victories alone.

In vain has the French government manifested to all the powers which wage war against France, a sincere wish to restore at length the repose of exhausted Europe ; it has in vain made to them the most just and moderate propositions ; nothing has been capable of removing their deplorable blindness. Yes, brave warriors, we must still have victories ; and it is your energy alone that

that can put a stop to this devastating scourge. Prepare, therefore, for a last effort, and let it be decisive ; let every thing yield to, let every thing be dissipated by your phalanxes ; let the new flags of your enemies, carried off by your triumphant hands, form, with the preceding ones, the trophy with which, in the name of France, always great in her misfortunes, always just in her prosperity, the equitable peace you will give to the world will be proclaimed.

And you, generous defenders, who shall have cemented that peace with your blood, you will soon return to the bosom of your families among your fellow citizens, to enjoy your glory—terrible still, in your repose, to all the enemies of the Republic.

LETOURNEUR, President.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. Viceroy of Corsica, to Admiral Lord Hood.

Bastia, 25th of April, 1795.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency a letter from the president of the chamber of Parliament, inclosing the thanks of the chamber for the distinguished part which your Excellency has taken in the deliverance of Corsica, and the invaluable services which have been rendered to this country, by the uniform zeal, application, courage, and ability displayed by your Excellency, and by the officers and men under your orders, during every period of your command.

The chamber has still farther evinced the grateful sense and attachment of Corsica towards your Excellency, by requesting you to sit for your picture, which they propose to place in the chamber of Parliament.

It is with unfeigned satisfaction, that I avail myself of the present occasion, to assure your Excellency of my hearty concurrence in every sentiment expressed by the chamber, and to bear cordial testimony to those eminent exertions, which I was myself so fortunate as to witness, and to which the successful issue of this important enterprize must in so great a measure be ascribed.

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

My Lord,
Your Excellency's most obedient, and
Faithful humble servant,
GILBERT ELLIOT.

*His Excellency, the Right Hon.
Lord Hood, &c. &c. &c.*

left of them, became zealous royalists. Charles II. employed Monk, but Monk restored him his crown, such as it had been worn by his father, before the long parliament. Those true royalists alone, who either have been always such, or sincerely abjured their errors, are alone worthy to co-operate at the restoration of monarchy, because they alone can sincerely endeavour to re-establish it on a solid basis. Those who still persist in their errors, may perhaps yet repent; but when the ground-work is fulfilled, the time for indulgence will be gone.

Be persuaded, Sir, of my regard for you,

(Signed) LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.

Verona, March 3, 1795.

The Dutch Ambassador to the Duke of Alcudia, on the Peace between France and Prussia.

My Lord,

IN obedience to the express orders of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, I have the honour to address myself to your Excellency, and to announce to you, that their High Mightinesses have abolished the office of stadholder, and captain-general and admiral, in all its functions, and in all its relations; and that all who have taken the oaths of fidelity to the said stadholder, captain and admiral-general, have been discharged from the obligations imposed by such oaths. I am also directed to add, and I do add with very sensible pleasure, that their High Mightinesses, as well as the whole nation, desire to live in peace and harmony with all powers, and particularly with his Catholic Majesty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) M. VANDER GOES.

Aranjuez, 13 May, 1795.

Reply of the Duke of Alcudia.

Sir,

I HAVE communicated to the King your letter of yesterday, in which you inform me, in the name of the States General of the United Provinces, that they have abolished the office of stadholder, captain and admiral-general, in all its functions and all its relations, and that the States, as well as the whole nation, desire to live in peace with all powers, and especially with his Majesty.

The King has learnt with the most lively satisfaction, this new mark of the continuance of the friendship of the States General and of the Dutch nation, and he is resolved to reply on his part with constancy and good faith in every thing which may depend upon

him.

him. He will also continue to grant his protection, Sir, to you. In consequence, he flatters himself that harmony will still subsist, however great the misfortunes of one or other of the countries may be. I repeat to you, on this occasion, the assurances of the perfect attachment which I have vowed to you ; and I desire nothing so much as to give you further proofs of it.

(Signed)

THE DUKE OF ALCUEDIA.

Granjuez, May 14, 1795.

Answer of the Elector of Saxony to the Princes and States, Brunswick and Cassel, &c. who have ordered their Ministers to apply to the Elector to know what Conduct he intended to follow with respect to the important Object of the Peace of the Empire.

HIS Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony had never been at war with France ; but that in his quality of Prince of the Empire, he furnished the contingents due from him in a more punctua. manner than any other state of the empire.

Letter from the King of Prussia to Colonel Tschirsky, Commandant at Wesel.

My dear Colonel Tschirsky,

I THANK you for the congratulations contained in your letter of the 16th instant, on the subject of the peace concluded with France ; and so much the more, as you have already, to my great satisfaction, given proofs of your sentiments by your constant attention to ease these countries, as far as possible, of the burden of the war. It will always afford me real pleasure to give you more and more proofs of my gratitude and good will ; and to convince you of it, I send you in the mean time my order of merit, which you have deserved, not only by your wise precautions for the defence of the fortress, but by your conduct in general during the troubles which have agitated the countries under your command. With respect to the measures you have taken for making the fruits of the peace more grateful to the inhabitants, know that I approve of them in all their extent. I expect further information on the effects of them ; and am your affectionate King,

Potsdam, May 22, 1795.

F. W.

Substance of a circular Letter from the Imperial Court, relative to the Reports respecting Negotiations for Peace.

Vienna, May 29.

IT having been circulated in the residence of the diet of the empire, and in several electoral courts and principalities, that the Imperial Court had, through the medium of Count Carletti, entered into negotiations at Paris; that these negotiations had already advanced to the point; that the left bank of the Rhine should be abandoned to the French, on condition that the French should facilitate the exchange of the Low Countries for Bavaria; and that in consequence of this convention, the enemy would instantly take possession of these countries; it is necessary to declare formally that this report is puerile and absurd, and ought to be considered as a calumny, insomuch as the Imperial Court never had an idea, during the whole of the present war, of entering into a negotiation for peace with the French, much less through the medium of Count Carletti.

Letter from Monsieur, Regent of France, (now Louis XVIII.) to General Charette.

Sir,

AT last I have found the opportunity so long anxiously desired; I can now, by means of a direct communication, express to you my admiration, gratitude, and ardent desire to share your dangers and your glory. This desire I will satisfy, were it even at the expence of my last drop-of blood; but in the mean time, a perfect understanding between him who, by his exploits, becomes the second founder of the monarchy, and the prince who is called by birth to the government of that kingdom, is of the highest importance.

No one knows better than you to appreciate the utility of the measures I can pursue in the interior. You are no doubt of opinion that I shall raise my voice in every quarter where the inhabitants are armed for their God and their King. You must inform me of the means to do it. Tell your brave companions in arms how much I am obliged to them. Should this letter fortunately chance to reach you at the eve of an action, let the parole be St. Louis, and the watch-word—the King and the Regency. I shall hasten to be with you from the day, that my name may be blended with one of your triumphs.

(Signed)

LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.

Verona, 1st February, 1795.

Answer of General Charette to Monsieur.

Sire,

THE letter which your Royal Highness has been pleased to honour me with, enchants my soul. Am I indeed to enjoy the happiness of seeing you, and of fighting under your orders for the best of causes? I have sacrificed for it my blood; but approved and encouraged by a great prince, with what ardent zeal would I shed the last drop to render it triumphant!

All my military and political exertions; all my wishes aim at that end. It has been attempted to throw suspicion on some of my actions, the true motive of which has, perhaps, been totally mistaken; but if I scrutinize my own conduct, I still find in my bosom that nice sense of honour which characterises the true French chevaliers, which was always my guide, and has sometimes led me to the field of victory. I feel burning within me, in fiery characters, that unalterable attachment which I have sworn to the illustrious house of Bourbon.

Relying on my own consciousness of the sincerity of my sentiments, I shall say to those who censure my conduct—" Profound politicians, ye who are yet unacquainted with the laws of necessity, and judge from appearances only, come and learn the imperious circumstances which have determined my conduct, as well as that of my brave companions in arms; come and appreciate the advantages which may result from it. If, instead of unconnected enterprizes, all the different parts are more closely united, and there exists in our operations an unity of plan and execution, may we not hope that they will then be more efficacious? May this hope soon be realized!!! How encouraging are the parole and watch-word, assigned by your Royal Highness to me! They lead to victory; they have always been my motto, and I will never forget them.

I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect,

Sire, your most humble and most obedient servant,

*Camp of Belleville,
the 10th June, 1795.*

CHARETTE.

Letter from his Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVIII. to the Archbishop of Paris, residing in Switzerland.

My Cousin,

I HAVE received the letter which in conjunction with the Bishops of Langres, Nismes, and St. Malo, you have written me in regard of the faithful part of my clergy residing at Constance. I gratefully acknowledge the concern you take in my grief, on account of the decease of the King, my nephew; and the

the attachment you profess for my person, I accept with submission the burthen which Providence has been pleased to charge me with ; and I should even accept it with joy, if I might hope to become the instrument of its mercy, for restoring to the Christian kingdom its religion, so cruelly persecuted by those who usurp my throne.

I charge you to return my thanks to the three bishops, as well as to all the clergy who have expressed their kindness towards me through you ; and tell them, in my name, to offer up their most ardent prayers to that God through whom monarchs reign, that he may condescend to restore to my love, my subjects ; and to my subjects, by my intervention, those laws which have so long maintained my kingdom in a flourishing condition ; but above all, to restore to them the precious gift of faith.

Wherewith I pray to God, my cousin, to hold you in his holy and worthy keeping.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

At Verona, the 15th of June, 1795.

Letter from Louis XVIII. to the Pope.

IT is with the most lively sorrow I inform your Holiness of the death of King Louis XVII. my honoured lord and nephew, who, on the 8th of this month, sunk under the pressure of the rigorous treatment which he incessantly experienced from the assassins of his august father. Become by his death Most Christian King, I am sensible of the obligations which such a title imposes upon me ; and the first of my cares will be, to make the Roman Catholic religion flourish in my kingdom. Your Holiness has long been acquainted with my sentiments of veneration for your person, and my attachment to the holy see. You will always find them in the eldest son of the church, who implores your apostolic benediction.

I am, most holy Father,
Your Holiness's very zealous son,

Verona, 24th June.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

Answer of the Pope to the Letter of Louis XVIII.

PIUS VI. to our very dear son in Jesus Christ, Louis XVIII. of France and Navarre, the Most Christian King.

Very dear Son,

IT was with real regret that we learned the premature death of your illustrious and unfortunate nephew, with the melancholy circumstances attending it. We have not ceased to supplicate Di-

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vine Providence that he may deign to fortify and encourage your Majesty, that you may be enabled, in these times of calamity, to support the burthen of the crown of your ancestors. The misfortunes and adversities that have incessantly pressed upon you since your departure from France, have been intimately felt by every one. But to these misfortunes there will be an end. Confide then in the infinite mercy of the Almighty ; he alone will decide between you and the French people, whether they ought to be republicans, or whether they shall be subject to a King.

His will, which shall be freely made known' in the new national organization, shall undoubtedly decide upon that heroic sacrifice which is worthy to be made by a soul like your's, in favour of the repose of the human kind. The unequivocal principles of equity which have superseded the barbarous system of terror under which France has groaned, give us reason to hope that pacific resolutions will be the fulfilment of the designs of the Almighty.

Very dear son, whatever these may be, constantly depend upon our paternal solicitude, and the tender interest we shall not cease to take in the concerns of the eldest son of the church. We give your Majesty our apostolical benediction, and pray to God that he will protect your lawful rights.

(Signed)

Pius IV.

Monsieur to his Serene Highness Monseigneur the Prince of Condé.

My Cousin,

I AM affected, as I ought to be, with the sentiments you express upon the subject of the loss which I have just experienced in the person of the King, my lord and nephew.

If any thing can moderate my just and profound sorrow, it is that I see those who are rendered dear to me by so many ties, partake of it. France loses a King whose good qualities, which were developed from his tenderest infancy, announced that he would be the worthy successor of the best of Kings. It remains for me only to implore the assistance of Divine Providence, to render me worthy of indemnifying my subjects for so great a misfortune. Their love is the first object of my desires ; and I hope that the day will arrive, in which, after having like Henry IVth re-conquered my kingdom, I shall, like Louis the XIIth, deserve the title of—father of my people.

Tell the brave gentlemen and the brave troops, the command of whom I have confided to you, that the attachment which they express to me through you, is to me the dawn of that happy day, and that I rely principally upon you and them to render that day comple-

completely brilliant. I renew with pleasure the assurance of all those sentiments with which I am, my cousin,

Your affectionate cousin,

Verona, June 24.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

Louis XVIII. to the Elector of Triers.

My dear Uncle,

WHEN, according to the customary ceremonial, I notify to you the decease of the King, my nephew, and my own accession to the throne of France, I acquit myself of a duty incumbent on a King of France to fulfil towards an Elector of Triers. But my heart would be far from being satisfied should I confine myself to this formality. Your friendship and benevolence towards me shall never be erased from my memory ; and I hope that one day, when I shall be seated on the throne to which Providence has ordained that I should succeed, I may say to you, *hospes eram et recipisti me* (I was a stranger and you took me in :) the remembrance, however, of what you have done for me, is still the most pleasant solace of my mind, amid the melancholy ideas by which, as you may easily suppose, I am frequently disturbed.

You will perhaps find yourself under a difficulty with respect to answering my letter, as being a member of the German empire, you may esteem it your duty to wait the resolutions of that body. But there is a method to obviate this difficulty. I am here *incognito*, and neither the King nor the Germanic body can have any objection that the Elector of Triers should write to the Count de Lille, especially as in your letter I only expect the assurances of the love and friendship of an uncle towards a nephew who loves him inexpressibly. Farewell, my dear uncle, make my tenderest acknowledgments to my aunt. I love and embrace you with my whole heart.

29 June, 1795.

LOUIS.

Substance of a Missive from General David Dundas to Count Walmoden, respecting the Count d'Artois.

Delmenhorst, 20 June.

YOUR Excellency, no doubt, knows nothing of the insult I offered to royalty, in the person of his Royal Highness the Count d'Artois, by the regency of Hanover, or you would, as I am going to do, send two squadrons to protect him from farther insolence. It would ill become those who have the high honour of serving the British Monarch, regardlessly to look on, while an illustrious

illustrious and unoffending prince is treated with disrespect.— While there remains a general of my nation at the head of troops on the continent, the Count d'Artois cannot, shall not want a protector.

Colonel Crawford to the Prince de Conde.

Frankfort, 9 June.

HIS Britannic Majesty having done me the honour to nominate me his minister to reside with your Royal Highness, I should instantly have waited upon you, but I must see Marshal Clairfayt on my way, and shall afterwards immediately proceed to your Royal Highness. In the mean time, I must inform you that his Majesty has committed to me full powers, and likewise the necessary funds for augmenting your army to the greatest possible number, in the manner which shall be most agreeable to your Royal Highness, and which may be suitable to your perseverance, your virtues, and your talents.

Substance of a Letter from the Emperor to the Prince of Conde.

IN all possible cases, and in all circumstances, you may rely on me, and on the promise which I now make, never to abandon you.

Summons sent by Captain Ellison to the Governor of Belleisle.

On board the Standard, in Roads of Belleisle, June 26.

Sir,

YOU cannot be surprised at my arriving in this road with the British squadron, if you are acquainted, as I make no doubt you are, with the important victory gained by our fleet over that of the French convention on the 23d instant, and with the powerful succours which the King, my master, has furnished to the royal army of Brittany. Sent hither to cut off all communication between the island under your orders and the continent, and to offer you the protection of his Britannic Majesty, I hope to enjoy the happiness of restoring to the inhabitants of Belleisle the tranquillity which they cannot but anxiously desire, and of supplying them with the means of subsistence which they stand in need of. I do not summon you to surrender to the victorious British arms, but I propose to you to acknowledge your King Louis XVIII. to offer you the alliance and protection of Great Britain, and to put

an end, at least in your island, to the horrid calamities which desolate your country.

The exhausted state of the resources of the convention, a necessary consequence of its having overstretched and misused them; the insurrections of royalists in every part of the kingdom, and especially in Brittany, against the usurped and oppressive power of the convention; the army, composed of French troops only, which has been disembarked in sight of your island, to join the royalists, and to supply them with all sorts of ammunition; the late victory, which has nearly destroyed the whole naval force of the Republic, the remains of which are blocked up in the road of l'Orient by a superior force; all these considerations ought to incline you not to prolong in your island the calamities attending on war.

Do not fear, Sir, lest Belleisle might be subjected to a foreign power. Belleisle is to surrender to its lawful sovereign, to receive no other but French troops, and chiefly to be guarded by its own inhabitants. The King, my master, impelled by his boundless generosity, will afford them every means of subsistence in his power, and insure them his protection.

You may rest assured, Sir, that you, as well as the officers and troops under your orders, and all the loyal inhabitants of the island who shall acknowledge the royal authority, will be amply rewarded by their own King, as much as by my sovereign. I have on board two French commissioners, invested by the commander in chief of the royalists, with sufficient powers to treat, in concert with me, on every subject which concerns either the general welfare of the island, or the interest of private individuals; and I am authorised to declare to you, that the commander in chief of the British fleet will readily ratify all such articles as may be regulated between us. The gentleman whom you shall think proper to send to me shall be received with all possible respect; and I have reason to expect, that the officer who has the honour of delivering to you this present letter, will be received by you in the same manner.

ELLISON, Captain and Commander.

The Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic to the United Provinces,

*Hague, the 27th of Messidor, (July 15) in the third Year of
the French Republic, One and Indivisible.*

I AM eager to inform your High Mightinesses, that the committee of public welfare of the National Convention, apprised that malevolent and false rumours are circulated, to make people believe, that in the treaty concluded between the French Republic and his Prussian Majesty, there are secret articles, by virtue of

which

which the French Republic should abandon the Batavians, and the King of Prussia should occupy some towns in the United Provinces, that Zealand should be given up to him, has most formally and most authentically disavowed them, by one of its members, in the sitting of the National Convention of the 21st of Messidor, (July 9.)

(Signed)

PINSON.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

Richard, Representative of the People on Mission with the Army of the North, to the States General of the United Provinces.

At the Hague, the 27th Messidor, (July 15) in the third Year of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

I AM eager, citizens, to impart to you a note, which I have just received, on the part of the committee of public welfare of the National Convention of France. You will see in it a fresh proof of the desire which animates the government of the French Republic, to see liberty established on a solid basis in the United Provinces, and that the people may enjoy a stable and republican government, in spite of the anarchists of all parties.

(Signed)

RICHARD.

The Committee of Public Welfare of the National Convention, to Citizen Richard, Representative of the People with the Army of the North.

Paris, the 20th Messidor, (July 8) in the third Year of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

WE authorise thee expressly by this note, dear colleague, to disavow to the States General of the United Provinces, every speech or writing that may be supposed to come from us, and that may indicate the least participation of the French government, in the establishment of any clubs of what description soever, in the whole extent of the Republic of the United Provinces; and to solicit of the States General the speedy punishment of every Frenchman who should abuse his quality, to influence, in this false kind of patriotism, the public opinion, or to cause the least disturbance.

We recommend to thee to communicate this note to the Batavian government, to have it promulgated in the army of the north, to inform every French soldier, of what rank so ever, that it is forbidden to them, under the severest punishment, to assist at any fitting

sitting of the clubs and other assemblies now established, or to be established forthwith in the United Provinces, or to have any direct or indirect communication with the same societies.

Greeting and Fraternity,

The members of the committee of public welfare,
 (Signed) CAMBACERES, President.
 RABAUT, BOISSY,
 LOUVET, GAMON.

A true copy,

The representative of the people sent to the army of the north.
 (Signed) RICHARD.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

*At the Hague, the 28th of Messidor, third Year
 of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.*

THE Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic with the United Provinces makes known to their High Mightinesses, that the French government, not content with the formal disavowal which he has made to them of the false secret articles of the treaty between the French Republic and Prussia, wickedly inserted in the Gazettes by the enemies of the two Republics, has just written to the citizen representative, Richard, to repeat the same assurances ; and that however assured he be of the just opinion which their High Mightinesses have of him, and of their confidence in his loyalty, he thinks it incumbent to discard even the least shadow of suspicion. In consequence, the undersigned is again authorised officially to declare to their High Mightinesses, and by them to the whole Batavian nation, that there is no other truth in the atrocious suppositions contained in those pretended articles, than the extreme malignity which has imagined them, and which would procure them belief ; that never such a disgrace shall pollute the French name ; that it shall never be seen to blast its glory by the falsity of its treaties ; that the secret articles of its treaties shall never belie the known articles ; that wherever it shall promise fidelity to its friends, it will keep its word, as it has kept it when it vowed war and vengeance to its enemies. By the mere sight of the weapons with which its enemies chuse to combat it, it leaves to judge to which confidence ought to be granted by preference. To prove further to their High Mightinesses, how much the French government is interested in the tranquillity of the United Provinces, its allies, it has approved of all the measures which the representative Richard has taken to stop the disorders, whose unruly spirit of anarchy menaced the United

Provinces, inviting them to continue to enlighten the people of Batavia, as he has already done, by respecting the dangers of the popular societies, and to induce them to repulse constantly the agitators, who, under the mask of patriotism and fraternity, have no other design than to divide and stifle rising liberty. Farther, the French government, approving of every thing the representative Richard may have done to disappoint the disorganizers and the anarchists, authorises him formally to use all his exertions at his disposal to assist the Batavian government to maintain order and tranquillity throughout the whole extent of the Republic or the United Provinces. The undersigned flatters himself, that these frank and loyal explanations will be agreeable to their High Mightinesses.

(Signed)

PINSOT.

Substance of the Answer of the Ottoman Porte to the Government of the United Provinces relative to the Dutch Revolution.

AS an old and sincere friend to the Republic, the Porte has learned, with the utmost satisfaction, the new order of things which has taken place in Holland, as tending to the peace and welfare of the provinces.

General Kellermann to the General in Chief of the Austrian Army.

Head Quarters at Toriano, 13th Messidor,
(July 1) third Year of the Republic.

General,

I HAVE been informed that at the time of the attack of Saint Jacques, a number of your soldiers carried their barbarity so far as to cut in pieces with their swords wounded French soldier, who were incapable of defending themselves. If in combat assassination be lawful, the troops I have the honour to command will never imitate this example: as generous as brave, the French soldiery will never forget that in the field of battle, when each one has done his duty, humanity, and even good offices, ought to regain their ascendancy. I could not at first give credit to the recital of such horrors; but the proofs are so greatly multiplied, that I can no longer doubt them, neither can I preserve a silence on a conduct which would be attended by the most disastrous consequences, if the law of retaliation were to be enforced.

I give you, General, too much credit to believe that if these facts had come to your knowledge they would have remained unpunished. For my part, I declare to you that I shall deliver up to the most rigorous punishment, every soldier who shall degrade himself

himself to such a degree as not to hold out a succouring hand to the enemy he may have subdued ; and it must already have come to your knowledge, that we have treated in this way the wounded and prisoner whom the chance of war has placed in our hands.

(Signed) KELLERMANN.

ANSWER.

The General of the Austro-Sardinian Army, to the Commander in Chief of the French Army.

Savone, July 2, 1795.

General,

I HAVE just received the letter which you, Sir, have written to me, dated at Toriano, as I suppose, the 1st of the month of July. The outrages of which you there complain are certainly contrary to my orders, and to the custom of the Imperial troops : but you know that we have free corps and other troops partly considered as Turks, and partly from the confines of Turkey. You know that these people are by their education far more cruel than the other troops of Europe : I shall, however, do every thing in my power to remove the complaints you have just made to me, if they are really well founded. You may be convinced of the sincerity of what I have just said to you, Sir, by the treatment your prisoners receive, who certainly cannot fail to congratulate themselves on the mode of conduct which is adopted by us towards them.

(Signed) B. DE VINS.

Answer of the Elector of Treves to the Notification of the Treaty of Peace and Alliance concluded between the Republic of the United Provinces and the Republic of France, Augsburg, the 2d of July.

THE undersigned minister of state, by order of his Serene Electoral Highness, has the honour to give for answer to the memorial of the 29th of last month, that his excellency Mr. Landsbergen, minister plenipotentiary of their High Mightinesses addressed to him, that his Serene Electoral Highness was perfectly sensible of the friendly attention of their High Mightinesses, in communicating the treaty concluded the 16th of last month ; and convinced, by this attention, that the said treaty contains no projects hostile to the Germanic empire, his Serene Electoral Highness wishes that their High Mightinesses may reap from it permanent advantages, and all the benefits that can possibly result from it.

(Signed) BARON DE DUMINI.

Address of the Chiefs of the Army of La Vendée to his Britannic Majesty.

Sire,

THE royalists of La Vendée are about to lay their sentiments, their wishes, and their hopes, at the feet of the greatest and most generous of Sovereigns. For these three years past we have not ceased to combat for the re-establishment of the throne and of the altar. Whilst France, either the victim or accomplice of the tyrants, by which she is governed, threatens, since that period, as well with her principles as her arms, all the states leagued against her, a handful of Frenchmen, faithful to their God and their King, brave all dangers, surmount all obstacles, in order to restore happiness to their country, and tranquillity to Europe. Sometimes conquered, and oftener conquerors, our defeats, as well as our victories, have cost the armies of the convention more than three hundred thousand men ; but unfortunately such an important diversion, in favour of the combined powers, has hitherto served only to exhaust our means, and to weaken us, instead of procuring us the assistance which we had a right to expect, as well from sound policy, as from the promises of those who were allies of the cause which we defend. At last we learn that the white flag is floating on the coasts of Brittany. The emigrants, those honourable victims, to whom your Majesty had given so generous a reception in your states, have at last been restored to their country, preceded by the wishes of those who in France remained attached to royalty. They undoubtedly will soon see their arms triumph, as well as the cause for which they combat. Already does the repentance of one part of the French, and the ardour of others, which has hitherto been repressed, urge immense multitudes to advance to meet them. In every quarter the utmost discontent prevails ; the royalists of La Vendée have also resumed the arms which they had for a moment been induced to lay down, in consequence of a formal promise that efforts should be speedily made for the re-establishment of royalty.

Not only deceived in our expectations, but threatened in the persons of our chiefs, some of whom have been basely massacred, others arrested, in violation of treaties, our battalions are again assembled, and several victories have already signalized the new campaign which we have recently opened. It is thus then, Sire, with those arms in our hands, which are destined to combat the enemies of kings, that we present ourselves before your Majesty, and that we solicit you to unite your armies to ours, to concur in the re-establishment of our lawful Sovereign on the throne of his ancestors.—Long, too long, has the blood of England and of France been flowing ; the two nations feel the necessity of a just and honourable peace ; but such a peace can only be procured from

from a monarchy. Did an opportunity more precious to your Majesty's heart ever occur? Did one ever exist more glorious than that which now presents itself, for concurring in the re-establishment of a king upon the throne of France? No: such a task could only offer itself to the sovereign of a great and powerful nation; for him was reserved the immortal glory of twice assisting the Bourbons to re-conquer their crown.—Following the example, then, of the great Elizabeth, you will send, Sire, your brave and generous soldiers to join our martial bands. Accompanied by our princes, and commanded by a chief alike magnanimous and experienced, they will not fail to march from victory to victory. Our wicked enemies will tremble at their approach; and their defeat will soon prove to the world, that it is as dangerous as it is horrid for a people to revolt against their sovereigns.

Such, Sire, are our wishes; such also are our hopes; and your royal heart is too magnanimous to suffer us to be disappointed in our expectations. Relying on the generous protection of your arms, we will continue to combat your enemies and our own.—Acquiring an accession of strength from assistance thus powerful, our soldiers will become, if possible, more formidable than ever. Until the arrival of that happy epoch, we will not cease to address our vows to heaven for the preservation of your Majesty's life, and for the welfare and prosperity of your subjects. With these sentiments, joined to those of the most profound respect, we beseech your Majesty to believe us ever, Sire,

Your most obedient and most humble servants,

The royalists of La Vendée,

Chevalier CHARETTE,

SAPINEAU,

COSTU, Knight of St. Louis.

Head-quarters at Belleville, July 21, 1795.

To Sir John Warren, Commander of the English Fleet on board the Pomona, under the Fort Quiberon.

Sir,

I WAS far from expecting that it should have been my lot to send you a detail of the events which took place on the fatal day that brought me hither, and to have a severe examination instituted on the conduct of the false and dastardly traitor who has ruined our cause. M. de Puisaye having ordered me to take a position, in which I was to wait his orders, took the singular precaution of hastening to a ship, which he secured for his retreat, and thus abandoned to their hard destiny a multitude of victims whom he sacrificed.

The

The garrison of the fort having been forced, and the left wing of the division been already turned, the only resource that remained was precipitately to re-embark, which was nearly rendered impracticable by the proximity of the enemy. The regiments of Herville and of Dresney abandoned or massacred their officers. The greater part of the soldiers judging so bad a position desperate, dispersed into the country. I found myself hemmed in by the rock at the extremity of the island, with two or three hundred gentlemen, and a few of the men who still remained faithful to us, who were left unprovided with cartridges, none having been furnished, but to the guards of the fort, notwithstanding repeated requests on my part; no doubt but M. Puisaye had his own reasons to justify this conduct, which, we hope, he will condescend to explain.

A number of vessels that still remained on the coast, might have afforded me the disgraceful retreat which M. de Puisaye so vigilantly seized; but the dereliction of my companions in arms would have been far more shocking to me than the lot which awaits me, (I believe, to-morrow morning). I am bold to say, I deserved a better; and this you will acknowledge, together with all those who know me, if chance will ever permit any of the companions of my misfortunes to reveal to the world the mysteries of this fatal, this unexampled day.

The consternation of an undisciplined and disorderly body of men, deserted by their commander, in whom explicit confidence had been placed, rendered it impossible from his stupid security, to take those measures for the general safety, which he so providently secured for himself.

Thus bereft of every resource, I agreed to a capitulation, in order to save what could not escape, and the general cry of the army gave me to understand, that every emigrant would be made prisoner and spared, like the others, but that I alone would be excepted.

Many will say, what could he do? some will answer, he ought to have died. Doubtless I shall die; but as I remained the only person to watch over the lot of those who the evening before had twenty leaders, I could only exert what efforts were left in my power, and these were ineffectual. Those who left me no other to adopt, might rescue me from this responsibility.

I make no doubt but that the dastard will endeavour to give some colour to his flight: but I call on you by the laws of honour to communicate this letter to the public; and, no doubt, Mr. Windham will be so good as to add to it the letter I addressed to him from Portsmouth. Farewel! I bid you farewell with that calmness which can alone result from purity of conscience, and the estimation of all the brave men who at present share my misfortune, and who prefer it to the escape of the coward, who, not having

having courage to fight with us, ought, at least, to have fore-warned me : that esteem I value as a pledge of immortality. I fall a victim to his cowardice, and to the force of those arms, that were for a length of time not unfortunate to me. In this last moment I derive a source of enjoyment, if any can be tasted in a situation like mine, from the esteem of my companions in misfortune, and that of the enemy by whom we are conquered. Farewel ! farewell ! all the world !

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Count CHARLES DE SOMBREUIL.

(Signed)

First Letter to Mr. Windham, Secretary at War.

(Translation.)

On board the John, Portsmouth Road, July 8, 1795.

Sir,

THE short stay which I made at London not having permitted me the honour of seeing you more than once, and my sudden departure having prevented me from conversing with you on several points of importance to me, in my present situation, I have sufficient confidence in your sagacity to be convinced, that I shall find such instructions as will serve me for a guide, and enable me to support the responsibility attached to my conduct, as well towards you, as towards the troops under my command.

A full conviction of the necessity of subordination, joined to a zealous devotion to the cause in which I have embarked, induce me to fly with precipitation at the first signal I receive, and never allow me to urge the smallest objection. I say nothing of the discretion which a government has a right to expect from those it employs ; I have long since given sufficient proofs of mine ; and I have reason to believe, that they are such as will enable me to obtain, at least, those marks of confidence which are due to my situation.

I have the honour to observe to you, Sir, that I am going with troops, of whose destination I know nothing but by public report, neither am I acquainted with their means of subsistence, nor, in the smallest degree, with the rules by which I am to regulate my conduct. What will be necessary, with regard to ammunition, with which I am not, to my knowledge, provided, and with regard to the support of those with whom I am to act ; the means by which I am to carry on my correspondence with you, in a distant situation ; and from whom I am, in all cases, to receive

ceive orders—These are points on which I request you to give me such instructions as will serve as a basis for my conduct.

I had the honour also to request that you would let me have an officer from the department of inspection—if you send me such a person, pray chuse a man who speaks both languages, that he may, on occasion, assist me in the translation of your letters; and that your orders may only be known to an officer chosen by government.

I have the honour to be, with respect,
Your very humble servant,
Count CHARLES DE SOMBREUIL.

Second Letter to Mr. Windham.

Sir,

THE letter which I have written to Sir John Warren, will give you every information in my power to afford, as well in my present situation, as on past events; I will not remind you of the letter which I wrote to you from Portsmouth, as you doubtless feel the force of the remarks which I there made; you must be sensible how much my heart has to suffer in these last moments; independently of the regret which I experience for the fate of my companions, you know what sacrifices an order so prompt obliged me to make.

I request you, Sir, to be so kind as to give to the bearer, a faithful man, who has never abandoned me (and whom the losses I have sustained incapacitate me from rewarding) the sum of five hundred Louis, to be shared with my other servants—This request will not appear indiscreet, as I have lost several government securities to a greater amount.

I also recommend to you, Sir, the two persons about whom I spoke to you before I left London.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your very humble servant,
Count CHARLES DE SOMBREUIL.

Letter of M. de Hardenberg to M. Barthelemy.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Prussian majesty has the honour to communicate to M. Barthelemy, ambassador of the French Republic, the resolution which the Germanic empire, assembled in a body, has recently taken, by a concilium, dated the 3d of this month, of requesting the Emperor, in his quality of head of the Empire, to adopt every possible measure

measure that may bring about and accelerate a peace between the Empire and France. The Empire having, at the same time, claimed the interposition of his Prussian Majesty, his Majesty deems it his duty not to delay an instant in co-operating with his co-estates, while the Emperor on his side may be expected to pursue every measure that can contribute to the attainment of this very desirable end. His Prussian Majesty, while he undertakes, with the most sincere satisfaction, every thing that can promote the happy return of the blessings of peace, as well for Germany as for France, entertains no doubt but that the French Republic, animated by the same sentiments, considers this great object under the same point of view.—His Majesty hopes that the Republic, having bound itself to the XIth article of the treaty of Basle, to accept the good offices of his Prussian majesty, in favour of such States of the Germanic empire, as may be inclined to enter directly into a negotiation with the French Republic; having, moreover, consented not to treat as enemies, for the space of three months, after the ratification of the above-mentioned treaty, such princes and states of the Empire as are situated on the left bank of the Rhine, in favour of whom his Prussian Majesty is ready to interpose; having, besides, acceded to a neutrality with the greater part of Germany, by the secret convention of the 17th of May. The French République will not hesitate to accept the efficacious interposition of his Prussian Majesty in favour of the whole Empire; and likewise concur in the military arrangements, the more so as France itself appears interested in seeing the most speedy communication re-established, and commerce revived, and restored to a free circulation the whole length of the Rhine, and a term put, or at least a diminution, to the enormous expences which a continuation of hostilities must require.

His Prussian Majesty proposes, without interfering immediately with the negotiation,

I. That by adopting, from the present moment, and during the pendent negotiations, the *status quo*, a general armistice may be agreed upon between France and the Empire.

II. That during this armistice, all contributions, requisitions, and hostile measures shall cease in the countries, or Germanic fortresses, occupied by the French troops.

III. That the city of Frankfort on the Main be fixed on, agreeably to the wish of the Empire, for the seat of the negotiations; that this city is to be guarded by its own soldiers; and that all foreign troops, even those of his Prussian Majesty, shall withdraw from it.

IV. That the French Republic is speedily to send thither a minister plenipotentiary, to treat for peace with the imperial commissioner, and the deputation to be named for that purpose by the Empire.

V. That the necessary measures should be taken for the most undisturbed course of correspondence. The undersigned prays the ambassador to be good enough to transmit, without any delay, these preliminary propositions to the French government, and to communicate to the undersigned the answer which he shall receive.

(Signed)

HARDENBERG.

At Basle, July 24, 1795.

Answer of M. Barthélémy.

I HAVE not omitted communicating to the committee of public safety of the national convention, the note which his excellency the Baron de Hardenberg, Member of State, and Plenipotentiary of his Prussian Majesty, has honoured me with, on the 28th of July last. The committee of public safety has taken it into particular consideration, and orders me to give this answer to the Baron de Hardenberg, that though it desires to promote on all occasions the wishes of his Prussian Majesty, if they be perfectly sincere, as they can have no other object than the mutual interests of the two powers, the principles which it has adopted for the rule of its conduct, and which it has manifested in formal negotiations, do not permit it, under the present circumstances, to consent to an armistice between France and the Germanic empire; but thoroughly persuaded, that such armistice, far from favouring the progress of the pacification, would, on the contrary, only serve to retard the proceedings of the negotiations which are intended to be set on foot.

The French government observes, with satisfaction, that the Germanic empire, weary of a war, the cause of which becomes daily more foreign to it, solicits the interposition and co-operation of his Prussian Majesty for the re-establishment of peace for the French Republic; and it is on the present occasion that it takes an opportunity of renewing its assurances of the particular interest with which it will always be disposed to accept of that interposition, as well in favour of the Empire in general, as of each of the particular States that compose it. I therefore feel a sincere satisfaction in being able to assure Baron de Hardenberg, agreeably to the orders which I have received, that the good offices of his Prussian Majesty shall always have with the French government that efficacy which it may reasonably expect in every matter that does not tend to prejudice the interest or the dignity of the Republic. It depends, therefore, on the Germanic empire to avail itself of these amicable dispositions towards the court of Berlin, by opening directly with the French government a negotiation, in which the interposition of his Prussian Majesty may

may prove so advantageous to the States of the Empire. It being expressed in the instructions which I have just received from Paris, that the proposition of the armistice cannot be adopted, the Baron de Hardenberg will easily perceive that the same must be observed with regard to the other articles proposed in his note, since they are the natural consequences of the first article.

(Signed) BARTHELEMY.

Baſe, Aug. 10, 1795.

Letter of the Representatives of the People, Rivaux and Merlin of Thionville, to the Baron Hardenberg.

Sir,

ON the 28th Thermidor, we received your letter of the 21st of July. We are as desirous as you are that the olive of peace should take consistence, and extend its beneficent shade to the sturdy oak, on which we would fondly suspend our trophies; but our only business with the armies is to lead our brave battalions to battle. We are not empowered to enter into any diplomatic discussions. Our government alone can suspend our march; it cannot fail to be rapid, for it has been long and maturely meditated. We feel much regret at not being able to comply with your wishes; but, peculiarly submissive to the laws of our country, we shall continue to fight its battles till it has said to us—Stop—We have granted peace to the Empire.

Health and fraternity to the friends of the Republic.

(Signed)

MERLIN of Thionville, and RIVAUX.

Note presented by the Prussian Secretary of Embassy, Baron Bielefeld, to Citizen Pinsot, French Chargé d'Affaires in the United Netherlands, and by him communicated to the States General.

AS the assembling of the emigrated Dutch military, which has actually taken place in the duchy of Osnaburgh, cannot but have attracted the attention of the French government, the undersigned takes the earliest opportunity of communicating to the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. Pinsot, the official explanation he has received on this subject, in the last dispatches from his court.

His Prussian Majesty has been unable to consider the assembling of an armed force in that province, in any other light than as being contrary to the stipulations of the agreement added to the treaty of Baſe; and dangerous to the tranquillity of that part of the empire which is protected by the line of neutrality agreed on. So important a consideration did not allow his Majesty to remain

an indifferent spectator of this transaction, and he has therefore given orders to the commanders of his troops, as well as the governors of his towns, not to countenance the passage of those emigrants, and at the same time he has intimated to the regencies of Hanover and Osnaburgh, that his Majesty could not remain an unconcerned spectator with respect to the like proceedings taking place within the aforesaid line of demarkation; and that he therefore advised them, as soon as possible, to prevent the disagreeable consequences which naturally must thence arise.

The undersigned requests the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. Pinsot, to make such use of this official declaration as he thinks most proper, to do away the unfavourable impression which the said occurrence may have occasioned. He flatters himself, that the measures adopted by the King, his master, for dispersing the troops already assembled, will leave no doubt concerning the sincerity of his Majesty's sentiments, and his anxious desire, by the most exact fulfilling of the stipulations contained in the treaty of Basle, carefully to avoid whatever may tend to disturb the good understanding which prevails between his Majesty and the French Republic.

(Signed)

BIELEFELD,

Secretary of embassy to his Prussian Majesty.

Hague, Aug. 17, 1795.

The Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention to the Batavian People.

A NEW order of things is established among you. The stadt-hölderate, and the hereditary descent of that monstrous power are annihilated. Your imprescriptible rights are re-established. Your liberty, your independence, are publicly recognized; and these grand events have not cost a single drop of blood. No person, friend or enemy, has experienced any evil but those which are inseparable from the cruel war directed against us by your oppressors. The haughty ambition of Louis XIV. had no object in overwhelming you with all the weight of his power, but to satisfy a vain glory, and restore the land you inhabit to the marshes from which your industry drew it. But we, Batavians, we entered it only to deliver you from your enemies and ours, to recover your liberty and your independence, and to strengthen our mutual happiness by an eternal alliance. This important and glorious task is fulfilled. The preservation and the confirmation of your liberty, of the rank you hold among the powers of Europe, depends, however, upon your wisdom, upon your courage, upon your constancy, and, above all, upon your union. May our revolution, so fruitful in great events, serve you for instruction

instruction and example ! Imitate the civic virtues of the French, shun their misfortunes, and preserve yourselves from crimes, which, for a time, outraged humanity.

The happy epoch of the 9th Thermidor, was the safety of France ; it was your safety ; it put a period to the rule of men of blood, and secured the triumph of true justice and humanity over the most hideous and insensate tyranny. Woe be to those who would introduce among you this sanguinary rule ! it would be the ruin of your commerce ; it would banish far from you industry, and the arts ; and your unhappy country would soon be only a gulph, in which your opulent cities would disappear.—Repress, then, those among you, who in the delirium of ambition or vengeance would lead you to measures of terror and ferocity. Believe in our experience. Your enemies will assume among you all kinds of masks ; they will sow discord and division ; they will inspire you with distrust of us ; they will even push their impudence so far as to attempt persuading you that the French nation is capable of departing with respect to you from the faith she has sworn, and of basely giving you up to the yoke broken with her own hands.

Batavians ! you will not believe it ; the alliance which unites the two nations has been cemented with our blood ; it will be durable, because its object is to defend the rights of men and nations against the criminal enterprizes of their oppressors ; it will be durable, because it rests, as its foundation, on the happiness of the two nations ; it will be durable, because, on the first signal of war, we have sworn to combat and disperse its enemies.

And you, blind partizans of a government which no more exists, will you retain the criminal hope of overturning the government which has been so happily substituted in its stead ? Will you cherish the horrible desire of again seeing the proud Englishmen domineer over your country ? Will you still see, with marks of barbarous joy, your cities bombarded, and the blood of your fellow citizens spilled ? Have you forgotten with what cowardice these hordes of banditti abandoned, after having filled it with carnage and devastation, a country which they entered under the imposing title of friends and defenders ? Are you not weary of so many evils and miseries, and will you refuse to concur in the re-establishment of peace and repose among you ? The French nation is the object of your hatred ; we know it ; your fury repressed, not appeased, the insolent declamations of your hired libellers ; the disgusting calumnies of your bribed preachers have too well assured us of it—but be just : have we used toward you the rights of war ? Have we thrown you into frightful prisons, as, in 1787, you threw your countrymen ? Have we, as you yourselves have done, filled your cities with fear and terror, by causing massacre and death to circulate in token of rejoicings ?

'The

The men whom you have denounced to humanity, as cannibals and atheists, declared enemies of all religion and all social order, have moderated the passions of those of your countrymen, whose houses and property you so unmercifully plundered in 1787, and have set them the example of clemency and generosity. It is to your conquerors you are indebted for more liberty than you could expect after so many acts of violence and crime ; and yet your hatred still pursues them ! Ah ! blush for your falsehoods and your injustice in the presence of the people you have deceived ! Your country calls upon you to unite with her children, and contribute to her safety ! But if you should be so unfortunate as not to listen to her voice, as to found a guilty hope upon domestic divisions, know that, invariably united to the representatives of the Batavian people, we will treat as enemies those who attempt bringing back tyranny ; that it shall be only over the expiring bodies of our brothers in arms, Batavians and Frenchmen, that our enemies shall approach the frontiers of either Republic, or rather, that all their blood shall expiate the blackness and the multitude of crimes which have too long dishonoured Europe.

Watch then, Batavians ! the danger of your country imposes it upon you as a law. Abjure vain quarrels and divisions of parties to lock yourselves together around her altar ! Come together to support in common the expences of the war ! Cast your eyes on the immense sacrifices which the French nation continues to make. When we suffer for liberty, a murmur is a blasphemy, and a complaint a crime. Grant to your legitimate representatives the confidence so necessary to support them amid their important labours. Let courage and prudence find mutual support ! Fear neither the perfidious English nor the cowardly deserters, who assume the air of assembling to disturb your frontiers. Our triumphant legions shall go to meet them ; and we swear by the victories of Gemappe and of Fleurus, by the ever-memorable passage of the Rhine, that we will disperse them. But you, Batavians, you will not be the idle spectators of our combats : full of confidence in French sincerity, you will rally under the standards which have proved victorious over all Europe ; you will bring to them the courage of the conquerors of Philip II. You will support your generous defenders in their necessities. You will not forget that our lot is the same, and that we must conquer or die together. You will unite to preserve the inestimable blessing of liberty, to repel with vigour the efforts of foreign enemies, and to disconcert the plots of domestic enemies ; to reanimate your commerce and your manufactures, to organize your land forces, to re-establish your marine, to carry powerful succours to your menaced colonies, to ravish from proud Albion the insolent empire she has arrogated on the seas, and to force her to subscribe to an honourable and solid peace— worthy object of our

our common efforts, worthy recompence of all the blood that has been shed, and of all the sacrifices which each of the two nations shall make for the liberty, the independence, and the happiness of our country.

(Signed)

J. B. LOUVET,
MERLIN of Douai,
RABAUT,
BOISSY, &c. &c.

Summons made by the English to General Tremblay, Commander in the Island of Noirmoutier.

Oct. 1.

Sir,
A British squadron, having French and English on board, surrounds your island. I am not sent to take your island; but to invite you to give it up to your legitimate sovereign. Monsieur, brother of his most Christian Majesty, Louis the XVIIIth, is on board our fleet; his presence is a security for the purity of our intentions. Choose between an indiscreet resistance and your duty. His Royal Highness promises you protection, as well as to your garrison and the inhabitants of the island in which you command,

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

The commander at Noirmoutier made two answers to the above. In the first, he required a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours. In the second he said, "We have accepted the constitution, and we know no other law. It is not menaces that can terrify men accustomed to conquer.—*Vive la Republique.*"

Letter from General Pichegru to General Clairfayt.

Mr. General,

BRavery and humanity have at all times been inseparable, and I find them particularly united in you, Mr. General, and in the officers under your command. You have given a new proof of this in your conduct towards General Dufour; and the esteem and generosity you have shewn him are not unknown to me. I beg of you to accept my thanks, with the assurance that I will act in the same manner towards all those who may become my prisoners.—Permit me at the same time to acknowledge particularly my esteem for Count Haddick, who flew to the assistance of Dufour, and who knew how to console him under his misfortunes, by the most generous humanity.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem, &c.

The commander of the French army of the Rhine and the Moselle,

Oc. 20.

(Signed)

PICHEGRU.

Letter

Letter from the Minister at Berlin to M. Hartfink, Minister Plenipotentiary of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, at the Circle of Lower Saxony and the Hans-towns.

Sir,

THE King has received your letter of the 20th of last October, and his Majesty has ordered us to return you his acknowledgments for the communication of the different papers inclosed in your letter. He cannot but applaud the noble and open manner wherein you have expressed yourself, concerning the resolution adopted by the magistrates of Hamburgh, to accept your letters of recal ; and at the same time to admit your successor (Citizen Abbema) whom the present government of the United Provinces has thought proper to appoint in your stead. The directory of the circle of Lower Saxony acknowledges no other Dutch minister but you ; forbearing, however, to prescribe any thing to the magistrates of the city of Hamburgh on this subject, please to accept the very sincere assurance of the distinguished esteem, with which we have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient servants,

Berlin, Nov. 3, 1795.

FINKESTEIN,
ALVENSELEBEN,
HAUGWITE.

The Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic to that of the United Provinces, to Citizen Quarles, Secretary to their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Provinces.

Citizens,

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary from the French Republic requests you to communicate to their High Mightinesses the happiness he experiences in having to inform them, that the first act of the constitutional government of the French Republic, with regard to them, is a formal declaration of its intention to support, by all the means in their power, the Republic of the United Provinces.

It is with eagerness, therefore, that the undersigned discharges so pleasing a duty, by giving their High Mightinesses, in the name of the executive directory, the most positive assurance that the treaty of peace and alliance between the two nations shall not prove illusory.

The French government would think the national honour wounded, if the Batavian government could for a moment suspect the

the good faith of its allies. It is not a nation, who has been the first to set an example of applying to politics, in all their rigour, the principles of natural justice and equity, that can be suspected of sacrificing those principles at the very moment that it has given to itself a constitution, which has consecrated them in an immutable manner. In vain does perfidious England foment intestine divisions with her gold in Holland as in France.

France has learnt, by her misfortunes, a lesson, which she offers to her allies. They will both of them add to the power of their arms, wisdom in the councils, which direct their internal government, and will know how—one of them to complete the annihilation of factions, and, the other to stifle them at their birth.

The executive directory have determined to press the final dispersion of the troops assembled at Bremen and Osnabrück. They will invariably keep an eye on the situation of the United Provinces, in order to avert all storms, and to favour the establishment of the Batavian national convention, from which the people, friends to the French, may expect to derive their salvation and glory.

But while the French government remains faithful to its engagements, the Batavian government must remain equally faithful to those which it has contracted. The subsidy granted by the treaty of alliance is destined to serve for the common defence. The Republic of the United Provinces cannot then, without neglecting her dearest interests, defer the payment of that part of the subsidy, which has already become due. The undersigned has particular instructions to press that payment. He thinks it superfluous to observe, that the credit of France, and the success of the common exertions of the two Republics, depend on the discharge of this sacred debt.

He is equally charged to require their High Mightinesses, in the name of the directory, to send an envoy to Paris, in order to concert measures that may conduce to the safety of both Republics, conformably with the treaty by which they are bound.

The eagerness with which their High Mightinesses may comply with the wishes of the French government, on those two points, will be regarded by it as a testimony of their friendship, and of their intention to fulfil with exactness all the conditions of a treaty, equally sacred to both powers.

M. Noz.

November 27.

Letter from his Serdianian Majesty to his Army.

Turin, December 5.

To my brave and faithful Troops, Commanded by General Collis.

THE courageous conduct of my troops on the 23d of November last has excited my greatest admiration and gratitude. I am not the less struck with the heroic constancy with which they have supported their fatigues, the severity of the season, and the want of necessaries in the midst of dangers.

Had it not been for the misfortunes which obliged the Austrian troops to quit their position, the firmness of my troops would have enabled them to preserve their's. I hope then, that as they have not been vanquished by the efforts of our enemies at Mount St. Bernard, at Pietra d'Aqua, at Instrappe, at Ronchini, and other places, they will oppose their usual valour to the attacks the enemy may project. I exhort my good and faithful troops to consider how necessary it is to repel the enemy on this occasion ; the safety and honour of the country are closely connected.

Citizen Noel, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic to their High Mightinesses the States General.

Hague, 30 Frimaire, (December 21) Fourth Year
of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

To Citizen Quarles, Secretary of their High Mightinesses.

Citizen,

THE minister of the French Republic has the honour to solicit you to inform their High Mightinesses of the real satisfaction with which the executive directory of the French Republic have learned the resolution taken by the States General, on the 24th of November, for the formation of a national convention.

A resolution of such importance certainly demanded to be taken into the most mature deliberation, and to be discussed with wisdom ; and delay is not to be held a matter of reproach, when the question to be determined upon relates to the faithful re-union of equal rights and interests, and to the placing upon new foundations the glory and happiness of a nation.

But there is a term, beyond which slowness is no longer wisdom ; where occasion is given to the injurious views of malevolence ; where the hopes of parties revive, and the joy of the discontented is excited.

The executive directory, therefore, in expressly directing the underlined to congratulate officially their High Mightinesses upon the

the important resolution which they have taken, and in exhorting the Batavians to re-unite themselves, desire to convince themselves that all difficulties will be removed, and that the harmony which will return amongst all the provinces, will promise the most happy consequences, and more and more strengthen the good harmony and mutual esteem which ought henceforth to reign between the two Republics,

(Signed)

NozL.

The General of Brigade to Merlin, Representative of the People.

Head-quarters at Alençon, Jan. 4.

I HAVE now for a considerable time been among the Chouans, citizens representatives, and have not written to you till the present moment; do not, however, I intreat you, accuse me of neglect, but rather ascribe the delay to my wish not to communicate to you our situation, till I was thoroughly acquainted with the cause, and had investigated the particulars; for I was anxious to state to you nothing which was not strictly true and substantiated by proof. The disarming of La Vendée, and the continued and persevering pursuit which has been made after the banditti, has driven a great number of them into this country; they passed the Loire, and joined the other banditti, known by the appellation of Chouans; these ruffians have been reinforced by all the nobles and priests of the adjoining countries, by the agents of the ancient government, by the clerks of Gabelle, by the smugglers, and by those emigrants whom England has at different periods vomited forth upon our coast during the night, by means of small flat-bottomed boats. Such are the auxiliaries of the Chouans, who are so closely linked with them, that they co-operate together in every enterprize, animated by the same spirit of plunder, and instigated by the same interests. As to the Chouans themselves, they are returned emigrants; the nobles, the priests of the country, reinforced by some young men of the first requisition, who did not chuse to join the armies, by a crowd of deserters, and by almost all the great proprietors, farmers, and innkeepers. These hordes united are under the command of a council general, in which Sceaux, a noble of Angers, Charette, Rochebrune, and several other priests and bishops preside; they hold their ordinary sittings at the Chateau of Bourmont and Pouancé, a department of Maine and Loire.

The posts and cantonments of the army of Cherbourg extend from Honfleur beyond Grandville, along the banks of the sea, and from Avranches to Ingrande in almost a strait line. But the advanced posts, and reconnoitring parties of the insurgents, penetrate

state between our cantonments, as we penetrate into theirs by our patroles ; and not a day passes in which skirmishes and rencontres do not take place. It appears that the banditti are organized in military divisions, which assume the ancient names of the provincial subdivisions of France. They have few cavalry, and are badly equipped : but they have excellent spies, because nine-tenths of the inhabitants are subservient to them from fear, and they are perfectly acquainted with all the local details of a country, which, from its nature, is particularly calculated to favour their ambuscades, in order to surprize our convoys, famish our troops, and intercept our communications. Such is the statement of the war in which we are engaged ; daring, if they are superior in force ; invisible, if they have the disadvantage ; they attack with their musquetry, and seldom come to close action.

Our republican soldiers oppose to them patience, a courage beyond all eulogium. If proper steps be adopted to meliorate their situation ; if protection and succour be granted to the individuals and communes who have remained faithful ; if advantage be taken of their fidelity to sow division, and keep up a secret correspondence in the very heart of the enemy ; if all the necessary operations be conducted with dexterity and dispatch, this war will be quickly terminated.

Answer which the Palatine Ambassador, Count de Tattenbach, received on the 27th of January, to his Complaint made to the Emperor against the disarming of the Troops of the Palatinate.

THE Emperor cannot decide in this cause, as the disarming of the troops was only in consequence of the scandalous surrender of Manheim, and the inimical behaviour of the garrison of that place to the troops of his Majesty, on whose arrival they had drawn up the bridge, denied them the passage through the town, &c. The termination of the inquiry into this cause must be waited for, and it depends entirely upon the Elector to accelerate obtaining the satisfaction he demands, by a speedy termination of the trial of those persons who caused the capitulation and surrender of the place. Concerning the demands made by Count Wurmser, which are also a part of the complaint, his Majesty desires the Elector to consider that an army, forced by circumstances to march to a country where they never thought their presence would be required, could not carry their magazines with them, and that, therefore, they had no reason to complain of contributions which were of the utmost necessity, without which the army must have perished, and which were but a small compensation, compared with what would have been lost if the country had fallen into the hands of a devastating enemy ; his Majesty had,

had, however, given orders that every thing which either had been, or should in future be delivered to the Imperial army, should be paid for, and an agreement about the price made with the government of the Palatinate. Concerning the contribution which Count Wurmser demanded of the city of Manheim, his Imperial Majesty must confess that he had given no orders to that purpose ; but as it is customary to give some marks of gratitude to troops who retake a fortress, especially when this is accompanied with great loss and danger, his Majesty thinks the inhabitants of Manheim should willingly, impelled by gratitude to their deliverer, have given the 100,000 florins which were raised to be distributed amongst them. The payment of the sum of 200,000 florins more, which was made afterwards, should not be immediately insisted upon. His Majesty had given orders to Field Marshal Wurmser not to interfere in the civil government, though his Majesty had a right to keep the place till a peace shall be concluded, and to treat it in the same manner as any other conquered place. It would, however, be expected, that his Electoral Highness would appoint such persons for the management of public affairs, as were not suspected of acting contrary to the intentions of his Imperial Majesty for the public welfare.

The Letter of the Executive Directory to the Minister at War, dated the 12th Nivose, (Jan. 2d.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the exaggerated reports of the success of the Austrian armies which occupy a part of the Palatinate, they have been compelled, by the firm posture of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, the Rhine, and the Moselle, to desire an armistice. The wish of the French generals to give some respite to the armies of the Republic has induced them to accept of this proposition.

Of this circumstance the ill-disposed will, no doubt, be ready to avail themselves, for the purpose of impeding these vigorous measures which have been adopted for the re-organization and completion of the armies of the Republic. You will redouble your energy to collect together all the defenders of the country, and to provide for the necessities of our warriors ; you will augment the supplies which are wanting to our frontier places ; you will draw closer the necessary ties of discipline ; you will assure to France a brilliant and decisive campaign. The best mode of bringing about a peace, is to put the country in a situation to press the war with vigour,

The directory does not fear to announce to the whole of Europe that their most ardent desire is to prepare a peace, the foundations

of

of which shall rest not on extravagant claims, not on pretensions destructive of the safety of other powers, but on the interest of those powers, well understood; on the interest of the French Republic and her allies; such a peace, in fine, as will be worthy of the sacrifices which France has made to insure her independence.

France is ready to enter into becoming terms of pacification; but she is also prepared to combat those enemies who wish to prolong a disastrous war. Already has their obstinacy redoubled our means of conquest. The young men in requisition are even now halting to join our victorious bands. Our armies are re-organized, and the condition of our officers and soldiers will be shortly improved. Every thing predicts to the Republic, that its sufferings will shortly have an end, and that the establishment of the constitution will be either the signal of new victories, or the pledge of a durable and permanent peace.

(Signed)

REWBELL.

Note transmitted to M. Barthelemy by Mr. Wickham, March 8, 1796.

THE undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, is authorised to convey to Monsieur Barthelemy the desire of his court to be made acquainted, through him, with the dispositions of France in regard to the object of a general pacification. He therefore requests Monsieur Barthelemy to transmit to him in writing, (and after having made the necessary inquiries,) his answer to the following questions:

1. Is there the disposition in France to open a negotiation with his Majesty and his allies for the re-establishment of a general peace, upon just and suitable terms, by sending for that purpose ministers to a congress, at such place as may hereafter be agreed upon?

2. Would there be the disposition to communicate to the undersigned the general grounds of a pacification, such as France would be willing to propose; in order that his Majesty and his allies might thereupon examine in concert, whether they are such as might serve as the foundation of a negotiation for peace?

3. Or would there be a desire to propose any other way whatever, for arriving at the same end, that of a general pacification?

The undersigned is authorised to receive from Monsieur Barthelemy the answers to these questions, and to transmit to his court; but he is not authorised to enter with him into negotiation or discussion upon these subjects.

(Signed)

W. WICKHAM.

Berne, March 8, 1796.

MS

*Note transmitted to Mr. Wickham by M. Barthélemy, March 26,
1796..*

THE undersigned, ambassador of the French Republic to the Helvetic body, has transmitted to the executive directory the note which Mr. Wickham, his Britannic Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, was pleased to convey to him, dated the 8th of March. He has it in command to answer it by an exposition of the sentiments and dispositions of the executive directory.

The directory ardently desires to procure for the French Republic a just, honourable, and solid peace. The step taken by Mr. Wickham would have afforded to the directory a real satisfaction, if the declaration itself which that minister makes of his not having any order, any power to negotiate, did not give room to doubt of the sincerity of the pacific intentions of his court. In fact, if it was true that England began to know her real interests; that she wished to open again for herself the sources of abundance and prosperity; if she sought for peace with good faith, would she propose a congress, of which the necessary result must be, to render all negotiation endless? Or would she confine herself to the asking, in a vague manner, that the French government should point out any other way whatever, for attaining the same object, that of a general pacification?

Is it that this step has had no other object than to obtain for the British government the favourable impression which always accompanies the first overtures for peace? May it not have been accompanied with the hope that they would produce no effect?

However that may be, the executive directory, whose policy has no other guides than openness and good faith, will follow, in its explanations, a conduct which shall be wholly conformable to them. Yielding to the ardent desire by which it is animated, to procure peace for the French Republic, and for all nations, it will not fear to declare itself openly. Charged by the constitution with the execution of the laws, it cannot make, or listen to any proposal that would be contrary to them. The constitutional act does not permit it to consent to any alienation of that, which, according to the existing laws, constitutes the territory of the Republic.

With respect to the countries occupied by the French armies, and which have not been united to France, they, as well as other interests political and commercial, may become the subject of a negotiation, which will present to the directory the means of proving how much it desires to attain speedily to a happy pacification.

The directory is ready to receive, in this respect, any overtures that shall be just, reasonable, and compatible with the dignity of the Republic. (Signed) BARTHELEMY.

*Bâle, the 6th of Germinal, the fourth year of the French Republic,
(26th of March, 1796.)*

NOTE.

NOTE.

THE court of London has received from its minister in Switzerland, the answer made to the questions which he had been charged to Monsieur Barthelemy, in respect to the opening of a negotiation for the re-establishing of general tranquillity.

This court has seen, with regret, how far the tone and spirit of that answer, the nature and extent of the demands which it contains, and the manner of announcing them, are remote from any disposition for peace.

The inadmissible pretension is there avowed of appropriating to France all that the laws actually existing there may have comprised under the denomination of French territory. To a demand such as this, is added an express declaration, that no proposal contrary to it will be made, or even listened to. And even this, under the pretence of an internal regulation, the provisions of which are wholly foreign to all other nations.

While these dispositions shall be persisted in, nothing is left for the King, but to prosecute a war equally just and necessary.

Whenever his enemies shall manifest more pacific sentiments, his Majesty will, at all times, be eager to concur in them, by lending himself, in concert with his allies, to all such measures as shall be best calculated to re-establish general tranquillity on conditions just, honourable, and permanent, either by the establishment of a congress, which has been so often and so happily the means of restoring peace to Europe, or by a preliminary discussion of the principles which may be proposed, on either side, as a foundation of a general pacification ; or lastly, by an impartial examination of any other way which may be pointed out to him for arriving at the same salutary end.

Downing-street, April 10, 1796.

The Executive Directory to General Pichegru.

WHEN the executive directory, citizen general, agreed, at your repeated solicitation, to name a successor to the command of the army of the Rhine, it gratified your wishes only in the hope that you would still employ yourself in the service of the Republic, in a manner as useful for it, as honourable for yourself. It thinks that after having contributed so powerfully to establish the liberty of the French, you may in another way participate in supporting it with equal efficacy. In consequence, desirous of giving you a new proof of its confidence, it has named you ambassador from the French Republic to Sweden. The executive directory is persuaded that in conducting the great interests of the state, you will

will add to the *éclat* of your exploits as a warrior, that of being successful in your political negotiations, and that you will attain the height of your glory, and acquire new claims to the national gratitude.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR, President.
LA GARDE, Sec. General.

Extract of a Letter from the Consul General of the French Republic at Tunis, to the Minister of Marine, 20th Ventose.

THE English have just proved that there is nothing sacred in their eyes. Yesterday a division of their ships of war carried off under the fort of Goulette, in contempt of the rights of nations and of neutrality, two small vessels of the Republic, together with the frigate Nemesis. To complete their wickedness, when, at the proposal of their admiral, I sent for the crews of the plundered ships, they would not give up the sailors. Vengeance, Frenchmen, vengeance !

Extract from the official Letters addressed to the Minister of the Marine from Havre, announcing the Capture of Sir Sidney Smith.

WE have at length got into our hands that English firebrand and incendiary, Sir Sidney Smith, who burnt our ships at Toulon ; the very same who also attempted, some time back, to set fire to the shipping and magazines at Havre. The man, in a word, who had solemnly sworn and promised to Pitt, that he would convert all our harbours and marine into a heap of ashes. Having come to anchor during the night at the mouth of this harbour, on board the Diamond, which he commanded ; he had scarce gone on board the privateer, the Vengeur, which he had taken after a smart fire, when a number of light ships were sent out against him, which, after a brisk engagement, obliged him to surrender, together with a number of officers of the English navy.

There can be no doubt but that it was his intention to destroy every thing here by fire ; for a bundle of matches, like that which some months ago was discovered, was found placed under one of our frigates now on the stocks. We hereby inform you, that not having at Havre a proper place securely to confine him in, we have sent him off to Rouen under a strong guard, where he may wait the sentence which the national justice shall think fit to pronounce on his nefarious attempts.

Speech of the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis del Campo, to the Executive Directory, on the 30th of March, 1796.

THE peace happily concluded between the King of Spain and the French Republic, is an event of the greatest importance to the two nations. His Catholic Majesty, animated with the most sincere desire to preserve it, and always consulting the happiness of his people, will be cautious on his part to shun any thing that may excite uneasiness. In naming me his ambassador to the Republic, he ordered me to proceed immediately to my new destination as a testimony of his good faith. In these circumstances, and honoured with the confidence of my sovereign, I will most zealously endeavour to obey his orders; extremely happy if I shall be able to fulfil his intentions, and deserve the esteem of the government to which I have the honour of addressing myself.

Reply of the President of the Directory.

Monsieur, Ambassador of the King of Spain,

THE executive directory receives, with great satisfaction, the new bond of union that you have offered to the French Republic in the name of your government. Nothing will be more agreeable to the directory, than to draw still more closely together the bonds of amity between two nations whose common interests are so much united.

As to your own sentiments, the executive directory has heard them with pleasure, and you may rely on its favour.

Address of the Commissioners delegated by the National Convention to the Windward Islands.

To JOSEPH HERBERT, Esq. President of Monserrat.

CITIZENS Artaw, father and son, accompany the Honourable Mr. Chambers, president of your island, Mr. Goodall, and several other prisoners, who were thrown by the chance of war into our hands; we return them on their parole of honour.

Although the conduct of the English naval and military commanders excites our utmost indignation, though they have merited the execration of posterity, the conduct of the inhabitants and governor of Monserrat is worthy of our esteem: the humanity with which they accommodated the French, would impose on us a reciprocal duty, if the sentiments of gratitude were not an appendage of

of the Republic. Men who call themselves Frenchmen, after having fled their country, excited your pity: you received them with hospitality, and they returned it with the basest ingratitude. Such must you ever expect from traitors who would sell their country, who would carry arms into her bosom, and would annihilate her.

True Frenchmen, republicans, whose government has for its basis, virtue, rejecting all prejudice, will prove to the inhabitants of Monferrat generous enemies. Those you received when driven from their country by the royalists, could have wished that war had not broke the union that existed between the two colonies. May peace make us forget the crimes of the insolent and easy conquerors of the French possessions! But can posterity ever forget the cruelty of the generals of the British army, who drove from their country the peaceable citizens of both sexes? They signed in cold blood the warrant of death, if ever they should return to it. Can it ever be forgotten, that, after having robbed them of their property, they gave them over to the soldiers and sailors, to complete their ruin, to steal their very cloathing? Once more, can we forget the dividing of man and wife, the tearing of the father from the children, to transport them to a distance of 1800 leagues, in infectious and floating prisons, where scarcely sufficient nourishment was allowed to support their miserable existence? Can we again forget the cool barbarity with which they surrendered at Burville the unfortunate men they had seduced, well knowing that our laws, and those of all nations, must condemn them to die? No, the enlightened British nation will revenge the atrocities that have been committed in this hemisphere; some inquiry into what has happened must take place.

It is then that tardy but severe justice will punish crimes which Tyburn itself has not expiated these many centuries. Then shall General C. Grey, J. Jervis, T. Dundas, C. Graham, C. Gordon, Thompson, Vaughan, Lindsay, Leigh, Stewart, Irvine, Laforey, Myers, and Caldwell, receive the reward due to their crimes. It is then that Baillie, Drummond, Dean, Malcolm, Ross, Campbell, &c. &c. will meet the same fate. We will shorten the list of subalterns. We cannot pronounce the names of the others but with horror; they were only fit to conduct hordes of assassins and plunderers, instead of the troops of a polished and polite nation. And the success of their operations has been equal to their wise choice of such chiefs.

As to us, we flatter ourselves that this circumstance has furnished an opportunity of proving to the inhabitants and president of Monferrat, how we distinguish our enemies, and that we can unite humanity and generosity with our duty, and the execution of the will of a government whose wisdom will in a short time cure

Reply of Louis XVIII. on the 13th April, to the Notification sent to him by the Senate of Venice, to remove as soon as possible from the Venetian Territories.

1. **L**E T the golden book be brought me in which the names of my family are inscribed, that I may strike mine out with my own hand;
2. Let the armour be delivered to me which my ancestor Henry IV. presented to the Republic, as a token of friendship.

The above conditions not having been complied with, Louis XVIII. sent the following note to the governor of Verona.

What I have demanded is a duty I owe to myself, and I do not forget that I am King of France.

The Count immediately set off for the Condean army.

General Hoche to the Executive Directory.

Head-quarters, Loudiac, 30th Germinal.

THE posture of affairs in La Vendée is at this time highly satisfactory. In Morbihan four-fifths of the contributions and of the forced loan are paid in, either in grain or specie; the residue is in course of payment. It appears that the same activity is exerted on the northern coasts. The commandant there acquaints me that he has already sent to St. Brieux 60,000 livres in specie, arising from the contributions of Loudiac alone. May the departments that know the Chouans only by name execute it with equal celerity, and I may say with equal zeal.

(Signed) L. HOCHE.

Letter from General Colli, Commander in Chief of the Army of the King of Sardinia, to the General in Chief of the French Army in Italy.

HAVING been informed that his Majesty the King of Sardinia has sent plenipotentiary ministers to Genoa, to negotiate a peace under the mediation of the Spanish court, the interests of humanity demand, in my opinion, General, that during these negotiations, hostilities should be suspended on both sides.

I therefore propose to you a suspension of arms, either unlimited or for a certain time, as you shall think proper, with a view of preventing the useless effusion of human blood.

25th April.

(Signed)

COLLI.

Answer

*Answer of the General in Chief of the Army in Italy, to General Colli,
Commander in Chief of the Army of the King of Sardinia.*

Sir,

THE executive directory has reserved to itself the right of treating for peace. The plenipotentiaries of the King, your master, must therefore either proceed to Paris, or wait at Genoa the arrival of the commissioners which government may think fit to send thither.

Both the moral and military position of the two armies renders an unconditional suspension of arms utterly impossible. Although, for my own part, I am well convinced that government feels disposed to grant your King just and reasonable conditions for peace; yet I cannot, on the score of mere supposition, stop my march. There remains, however, one means for obtaining your end, which is, according to your own choice, to surrender up to me two of the three fortresses of Coni, Alessandria, and Tortona. We may then, without further hostilities, wait the issue of negotiations which are on foot. This proposition is very moderate; the mutual interests which should unite Piedmont and the French Republic, make one desire most anxiously that your country may be preserved from the misfortunes with which it is threatened.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Second Letter from General Colli to the General in Chief of the French Army in Italy.

I HAVE communicated to the court of Sardinia, General, the contents of your answer to my letter; and the King, desirous that by a suspension of arms the useless effusion of human blood may be prevented, has authorised me to declare that he consents to surrender up to you the fortresses of Coni and Tortona during the negotiations which are to be set on foot, and in such a manner as shall be agreed on; and in case that by reason of the difficulties which might arise from the present position of the combined army, it should not be possible to deliver into your possession the fortress of Tortona, his Majesty offers the fortress of Desnout in its place. These two fortresses excepted, every thing is to remain in *statu quo* with regard to the country occupied by the respective armies, without their being permitted to pass the limits that shall be agreed upon.

26th April.

(Signed)

COLLI.

Address

Address of Buonaparte, Commander in Chief of the Army in Italy, to his Brothers in Arms, dated from the Head-quarters at Cherasco, 7th Floreal—April 26.

Soldiers,

YOU have in fifteen days gained six victories, taken 21 stand of colours, 55 pieces of cannon, several strong places, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have taken 1500 prisoners, and killed or wounded more than 10,000 men. You have till now been fighting for barren rocks, rendered famous by your courage, but useless to your country. This day you are rendered equal, by your services, to the conquering army of Holland and the Rhine. Destitute of every thing, you have overcome all things; you have gained battles without cannon, passed rivers without bridges, performed forced marches without shoes, without brandy, and often without bread. The republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty, were alone capable of enduring what you have gone through. Soldiers! you shall receive the reward of it. Your grateful country will owe you part of its prosperity: and, if, conquerors of Toulon, you presaged the immortal campaign of 1793, your decisive victories presage one still more splendid.

The two armies which had the audacity to attack you, fled trembling before you; those perverse men who sported at your misery, and amused their thoughts with the triumphs of your enemies, are confounded and terrified. But, soldiers, we must not dissemble, that you have done nothing, since there remains still more for you to do. Neither Turin nor Milan are yours. The ashes of the conquerors of the Tarquins are yet sullied by the assassin of Basserville.

You were, at the commencement of the campaign, destitute of every thing; you are now abundantly supplied. The magazines taken from your enemies are numerous; the artillery for the service of the campaign is arrived.

Soldiers, the country has a right to expect great actions from you; justify its expectations. The greatest obstacles are certainly removed; but you have great battles to gain, cities to take, rivers to pass. Is there among you one whose courage is softened? Is there one who would prefer to return over the summits of the Appenines and the Alps? No! It is not among the conquerors of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Dego, and Mondovi—all burn to carry afar the glory of the French—all would humble those haughty kings who dare meditate to impose chains upon us—all wish to dictate a glorious peace which may indemnify the country for the immense sacrifices she has made—all are desirous upon their return to their homes, to have it in their power with pride to say, “I belonged to the conquering army of Italy.”

Friends,

Friends, I have promised you this conquest ; but there is one condition which you must swear to fulfil, which is to respect the people to be delivered by you, to repress the horrible pillages committed by wretches excited to it by our enemies ; without that you will not be the deliverers of the people, you will become their scourge, you will become the dishonour of Frenchmen. They will disclaim you, your victories, your courage, your success, the blood of our brethren slain in battle—all will be lost, even honour and glory itself.

Though myself and the generals who possess your confidence may blush to command an army undisciplined, unbridled, who knew no law but force, yet invested with the national authority, strengthened by justice and the law, I shall know how to make those small number of men, divested of courage and feeling, respect the laws of humanity which they tread under their feet. I will not suffer robbers to strew your laurels. I will have the regulations I have adopted executed with rigour. Pillagers shall be shot without mercy. Already I have had reason to remark with satisfaction, the eagerness the soldiers of the army have shewn to execute these orders.

Italians, the French army comes to break asunder your chains. The French are the friends of all people. Come before them with confidence ; your property, religion, and customs shall be respected. We wage not war with you as enemies in general ; we only desire it with the tyrants who oppress you.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Letter from General Baren Kray, giving Notice of the Termination of the Armistice on the Rhine, to the Commandant-General of the French advanced Post.

General,

HIS Royal Highness Archduke Charles, general in chief of the Imperial army, and the army of the Empire on the Lower Rhine, has acquainted me, that, much as it was the wish of his Imperial Majesty to prevent the sufferings of humanity from another campaign, the disinclination of the French directory on that head force him to suppress his pacific sentiments, and to have again recourse to arms to terminate an unfortunate war, which entirely militates against his feelings. Agreeably to this, I have the honour to acquaint you that the officer who carries this letter, has orders to remain with you till after the expiration of ten days after his arrival at your advanced posts, according to the stipulation of the armistice ; and that the armistice shall be at an end the moment in which this period expires. You will have the goodness to attest the arrival of the officer, and to acquaint me of having received that notice.

May 21, 1796.

BARON DE KRAY, Lieut. General.

VOL. III.—PART ii.

M m

PAPERS

Papers relative to Neutral Powers.

AMERICA.

Légation of Philadelphia.
Foreign Relations.
Private Correspondence of the Minister on Politics. }

Philadelphia, the 10th Brumaire, third year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, (Oct. 31, 1794.)

*Joseph Fauchet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, to the United States, to the Commissioner of Foreign Relations.**

Citizen,

1. THE measures which prudence prescribes to me to take, with respect to my colleagues, have still presided in the digestion of the dispatches signed by them, which treat of the insurrection of the western countries, and of the repressive means adopted by the government. I have allowed them to be confined to the giving of a faithful, but naked recital of events; the reflections therein contained scarcely exceed the conclusions easily deducible from the character assumed by the public prints. I have reserved myself to give you, as far as I am able, a key to the facts detailed in our reports. When it comes in question to explain, either by conjecture or by certain data, the secret views of a foreign government, it would be imprudent to run the risque of indiscretions, and to give one's self up to men whose known partiality to that government, and similitude of passions and interests with its chiefs, might lead to consequences the issue of which is incalculable. Besides the precious confessions of Mr. Randolph alone throw a satisfactory light upon every thing that comes to pass. These I have not as yet communicated to my colleagues. The motives already mentioned lead to this reserve, and still less permit me to open myself to them at the present moment. I shall then endeavour, citizen,

* It has been thought necessary to publish this intercepted Letter of M. Fauchet, and some extracts from his political dispatches, in this collection of State Papers. Mr. Randolph has published a long justification of his conduct.

to give you a clue to all the measures of which the common dispatches give you an account, and to discover the true causes of the explosion which it is obstinately resolved to repress with great means, although the state of things has no longer any thing alarming.

2. To confine the present crisis to the simple question of the excise, is to reduce it far below its true scale; it is indubitably connected with a general explosion for some time prepared in the public mind, but which this local and precipitate eruption will cause to miscarry, or at least check for a long time. In order to see the real cause, in order to calculate the effect, and the consequences, we must ascend to the origin of the parties existing in the state, and retrace their progress.

3. The present system of government has created malcontents. This is the lot of all new things. My predecessors have given information in detail upon the parts of the system which have particularly awakened clamours, and produced enemies to the whole of it. The primitive divisions of opinions as to the political form of the state, and the limits of the sovereignty of the whole over each state individually sovereign, had created the federals and the anti-federals. From a whimsical contrast between the name and the real opinion of the parties, a contrast hitherto little understood in Europe, the former aimed, and still aim with all their power, to annihilate federalism, whilst the latter have always wished to preserve it. The contrast was created by the consolidators or the constitutionalists, who being the first in giving the denominations, (a matter so important in a revolution,) took for themselves that which was the most popular, although in reality it contradicted their ideas, and gave to their rivals one which would draw on them the attention of the people, notwithstanding they really wished to preserve a system whose prejudices should cherish at least the memory and the name.

4. Moreover these first divisions, of the nature of those to be destroyed by time, in proportion as the nation should have advanced in the experiment of a form of government which rendered it flourishing, might now have completely disappeared, if the system of finances which had its birth in the cradle of the constitution, had not renewed their vigour under various forms. The mode of organizing the national credit, the consolidating and funding the public debt, the introduction in the political economy of the usage of states which prolong their existence, or ward off their fall only by expedients, imperceptibly created a financiering class, who threaten to become the aristocratical order of the state. Several citizens, and among others, those who had aided in establishing independence with their purses or their arms, conceived themselves aggrieved by those fiscal engagements. Hence an opposition which declares itself between the farming or agricultural interest, and that

of the fiscal ; federalism and anti-federalism, which are founded on those new denominations, in proportion as the treasury usurps a preponderance in the government and legislation ; thence in fine, the state, divided into partisans and enemies of the treasurer and of his theories. In this new classification of parties, the nature of things gave popularity to the latter : an innate instinct, if I may use the expression, caused the ears of the people to revolt at the name alone of treasurer and stock-jobber ; but the opposite party, in consequence of its ability, obstinately persisted in leaving to its adversaries the suspicious name of anti-federalist, while in reality they were friends of the constitution, and enemies only of the excrescencies which financing theories threatened to attach to it.

5. It is useless to stop longer to prove that the monarchical system was interwoven with those novelties of finance, and that the friends of the latter favoured the attempts which were made in order to bring the constitution to the former by insensible gradations.—The writings by influential men of this party prove it ; their real opinions avow it, and the journals of the senate are the depositary of the first attempts.

6. Let us, therefore, free ourselves from the intermediate spaces in which the progress of the system is marked, since they can add nothing to the proof of its existence. Let us pass by its sympathy with our regenerating movements, while running in monarchical paths ; let us arrive at the situation in which our republican revolution has placed things and parties.

7. The anti-federalists disembarrass themselves of an insignificant denomination, and take that of patriots and of republicans. Their adversaries become aristocrats, notwithstanding their efforts to preserve the advantageous illusion of ancient names ; opinions clash and press each other ; the aristocratic attempts which formerly had appeared insignificant, are recollectcd ; the treasurer, who is looked upon as their first source, is attacked ; his operations and plans are denounced to the public opinion ; nay, in the fezzes of 1792 and 1793, a solemn inquiry into his administration was obtained. This first victory was to produce another, and it was hoped that faulty or innocent, the treasurer would retire, no less by necessity in the one case, than from self-love in the other. He, emboldened by the triumph which he obtained in the useless inquiry of his enemies, of which both objects proved equally abortive, seduced besides by the momentary reverse of republicanism in Europe, removes the mask, and announces the approaching triumph of his principles.

8. In the mean time the popular societies are formed ; political ideas concentrate themselves ; the patriotic party unite and more closely connect themselves ; they gain a formidable majority in the legislature ; the abasement of commerce, the slavery of navigation, and the audacity of England, strengthen it. A concert of declarations

declarations and censures against the government arises ; at which the latter is even itself astonished.

9. Such was the situation of things towards the close of the last and the beginning of the present year. Let us pass over the discontents which were most generally expressed in these critical moments. They have been sent to you at different periods, and in detail. In every quarter are arraigned the imbecility of the government towards Great Britain, the defenceless state of the country against possible invasions, the coldness towards the French Republic : the system of finance is attacked, which threatens eternalising the debt, under pretence of making it the guaranty of public happiness ; the complication of that system which withholds from general inspection all its operations ; the alarming power of the influence it procures to a man whose principles are regarded as dangerous ; the preponderance which that man acquires from day to day in public measures ; and in a word, the immoral and impolitic modes of taxation, which he at first presents as expedients, and afterwards raises to permanency.

10. In touching this last point, we attain the principal complaint of the western people, and the ostensible motive of their movements. Republicans by principle, independent by character and situation, they could not but accede with enthusiasm to the criminations which we have sketched. But the excise above all affects them. Their lands are fertile, watered with the finest rivers in the world ; but the abundant fruits of their labour run the risque of perishing for the want of means of exchanging them, as those more happy cultivators do for objects which desire indicates to all men who have known only the enjoyments which Europe procures them. They therefore convert the excess of their produce into liquors imperfectly fabricated, which badly supply the place of those they might procure by exchange. The excise is created, and strikes at this consoling transformation ; their complaints are answered by the only pretext that they are otherwise inaccessible to every species of impost. But why, in contempt of treaties, are they left to bear the yoke of the feeble Spaniard, as to the Mississippi, for upwards of twelve years ? Since when has an agricultural people submitted to the unjust capricious law of a people explorers of the precious metals ? Might we not suppose that Madrid and Philadelphia mutually assisted in prolonging the slavery of the river ; that the proprietors of a barren coast are afraid lest the Mississippi, once opened, and its numerous branches brought into activity, their fields might become deserts, and in a word, that commerce dreads having rivals in those interior parts, as soon as their inhabitants shall cease to be subjects ? This last supposition is but too well founded ; an influential member of the senate, Mr. Izard, one day in conversation undisguisedly announced it to me.

11. I shall be more brief in my observations on the murmurs excited by the system for the sale of lands. It is conceived to be unjust that these vast and fertile regions should be sold by provinces to capitalists, who thus enrich themselves, and retail with immense profits, to the husbandmen, possessions which they have never seen. If there were not a latent design to arrest the rapid settlement of those lands, and to prolong their infant state, why not open in the west land, offices, where every body without distinction, should be admitted to purchase by a small or large quantity? Why reserve to sell or distribute to favourites, to a clan of flatterers, of courtiers, that which belongs to the state, and which should be sold to the greatest possible profit of all its members?

12. Such therefore were the parts of the public grievance upon which the western people most insisted. Now, as the common dispatches inform you, these complaints were systematizing by the conversations of influential men, who retired into those wild countries, and who from principle, or by a series of particular heartburnings, animated discontent, already too near to effervescence. At last the local explosion is effected. The western people calculated on being supported by some distinguished characters in the east, and even imagined they had in the bosom of the government some abettors, who might share in their grievances or their principles.

13. From what I have detailed above, those men might indeed be supposed numerous. The session of 1793 and 1794 had given importance to the republican party, and solidity to its accusations. The propositions of Mr. Madison, or his project of a navigation act, of which Mr. Jefferson was originally the author, sapped the British interest, now an integral part of the financing system. Mr. Taylor, a republican member of the senate, published, towards the end of the session, three pamphlets, in which this last is explored to its origin, and developed in its progress and consequences with force and method; in the last he asserts, that the decrepit state of affairs resulting from that system, could not but presage, under a rising government, either a revolution or a civil war.

14. The first was preparing; the government, which had foreseen it, re-produced under various forms the demand of a disposable force which might put it in a respectable state of defence. Defeated in this measure, who can aver that it may not have hastened the local eruption, in order to make an advantageous diversion, and to lay the more general storm which it saw gathering? Am I not authorized in forming this conjecture from the conversation which the secretary of state had with me and Le Blanc alone, an account of which you have in my dispatch, No. 3? But how may we expect that the new plan will

will be executed? By exasperating and severe measures, authorized by a law which was not solicited till the close of the session. This law gave to the one already existing for collecting the assize a coercive force, which hitherto it had not possessed, and a demand which was not ventured before to be made. By means of this new law, all the refractory citizens to the old one were caused to be pursued with a sudden rigour; a great number of writs were issued. Doubtless the natural consequences from a conduct so decisive and so harsh were expected; and before these were manifested, the means of reparation had been prepared. This was undoubtedly what Mr. Randolph meant in telling me, that under pretext of giving energy to the government, it was intended to introduce absolute power, and to mislead the President in paths which would conduct him to unpopularity.

15. Whether the explosion has been provoked by the government, or owes its birth to accident, it is certain that a commotion of some hundreds of men, who have not since been found in arms, and the very pacific union of the counties in Braddock's field, a union which has not been revived, were not symptoms which could justify the raising of so great a force as 15,000 men. Besides the principles uttered in the declarations hitherto made public, rather announced ardent minds to be subdued. But in order to obtain something on the public opinion, prepossessed against the demands contemplated to be made, it was necessary to magnify the danger, to disfigure the views of those people, to attribute to them the design of uniting themselves with England, to alarm the citizens for the fate of the constitution, whilst in reality the revolution threatened only the ministers. This step succeeded; an army is raised; this military part of the suppression is doubtless Mr. Hamilton's, the pacific part and the sending of commissions are due to the influence of Mr. Randolph over the mind of the President, whom I delight always to believe, and whom I do believe, truly virtuous, and the friend of his fellow-citizens and principles.

16. In the mean time, although there was a certainty of having an army; yet it was necessary to assure themselves of co-operators among the men whose patriotic reputation might influence their party, and whose lukewarmness or want of energy in the existing conjectures might compromise the success of the plans. Of all the governors whose duty it was to appear at the head of the requisitions, the governor of Pennsylvania alone enjoyed the name of republican; his opinion of the secretary of the treasury, and of his systems, was known to be unfavourable. The secretary of this State possessed great influence in the popular society of Philadelphia, which in its turn influenced those of other States; of course he merited attention. It appears, therefore, that these men, with others unknown to me, all having, without doubt,

doubt, Randolph at their head, were balancing to decide on their party. Two or three days before the proclamation was published, and of course before the cabinet had resolved on its measures, Mr. Randolph came to see me with an air of great eagerness, and made to me the overtures of which I have given you an account in my No. 6. Thus with some thousands of dollars the Republic could have decided on civil war or on peace! Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America have already their prices! * It is very true that the certainty of these conclusions, painful to be drawn, will for ever exist in our archives! What will be the old age of this government, if it is thus early decrepid! Such, citizen, is the evident consequence of the system of finances conceived by Mr. Hamilton. He has made of a whole nation a stock-jobbing speculating selfish people. Riches alone here fix consideration; and as no one likes to be despised, they are universally sought after. Nevertheless this depravity has not yet embraced the mass of the people; the effects of this pernicious system have as yet but slightly touched them. Still there are patriots, of whom I delight to entertain an idea worthy of that imposing title. Consult Munroe, he is of this number; he had apprized me of the men whom the current of events had dragged along as bodies devoid of weight. His friend Madison is also an honest man. Jefferson, on whom the patriots cast their eyes to succeed the President, had foreseen these crises. He prudently retired in order to avoid making a figure, against his inclination, in scenes, the secret of which will soon or late be brought to light.

17. As soon as it was decided that the French Republic purchased no men to do their duty, there were to be seen individuals, about whose conduct the government could at least form uneasy conjectures, giving themselves up with a scandalous ostentation to its views, and even seconding its declarations. The popular societies soon emitted resolutions stamped with the same spirit, and who, although they may have been advised by love of order, might nevertheless have omitted or uttered them with less solemnity. Then were seen coming from the very men whom we had been accustomed to regard as having little friendship for the system of the treasurer, harangues without end, in order to give a new direction to the public mind. The militia, however, manifested some repugnance, particularly in Pennsylvania, for the service to which they were called. Several officers resign; at last, by excursions or harangues, incomplete requisitions are obtained, and scattered volunteer corps from different parts make up the deficiency. How much more interesting than the changeable men whom I have painted above, were those plain citizens who answered the solicitations which were made to them to join the volunteers—" If we are required we will march; because we do

do not wish not to have a government, but to arm ourselves as volunteers would be in appearance subscribing implicitly to the excise system which we reprobate."

18. What I have said above, authorizes then our resting on the opinion, become incontestable, that in the crisis which has burst, and in the means employed for restoring order, the true question was the destruction or the triumph of the treasurer's plan. This being once established, let us pass over the facts related in the common dispatches, and see how the government or the treasurer will take from the very stroke which threatens his system the safe opportunity of humbling the adverse party, and of silencing their enemies, whether open or concealed. The army marched; the President made known that he was going to command it; he sat out for Carlisle; Hamilton, as I have understood, requested to follow him; the President dared not to refuse him. It does not require much penetration to divine the object of this journey; in the President it was wise, and might also be his duty; but in Mr. Hamilton it was a consequence of the profound policy which directed all his steps; a measure dictated by a perfect knowledge of the human heart. Was it not interesting for him, for his party, tottering under the weight of events without, and accusations within, to proclaim an intimacy more perfect than ever with the President, whose very name is a sufficient shield against the most formidable attacks? Now what more evident mark could the President give of his intimacy, than by suffering Mr. Hamilton, whose name even is understood in the west as that of a public enemy, to go and place himself at the head of the army, which went, if I may use the expression, to cause his system to triumph against the opposition of the people? The presence of Mr. Hamilton with the army must attach it more than ever to his party; we see what ideas these circumstances give birth to on both sides, all however to the advantage of the secretary.

19. Three weeks had they encamped in the west without a single armed man appearing. However, the President, or those who wished to make the most of this new manoeuvre, made it public that he was going to command in person.—The session of Congress being very near, it was wished to try whether there could not be obtained from the presses, which were supposed to have changed, a silence, whence to conclude the possibility of infringing the constitution in its most essential part; in that which fixes the relation of the President with the legislature. But the patriotic papers laid hold of this artful attempt. I am certain that the office of secretary of state, which alone remained at Philadelphia; for while the minister of finance was with the army, the minister of war was on a tour to the province of Maine (400 miles from Philadelphia) maintained the controversy

in favour of the opinion which it was desired to establish. A comparison between the President and the English monarch was introduced, who, far removed from Westminster, yet strictly fulfils his duty of sanctioning ; it was much insisted on that the constitution declares that the President commands the armed force. This similitude was treated with contempt. The consequence of the power of commanding in person, drawn from the right to command in chief, or direct, the force of the state, was ridiculed and reduced to an absurdity, by supposing a fleet at sea and an army on land. The result of this controversy was, that some days after it was announced that the President would come to open the approaching session.

20. During his stay at Bedford, the President, doubtless, concerted the plan of the campaign with Mr. Lee, to whom he left the command in chief. The letter, by which he delegates the command to him, is that of a virtuous man, at least, as to the major part of the sentiments which it contains ; he afterwards set out for Philadelphia, where he has just arrived, and Mr. Hamilton remains with the army.

21. This last circumstance unveils all the plan of the secretary ; he presides over the military operations, in order to acquire in the sight of his enemies a formidable and imposing consideration. He and Mr. Lee, the commander in chief, agree perfectly in principles. The governors of Jersey and Maryland harmonize entirely with them ; the governor of Pennsylvania, of whom it never would have been suspected, lived intimately and publicly with Hamilton. Such a union of persons would be matter sufficient to produce resistance in the western countries, even admitting they had not thought of making any.

22. The soldiers themselves are astonished at the scandalous gaiety with which those who possess the secret proclaim their approaching triumph. It is asked of what use is 15,000 men in this country, in which provisions are scarce, and where are to be seized only some turbulent men at their plough ? Those who conducted the expedition knew this ; the matter is to create a great expence ; when the sums shall come to be assessed, no one will be willing to pay, and should each pay his assessment, it will be done in cursing the insurgent principles of the patriots.

23. It is impossible to make a more able manœuvre for the opening of Congress. The passions, the generous indignation, which has agitated their minds in the last session, were about being renewed with still more vigour ; there was nothing to announce of brilliant successes which they had promised. The hostilities of Great Britain on the continent so long disguised, and now become evident ; a commerce always harassed ; ridiculous negotiations lingering at London, waiting until new conjectures should authorise new insults. Such was the picture they were likely

likely to have so offer the representatives of the people. But this crisis, and the great movements made to prevent its consequences, change the state of things. With what advantage do they denounce an atrocious attack upon the constitution, and appreciate the activity used to repress it; the aristocratical party will soon have understood the secret; all the misfortunes will be attributed to patriots; the party of the latter is about being deserted by all the weak men, and this complete session will have been gained.

24. Who knows what will be the limits of this triumph? Perhaps advantage will be taken by it to obtain some laws for strengthening the government, and still more precipitating the propensity already visible, that it has towards aristocracy.

25. Such are, citizens, the data which I possess concerning these events, and the consequences I draw from them: I wish I may be deceived in my calculations, and the good disposition of the people; their attachment to principles led me to expect it. I have perhaps herein fallen into the repetitions of reflections and facts contained in other dispatches, but I wished to present together some views which I have reason to ascribe to the ruling party, and some able manœuvres invented to support themselves. Without participating in the passions of the parties, I observe them; and I owe to my country an exact and strict account of the situation of things. I shall make it my duty to keep you regularly informed of every change that may take place; above all I shall apply myself to penetrate the disposition of the legislature; that will not a little assist in forming the final idea which we ought to have of these movements, and what we should really fear or hope from them.

Health and fraternity.

(Signed)

J. FAUCHEZ.

Extract from the Political Dispatch, No. 3, of Joseph Fauchez, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

THEN the secretary of state appeared to open himself without reserve. He imparted to me the intestine divisions which were rumbling in the United States. The idea of an approaching commotion affected him deeply. He hoped to prevent it by the ascendancy which he daily acquired over the mind of the President, who consulted him in all affairs, and to whom he told the truth, which his colleagues disguised from him.

The President of the United States, says he, is the mortal enemy of England, and the friend of France. "I can affirm it upon my honour. But, not mixing with the world, he may be circumvented by the dark manœuvres of some

men, who wind themselves in an hundred ways to draw him into measures which will cause him to lose all his popularity. Under the pretext of giving energy to government, they would absolutely make a monarch of him. They deceive him as to the true spirit of the people, as well as upon the affairs of France. I am sure that at this moment he escapes from them, and that in all these perfidious manœuvres they have not been able to dissuade him from pronouncing with vigour against the ministry of England. He has—but it is impossible for me, in conscience, to make you this confession. I should betray the duties of my office. Every thing which I can say to you, is, that it is important for our two nations, that you continue to visit him frequently; he will be touched with the proofs of friendship which you shall testify to him; and I am sure that this will be an infallible means of causing them to be valued. I would quit the post which he has confided to me, if he could be brought to make any attempt upon the rights of the people. A bill has passed the house of representatives, which wounds liberty. They have, at least, taken away the article which prevents the sale of the French prizes in our ports. My heart is troubled by it. But I have seen with pleasure, that my reflections on this subject upon the dreadful crisis which would result from an abuse from it, have made a deep impression upon the mind, I will even say upon the heart of the President, who is an honourable man. Let us unite, Mr. Fauchet, to draw our two nations closer together. Those who love liberty are for fraternising with the French Republic; the partizans of slavery prefer an alliance with England.

I, he said to me, (in speaking of the treaty of Jay,) that there is no question in his mission, but to demand a solemn reparation for the spoliations which our commerce has experienced on the part of England; and to give you a proof that Mr. Jay cannot enter into a negotiation contrary to what we owe to France, I will give you the part of the instructions which concerned.

Although the following note which I have, written in his own hand, with a promise to burn it, be little important, I annex it hereto.

If the English ministry shall insinuate that the whole or any part of these instructions should appear to be influenced by a supposed predilection in favour of France, you will arrest the subject as being foreign to the present question. It is what the English nation has no right to object to, because we are free in our sentiments, and independent in our government.

The following case is to be unchangeable. As there is no doubt that the English ministry will endeavour to detach us from France, you will inform them of the firm determination of the government of the United States, not to deviate from our treaties or our engagements with France.

*Extract from the Political Dispatch, No. 6, of Citizen Fauchet,
Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic in the United
States.*

SCARCE was the commotion known, when the secretary of state came to my house. All his countenance was grief. He requested of me a private conversation. It is all over, he said to me. A civil war is about to ravage our unhappy country. Four men by their talents, their influence, and their energy, may save it. But debtors of English merchants, they will be deprived of their liberty, if they take the smallest step. Could you lend them instantaneously funds sufficient to shelter them from English persecution? This inquiry astonished me much. It was impossible for me to make a satisfactory answer. You know my want of power, and my defect of pecuniary means. I shall draw myself from the affair by some common-place remarks, and by throwing myself on the pure and unalterable principles of the Republic.

I have never since heard of propositions of this nature.

*Copy of a Letter written by Fulmer Skipwith, Consul General for
the United States of America, at Paris, to F. Coffin, American
Consul at Dunkirk.*

Paris, Floreal 9, (March 20) 1795.

Dear Sir,

PLEASE to communicate to the masters of our vessels in your harbour, and all other persons whom it may concern, that a letter from Mr. Church, our consul-general in Portugal, advises, that the British and Spaniards have concluded a late agreement with the Dey of Algiers; in consequence of which a messenger has been dispatched to the court of Lisbon, that orders might be given to call in the Portuguese squadron then in the Mediterranean, the Dey having agreed to have the trade of that power respected, on certain conditions; and that the Algerine cruisers will immediately sail out of the Streights in quest of our merchantmen.

Pennsylvania, April 20.

Sir,

INCLOSED you will receive a copy of a letter, addressed to me by the secretary of state, dated the 16th instant; in which he communicates the request of the President of the United States, "that whenever a fleet, squadron, or ship, of any belligerent nation, shall clearly and unequivocally use the rivers or other

other waters of Pennsylvania, as a station in order to carry on hostile expeditions from thence, I will cause to be notified to the commander thereof, that the President deems such conduct to be contrary to the rights of neutrality; and that a demand of a retribution will be urged upon their government for prizes which may be made in consequence thereof." You will be pleased, Sir, to pay strict attention to the object of the President's request; and if you shall at any time ascertain the case to which it refers, you will communicate the circumstances without delay to me, or, in my absence, to the secretary of state, that the necessary measures may be pursued for procuring a redress of the grievances.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Nathaniel Falconer, Esq. Master Warden, &c.

(CIRCULAR.)

Department of State, April 16, 1795.

Sir,

AS it is contrary to the law of nations, that any of the belligerent powers should commit hostility on the waters which are subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, so ought not the ships of war, belonging to any belligerent power, to take a station in those waters, in order to carry on hostile expeditions from thence. I do myself the honour, therefore, of requesting of your Excellency, in the name of the President of the United States, that as often as a fleet, squadron, or ship, of any belligerent nation, shall clearly and unequivocally use the rivers or other waters of Pennsylvania as a station, in order to carry on hostile expeditions from thence, you will cause to be notified to the commander thereof, that the President deems such conduct contrary to the rights of our neutrality; and that a demand of retribution will be urged upon their government for prizes which may be made in consequence thereof. A standing order to this effect may probably be advantageously placed in the hands of some confidential officer of the militia; and I must entreat you to instruct him to write by the mail to this department immediately upon the happening of any case of the kind.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect and esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

(A true Copy.)

JAMES TRIMBLE, Dep. Secy.
Norfolk,

Norfolk, May 1.

IT is deemed contrary to our neutrality and national faith, that armed vessels should make stations in our ports or roads, in order, by sallying from thence to distress our trade and harass our citizens and allies; and as the commanding officer of certain vessels of his Britannic Majesty has been required to depart from the ports in this state with the ships under his command, and has peremptorily refused obeying such requisition, we are ordered to use the most effectual means to prevent the officers and crews of the aforesaid ships from receiving or experiencing any aid, assistance, or comfort, from any of the inhabitants of this commonwealth —they are, therefore, notified of the same, and as good citizens are desired to govern themselves accordingly.

By order of his Excellency the Governor of Virginia.

W. WILSON.

Lieut. Col. of the County of Norfolk.

T. NEWTON.

Lieut. Col. Commandant of Norfolk Borough.

Norfolk, May 9.

THE executive of this state having revoked their instructions, given to me to require the departure of the vessels of war of the belligerent nations, and of their receiving any aid, assistance, or comfort, from any of the inhabitants of this commonwealth; I hereby notify the same to you, and am instructed to notify to the commanders of any fleet, squadron, or vessel, of any belligerent nation, who shall clearly and unequivocally use the rivers, or other waters of Virginia, as a station, in order to carry on hostile expeditions from thence, that the President deems such conduct to be contrary to the rights of neutrality, and that a demand of retribution will be urged upon their government for prizes which may be made in consequence thereof.

I am your obedient servant,

THOMAS NEWTON.

John Hamilton, Esq.

Articles of an Agreement entered into in June, 1795, between General Laveaux and the Administration on one Part, and the Captains of the American Vessels on the other Part, who are at present, or shall come into, this Port of Nichola Mole, or its Dependencies:

1. THERE shall be lists established of all the captains names, and the date of their arrival in this port, numbered 1, 2, &c.

2. All

2. All the bags of coffee from the plantation shall be put in lots or parcels of each quality, then number 1 will take his choice.
 3. If number 1 dislikes or refuses to take those parcels or lots, number 2 is entitled to his choice, and so on.
 4. Number 1 shall have the preference of going to other harbours of this district to get his payment; for instance, to Bouyne, Jean Rabel, or other places.
 5. It shall be the same rule for all other kind of produce.
 6. All captains are allowed to sell their cargoes on shore, except such articles as administration thinks necessary to the supply of the armies.
 7. The money arising from the sales of their cargo is to be paid into the treasury, to receive there for produce of the island. The reason of this article is, that without money the administration cannot pay the cultivators, and consequently cannot get the produce to market.
 8. By permission to sell their cargoes on shore, the captains are prevented selling on board of the vessels.
 9. Those to whom old debts are due shall receive their payments according to their number, together with their last cargoes; therefore, if they ask only the ancient account, and will depart for America, and petition for it, they shall be paid immediately, or before those who are arrived since their departure, but in all cases according to the priority of their debts.
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Address of the Merchants and Traders of Philadelphia, presented to the President of the United States on the 20th August, 1795.

To the President of the United States.

The Address of the Subscribers, Merchants, and Traders, of the City of Philadelphia,

Respectfully sheweth,

THAT confiding in the wisdom, integrity, and patriotism, of the constituted authorities, we have forborne to offer our opinions on the merits of the treaty pending between Great Britain and the United States; though, as merchants and traders, our interests are more immediately concerned than those of any other class of men amongst us; as well on account of the indemnity therein stipulated for past losses, as for the security we apprehend it will give to the immense property employed by the merchants of the United States in their foreign commerce.

But seeing that other citizens have expressed their opinions upon this important subject, and fearing lest our silence should be construed into an acquiescence in those opinions, we deem it

our duty, explicitly and publicly to avow our approbation of the conduct of the senate of the United States; believing that a different conduct respecting the treaty would have subjected us to the imminent hazard of war, with all its concomitant evils; and more especially as provision is made for the establishment of public and private credit—a continuance of peace—with all the advantages under which our commerce flourishes, and the further improvement of our country, now progressive in a degree elsewhere without example.

These are advantages and blessings which, in our opinions, greatly outweigh all the objections to the treaty generally; and as further negotiations are recommended for obtaining a less limited intercourse with British West India islands, we hope that it will be rendered still more beneficial to this country.

Such being our sentiments we submit them freely; and in confidence, that as they have not been hastily formed, so they will not be less deserving of consideration.

[A very long list of signatures follows.]

The President's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I RECEIVE with great sensibility your address on the subject of the treaty lately negotiated between the United States and Great Britain; expressing your confidence in the constituted authorities, and the concurrence of your opinions with their determinations on this highly important subject. Such sentiments, deliberately formed, and proceeding from men whose interests are more immediately concerned than those of any other classes of my fellow-citizens, cannot fail to strengthen that just confidence in the rectitude of public measures which is essential to the general welfare.

G. WASHINGTON.

To the honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Memorial of the Subscribers, Citizens of Boston and Charlestown,

Respectfully sheweth,

THAT having severely suffered by the British depredations on their vessels and property, they applied to the last Congress for redress, but no decision was had thereon; they were soon soon after notified, that measures had been adopted, and would

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be pursued, to recover the property so unjustly taken from them; and they have observed with much pleasure the exertions of government to produce this most desirable event. When it is taken into consideration, that the sufferers fully expected an early indemnity for all their losses, some of whom, by those depredations, have been deprived of nearly all their property, and many of them of so much as to check and embarrass their whole business, and, in proportion to their losses, the *whole* have been deprived of those great advantages which have been enjoyed by other citizens of the United States in the uninterrupted pursuits of their commerce, it must be readily acknowledged, that they have evinced the greatest patience under their sufferings, and proved themselves good and peaceable citizens; firmly attached to the constitution and laws of their country, relying on the government thereof for protection and redress, not seeking retaliation in any way repugnant thereto.

The mode now pointed out by government for indemnification is through the treaty negotiated for that purpose; this being the case, your memorialists do most earnestly request you to take into your wise consideration their distressed situation, and without delay make such arrangements as will complete the compact, that they may, without any further hindrance, have their property restored.

Although their disappointments and embarrassments have been great, from the long deprivation of their property, yet the confidence of your memorialists remains unshaken, and they still firmly rely on the ability, wisdom, justice, and willingness of government, eventually to secure to them full and complete indemnity. And your memorialists will ever pray.

Des. 10, 1795.

Speech of the President of the United States to the Legislature of the United States, on the 8th December, 1795.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and
House of Representatives,

I TRUST I do not deceive myself, while I indulge the persuasion, that I have never met at any period when, more than at the present, the situation of our public affairs has afforded just cause of mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all Good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expensive, and distressing war, in which we have been engaged with certain Indians north-west of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty

a treaty which the commander of our army has concluded, provisionally, with the hostile tribes in that region.

In the adjustment of the terms, the satisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no less of the policy than of the liberality of the United States, as the necessary basis of durable tranquillity. This object has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon will immediately be laid before the senate for their consideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the southern tribes had annoyed our frontiers, have lately confirmed their pre-existing treaties with us, and were giving evidence of a sincere disposition to carry them into effect, by the surrender of the prisoners and property they had taken: but we have to lament, that the fair prospect in this quarter has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which some citizens of Georgia are represented to have recently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Greeks; which have again subjected that frontier to disquietude and danger, which will be productive of further expence, and may occasion further effusion of blood. Measures are pursuing to prevent or mitigate the usual consequences of such outrages; and with the hope of their succeeding, at least to avert a general hostility.

A letter from the Emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our treaty, made with his father the late emperor; and consequently the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar satisfaction I add, that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing that the terms of the treaty with the Dey and Regency of that country had been adjusted in such a manner, as to authorise the expectation of a speedy peace, and the restoration of our unfortunate fellow-citizens from a grievous captivity.

The latest advices from our envoy at the court of Madrid give, moreover, the pleasing information, that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of his negotiation. While the event, depending upon unadjusted particulars, cannot be regarded as ascertained, it is agreeable to cherish the expectation of an issue, which, securing amicably the very essential interests of the United States, will, at the same time, lay the foundation of lasting harmony with a power, whose friendship we have uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate.

Though not before officially disclosed to the House of Representatives, you, Gentlemen, are apprised, that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, has been negotiated with Great Britain; and that the senate have advised and consented to its ratification, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the best judgment I was able to form of the public interests, after full and mature deliberation, I have added

my sanction. The result on the part of his Britannic Majesty is unknown. When received, the subject will without delay be placed before the Congress.

This interesting summary of our affairs, with regard to the foreign states, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted, and with regard also to those of our Indian neighbours, with whom we have been in a state of enmity, or misunderstanding, opens a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If, by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, which have heretofore menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, shall be the happy result, how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country!

Contemplating the internal situation, as well as the external relations of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting, and calamitous, in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsions and insurrection; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay; in which scarcity of subsistence has embittered other sufferings, while even the anticipations of a return of the blessings of peace and repose are alloyed by the sense of heavy and accumulating burthens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threaten to clog the future springs of government:—our favoured country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed general tranquillity—a tranquillity the more satisfactory, because maintained at the expence of no duty. Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligations to others. Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, prosper beyond former example; the molestation of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonstrances have been made) being overbalanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. Our population advances with a celerity which, exceeding the most sanguine expectations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guarantees our future security. Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burthens so light as scarcely to be perceived; with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies; with government founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws; is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled?

Placed in a situation every way so auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgment to Heaven,

ven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong, and improve, our immense advantages. To co-operate with you in this desirable work, is a fervent and favourite wish of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient in the general estimate of our welfare, that the part of our country which was lately the scene of disorder and insurrection, now enjoys the blessings of quiet and order. The misled have abandoned their errors, and pay the respect to our constitution and laws which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the society. These circumstances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to ; and to extend forgiveness to those who have been adjudged to capital punishments : for, although I shall always think it a sacred duty to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested, yet it appears to me no less consistent with the public good, than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderness, which the national justice, dignity, and safety, may permit.

Gentlemen,

Among the objects which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected still further to change the situation of our frontiers. In this review, you will doubtless allow due weight to the considerations, that the questions between us and certain foreign powers are not yet finally adjusted ; that the war in Europe is not yet terminated ; and that our western posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. A statement of our military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army establishment is naturally connected that of the militia. It will merit inquiry, what imperfections in the existing plan further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so much moment, in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude, that the consideration of it may be renewed until the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the satisfaction, which the actual condition of our western borders so well authorises, it is necessary that we should not lose sight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations, namely, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violence of the lawless part of the frontier inhabitants, are insufficient.

cient. It is demonstrated, that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity. And it can need no argument to prove, that unless the murdering of Indians can be restrained, by bringing the murderers to condign punishment, all the exertion of the government to prevent destructive retaliations by the Indians will prove fruitless, and all our present agreeable prospects illusory. The frequent destruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, must continue to shock humanity; and an enormous expence to drain the treasury of the Union.

To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of Congress, and especially if there can be added an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians, on reasonable terms, (a measure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them they urge it with solicitude) I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope of rendering our tranquillity permanent. I add with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made under the auspices of government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

The state of our revenue, with the sums that have been borrowed and re-imburfed, pursuant to different acts of Congress, will be submitted from the proper departments; together with an estimate of the appropriations necessary to be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be adviseable to reinforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt will naturally engage your examination—Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honourable extinction of our public debt, accords as much with the true interests of our country, as with the general sense of our constituents.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
House of Representatives,

The statements which will be laid before you, relative to the Mint, will shew the situation of that institution, and the necessity of some further legislative provisions for carrying the business of it more completely into effect, and for checking abuses which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the frigates, and in building them; the state of the fortifications of our harbours; the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper scites for arsenals, and for replenishing our magazines with military stores; and the steps which have been taken towards the execution of the law for opening the trade with the Indians, will likewise be presented for the information of Congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects which may arise in the course of the session, and mutual forbearance where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness, and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, Dec. 8, 1795.

IN the House of Representatives, on Monday, Jan. 4, the Speaker called the attention of the House to a message, which, as he understood, was about to be delivered. It was of the most solemn and serious nature, and therefore the Speaker requested both the members of the House, and the strangers in the gallery, to observe the most particular silence. The contents of the message itself would be extremely gratifying to the feelings of every American, and no mark of respect ought to be omitted to the magnanimous Republic from which the communication originated. The President's secretary was then introduced, with an American officer, bearing the standard of the French Republic.

There were read, first, a letter from the President of the United States, announcing, that the colours of the Republic of France had been presented to him by the French ambassador, Citizen Adet.

Second, a letter from the Committee of Safety to the Representatives of the United States in Congress.

Third, the Address of Citizen Adet to the President on delivering the colours; and,

Fourth, the Answer of the President to Citizen Adet.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the
House of Representatives,

A LETTER from the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, received on the 22d of last month, covered an Address, dated the 21st of October, 1795, from the Committee of Public Safety, to the Representatives of the United States in Congress; and

and also informed me, that he was instructed by the Committee to present to the United States the colours of France ; I therefore proposed to receive them last Friday, the first day of the new year, a day of general joy and congratulation. On that day the minister of the French Republic delivered the colours, with an Address, to which I returned an answer.

By the latter the House will see that I have informed the minister, that the colours will be deposited with the archives of the United States. But it seemed to me proper to exhibit to the two Houses of Congress, these evidences of the continued friendship of the French Republic, together with the sentiments expressed by me on the occasion, in behalf of the United States. They are herewith communicated.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, Jan. 4, 1796.

The Representatives of the French People, composing the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention, charged by the Law of the 7th Fructidor with the Direction of Foreign Relations :

To the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

Citizens Representatives,

THE connections which nature, reciprocal events, and a happy concurrence of circumstances, have formed between two free nations, cannot but be indissoluble. You have strengthened those sacred ties by the declarations which the minister plenipotentiary of the United States has made, in your name, to the National Convention, and to the French people. They have been received with rapture by a nation who know how to appreciate every testimony which the United States have given to them of their affection. The colours of both nations, united in the centre of the National Convention, will be an everlasting evidence of the part which the United States have taken in the success of the French Republic.

You were the first defenders of the rights of man in another hemisphere. Strengthened by your example, and endowed with an invincible energy, the French people have vanquished that tyranny, which, during so many centuries of ignorance, superstition, and baseness, had enthralled a generous nation.

Soon did the people of the United States perceive that every victory of ours strengthened their independence and happiness. They were deeply affected at our momentary misfortunes, occasioned by treasons purchased by English gold. They have celebrated with rapture the successes of our brave armies.

None

None of these sympathetic emotions have escaped the sensibility of the French nation. They have all served to cement the most intimate and solid union that has ever existed between two nations.

The Citizen Adet, who will reside with your government in quality of minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic, is specially instructed to tighten these bands of fraternity and mutual benevolence. We hope that he may fulfil this principal object of his mission, by a conduct worthy of the confidence of both nations, and of the reputation which his patriotism and virtues have acquired him.

An analogy of political principles, the natural relations of commerce and industry ; the efforts and immense sacrifices of both nations in defence of liberty and equality ; the blood which they have spilled together ; their avowed hatred to despots ; the moderation of their political views ; the disinterestedness of their councils ; and especially the success of the vows which they have made in the presence of the Supreme Being, to be free or die—all combine to render indestructible the connections which they have formed.

Doubt it not, Citizens—we shall finally destroy the combination of tyrants ; you, by the picture of prosperity, which in your vast countries has succeeded to a bloody struggle of eight years ; we, by the enthusiasm which glows in the breast of every Frenchman. Astonished nations, too long the dupes of perfidious kings, nobles, and priests, will eventually recover their rights, and the human race will owe to the American and French nations their regeneration and a lasting peace.

Signed by the Members of the Committee of Public Safety.
*Paris, 30th Vendemiaire, 4th Year of the
French Republic, One and Indivisible.*

Mr. President,

I COME to acquit myself of a duty very dear to my heart ; I come to deposit in your hands, and in the midst of a people justly renowned for their courage and their love of liberty, the symbol of their triumphs, and of the enfranchisement of my nation.

When she broke her chains ; when she proclaimed the impre- scriptible rights of man ; when, in a terrible war, she sealed with her blood the covenant she made with liberty ; her own happiness was not alone the object of her glorious efforts ; her views ex- tended also to all free people. She saw their interests blended with her own, and doubly rejoiced in her victories, which, in assuring to her the enjoyment of her rights, became to them new guarantees of their independence.

These sentiments, which animated the French nation from the dawn of their revolution, have acquired new strength since the

foundation of the Republic. France, at that time, by the form of its government, assimilated to, or rather identified with, free people, saw in them only friends and brothers. Long accustomed to regard the American people as her most faithful allies, she has sought to draw closer the ties already formed in the fields of America, under the auspices of victory, over the ruins of tyranny!

The National Convention, the organ of the will of the French nation, have more than once expressed their sentiments to the American people; but above all, these burst forth on that august day, when the minister of the United States presented to the National Representation the colours of his country. Desiring never to lose recollections as dear to Frenchmen as they must be to Americans, the Convention ordered that these colours should be placed in the hall of their sittings. They had experienced sensations too agreeable not to cause them to be partaken of by their allies, and decreed, that to them the national colours should be presented.

Mr. President,

I do not doubt their expectations will be fulfilled; and I am convinced that every citizen will receive, with a pleasing emotion, this flag, elsewhere the terror of the enemies of liberty, here the certain pledge of faithful friendship; especially when they recollect that it guides to combat men who have shared their toils, and who were prepared for liberty, by aiding them to acquire their own.

P. A. ADET.

The Answer of the President of the United States to the Address of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, on his presenting the Colours of France to the United States.

BORN, Sir, in a land of liberty—having early learned its value—having engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it—having, in a word, devoted the best years of my life to secure its permanent establishment in my own country, my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly excited, whenever in any country I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom. But, above all, the events of the French revolution have produced the deepest solicitude, as well as the highest admiration. To call your nation brave, were to pronounce but common praise. Wonderful people! Ages to come will read with astonishment the history of your brilliant exploits! I rejoice that the period of your toils and your immense sacrifices is approaching. I rejoice that the interesting revolutionary movements of so many years have ended in the formation of a constitution

constitution designed to give permanency to the great object for which you have contended. I rejoice that liberty, which you have so long embraced with enthusiasm—liberty, of which you have been the invincible defenders, now finds an asylum in the bosom of a regularly organized government; a government which being formed to secure the happiness of the French people, corresponds with the ardent wishes of my heart, while it gratifies the pride of every citizen of the United States by its resemblance to their own. On these glorious events, accept, Sir, my sincere congratulations.

In delivering to you these sentiments, I express not my own feelings only, but those of my fellow citizens, in relation to the commencement, the progress, and the issue of the French revolution: and they will cordially join with me in purest wishes to the Supreme Being, that the citizens of our Sister Republic, our magnanimous allies, may soon enjoy in peace that liberty which they have purchased at so great a price, and all the happiness which liberty can bestow.

I receive, Sir, with lively sensibility, the symbol of the triumphs, and the enfranchisement of your nation, the colours of France, which you have now presented to the United States. The transaction will be announced to Congress; and the colours will be deposited with those archives of the United States, which are at once the evidences and memorials of their freedom and independence. May these be perpetual! And may the friendship of the two Republics be commensurate with their existence.

United States, Jan. 1, 1796.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

On the 24th of March, 1796, the House of Representatives passed a Resolution which had for its Object to procure a Copy of the Instructions granted to Mr. Jay relative to the Treaty with Great Britain; and in Reply to this Request, General Washington returned the following Answer:

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

WITH the utmost attention I have considered your resolution of the 24th instant, requesting me to lay before your house a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with the King of Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed.

In deliberating on this subject, it was impossible for me to lose sight of the principle which some have avowed in its discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle.

I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information which the constitution has enjoined upon the President as a duty to give, or which could be required of him by either house of Congress as a right ; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be while I have the honour to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes, to ' preserve, protect, and defend the constitution,' will permit.

The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution ; and their successes must often depend on secrecy, and even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic ; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniences ; perhaps danger and mischief, in relation to other powers. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the President, with the advice and consent of the senate ; the principle on which that body was formed confining it to a small number of members. To admit, then, a right in the house of representatives to demand, and to have as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

It does not occur that the inspection of the papers asked for can be relative to any purpose under cognizance of the house of representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution has not expressed. I repeat that I have no disposition to withhold any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the public good shall require to be disclosed ; and, in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain were laid before the senate, when the treaty itself was communicated for their consideration and advice.

The course which the debate has taken on the resolution of the house, leads to some observations on the mode of making treaties under the constitution of the United States.

Having been a member of the general convention, and knowing the principles on which the constitution was formed, I have never entertained but one opinion on this subject ; and from the first establishment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the advice of the senate, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur ; and that every treaty so made and promulgated, thenceforward became the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been

been understood by foreign nations ; and in all treaties made with them we have declared, and they have believed, that when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the senate, they became obligatory. In this construction of the constitution, every house of representatives has heretofore acquiesced ; and until the present time, not a doubt or suspicion has appeared to my knowledge, that this construction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced ; for until now, without controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

There is also reason to believe that this construction agrees with the opinions entertained by the state conventions, when they were deliberating on the constitution, especially by those who objected to it, because there was not required in commercial treaties the consent of two-thirds of the whole senate, instead of two-thirds of the senators present ; and because in treaties respecting territorial and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively was not made necessary.

It is a fact declared by the general convention, and universally understood, that the constitution of the United States was the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession. And it is well known, that under this influence the smaller states were admitted to an equal representation in the senate with the larger states, and that this branch of the government was invested with great powers, for on the equal participation of those powers the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller states were deemed essentially to depend.

If other proofs than these, and the plain letter of the constitution itself, be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the journals of the general convention, which I have deposited in the office of the department of slate. In those journals it will appear that a proposition was made, " that no treaty should be binding on the United States which was not ratified by a law," and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the house of representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty, as the treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on which these papers called for can throw no light ; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the constitution between the different departments should be preserved—a just regard to the constitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request.

United States, March 30, 1796.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Resolutions

Resolutions passed by the House of Representatives, on the 7th of April, 1796.

RESOLVED, that it being declared by the second section of the second article of the constitution, "that the President shall have power, by and with the advice of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senate present concur; the house of representatives do not claim any agency in making treaties; but that when a treaty stipulates regulations on any of the subjects submitted by the constitution to the power of congress, it must depend for its execution as to such stipulations, on a law or laws to be passed by Congress; and it is the constitutional right and duty of the house of representatives, in all such cases, to deliberate on the expediency or inexpediency of carrying such treaties into effect; and to determine and act thereon, as in their judgment may be most conducive to the public good."

Resolved, that it is necessary to the propriety of any application from this house to the executive for information desired by them, and which may relate to any constitutional functions of the house, that the purpose for which such information may be wanted, or to which the same be applied, should be stated in the application.

Resolved, that it is expedient to pass the laws necessary for carrying into effect the treaty lately concluded with certain Indians north-west of the Ohio.

Resolved, that it is expedient to pass the laws necessary for carrying into effect the treaty lately concluded with the Dey and Regency of Algiers.

The house taking into consideration the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, communicated by the President in his message of the first day of March last, are of opinion, that it is in many respects highly injurious to the interests of the United States; yet were they possessed of any information that could justify the great sacrifices contained in the treaty, their sincere desire to cherish harmony and amicable intercourse with all nations, and their earnest wish to co-operate in hastening a final adjustment of the differences subsisting between the United States and Great Britain, might have induced them to waive their objections to the treaty; but when they contemplate the conduct of Great Britain, in persevering, since the treaty was signed, in the impressment of American seamen, and the seizure of American vessels laden with provisions, contrary to the clearest right of neutral nations; whether this be viewed as the construction meant to be given to any article in the treaty, or as contrary to, and an infraction of the true meaning and spirit thereof, the house cannot but consider it as incumbent on them to forbear, under such circumstances, taking at present any active measures on the subject: therefore,

Resolved,

Resolved, that under the circumstances aforesaid, and with such information as the house possesses, it is not expedient at this time to concur in passing the laws necessary for carrying the said treaty into effect.*

Letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hammond.†

Sir,

Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1793.

I AM honoured with yours of August 30. Mine of the 7th of that month assured you, that measures were taken for excluding from all farther asylum in our ports, vessels armed in them to cruise on nations with which we are at peace, and for the restoration of the prizes, the *Lovely Lass*, and the *Jane*, of Dublin; and that should the measures for restitution fail in their effect, the President considered it as incumbent on the United States to make compensation for the vessels.

We are bound by our treaties with three of the belligerent nations, by all the means in our power to protect and defend their vessels and effects in our ports or waters, or on the seas near our shores, and to recover and restore the same to the right owners when taken from them. If all the means in our power are used, and fail in their effect, we are not bound by our treaties with those nations to make compensation.

Though we have no similar treaty with Great Britain, it was the opinion of the President, that we should use towards that nation the same rule, which, under this article, was to govern us with the other nations; and even to extend it to captures made on the high seas, and brought into our ports, if done by vessels which had been armed within them.

Having, for particular reasons, forbore to use all the means in our power for the restitution of the three vessels mentioned in my letter of August 7th, the President thought it incumbent on the United States to make compensation for them. And though nothing was said in that letter of other vessels taken under like circumstances, and brought in after the 5th of June, and before the date of that letter, yet when the same forbearance had taken place, it was and is his opinion, that compensation would be equally due.

As to prizes made under the same circumstances, and brought in after the date of that letter, the President determined that all the

* The treaty with Great Britain, however, was finally ratified by the House of Representatives, on the 30th of April, 1796.

† This letter is referred to in the seventh article of the treaty of amity and commerce between Great Britain and America. (Vide the Treaties, p. 8.)

means

means in our power should be used for their restitution. If these fail, as we should not be bound by our treaties to make compensation to the other powers in the analogous case, he did not mean to give an opinion that it ought to be done to Great Britain. But still, if any case shall arise subsequent to that date, the circumstances of which shall place them on similar ground with those before it, the President would think compensation equally incumbent on the United States.

Instructions are given to the governors of the different states to use all the means in their power for restoring prizes of this last description found within their ports; though they will of course take measures to be informed of them, and the general government has given them the aid of the custom-house officers for this purpose, yet you will be sensible of the importance of multiplying the channels of their information, as far as shall depend on yourself, or any person under your direction, in order that the governors may use the means in their power for making restitution.

Without knowledge of the capture they cannot restore it. It would always be best to give the notice to them directly; but any information which you shall be pleased to send to me also at any time, shall be forwarded to them as quickly as distance will permit.

Hence you will perceive, Sir, that the President contemplates restitution or compensation in the cases before the 7th of August; and after that date, restitution, if it can be effected by any means in our power: and that it will be important that you should substantiate the fact, that such prizes are in our ports or waters.

Your list of the privateers illicitly armed in our ports, is, I believe, correct.

With respect to losses by detention, waste, or spoliation, sustained by vessels taken as before-mentioned, between the dates of June 5th, and August 7th, it is proposed as a provisional measure, that the collector of the customs of the district, and the British consul, or any other person you please, shall appoint persons to establish the value of the vessel and cargo at the time of her capture, and of her arrival in the port into which she is brought, according to their value in that port. If this shall be agreeable to you, and you will be pleased to signify it to me, with the names of the prizes understood to be of this description, instructions will be given accordingly to the collectors of the customs where the respective vessels are.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

GENOA.

GENOA.

Letter transmitted in June, 1795, from General De Vins, delivered to the Genoese Government by the Austrian Colonel Brittani.

THE French armies, regardless of the neutrality adopted by the most illustrious Republic of Genoa, have aggressed on its territories by crossing the river Pauent, and threaten an invasion of Piedmont and Austrian Lombardy. His Imperial Majesty has therefore deemed it expedient to augment his army of Italy for the defence of his hereditary dominions, and having conferred on me the command of that army, I feel it my duty in my turn to enter upon the territories of the Republic at the head of the Imperial army, for the purpose of carrying his Majesty's order into effect, by repelling the enemy, and putting the Austrian possessions out of danger. The illustrious Republic will, I trust, feel the necessity of the step which my personal situation compels me to adopt. The measures I intend to pursue will not only insure the security of the Austrian states, but will also preserve the tranquillity of the Republic.

I therefore flatter myself that you will at least grant the Austrian troops the same protection that you grant the French; and that you will provide the army with such necessaries as the Republic enables you to furnish for their accommodation and support.

On my part, I engage not only to keep up the strictest discipline, but likewise, in case of the commission of excesses of any kind, I pledge my honour to give immediate satisfaction and indemnity to the fullest extent.

(Signed) BARON DE VINS.

The Government of Genoa returned instantly the following Answer :

THE illustrious Republic of Genoa having, with the unanimous consent of the belligerent powers, adopted a system of perfect neutrality, she did imagine that her territories would have been secure from aggression, which is the indisputable privilege of a nation in a state of neutrality; but the Republic being contiguous to a country in a state of war, could not resist the influx of foreign troops; this circumstance has, however, always been considered as a violation of that neutrality; and the government did not fail to remonstrate on the subject, but invariably maintained their rights of neutrality, even against a superior force.

Therefore the Serene Government cannot consider as an excuse (the plan being already completed, the communication of it which Baron De Vins has made to the secretary of state; more especially because the object of the Austrian army being to drive the French

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from the Genoese territory, the latter state would in consequence be converted into the theatre of war, a most powerful motive for determining the Republic only to submit to it under the circumstances of a superior force.

These are the sentiments of the government of Genoa, which they transmit to Baron Devins, in reply to his communication. It is to be hoped, that on reflection, the Baron will abandon the plan laid down in his letter, and on this account a courier has just been dispatched to the minister plenipotentiary of the Republic at Vienna, with instruction to remonstrate with the Imperial cabinet. At the same time the government express their sense of the good disposition entertained by Baron De Vins towards the Republic and the people of Genoa.

Note presented on the 9th of August to the Secretary of State of the Republic of Genoa, by the French Minister Citizen Villars.

UNABLE, after the murder which took place yesterday,* to restrain any longer the indignation of the French who reside at Genoa, I hereby inform thereof the minister of state, that he may not render himself responsible for the incalculable consequences which that event must naturally produce.

As the officers who commanded yesterday at La Lauterne and the Mole remain still on their posts, it is evident that the Genoese government connives with them, as well as with the governor of the port, who has concurred in the infamous order, pursuant to which Frenchmen have been assassinated.

* The French minister alludes to the Frenchmen killed and wounded on board a French privateer, by a grape shot from the Genoese batteries.

The French minister had ordered all the privateers of his nation to sail and make prizes of any vessel carrying provisions to the Austrians, under whatever flag. The Genoese government permitted their sailing expressly under the condition not to detain any vessel until twenty-four hours had elapsed after their departure, conformable to the laws of neutrality. The French minister, however, intimated, that in the present situation of affairs, that law was not so particularly binding; upon which the Genoese government declared that their cruisers should not be permitted to sail; nevertheless they persisted in sailing, but they were threatened to be fired upon with ball and grape-shot, if they did. One, however, ran the risk, and had actually sailed as far as the bank of the port, when she was fired upon, and the mate being thereby wounded, was compelled to return. The above note was, in consequence, presented to the Genoese government by the French minister, and the officer on guard on the banks of the port was arrested. In the interim, two French frigates and two cutters went to sea, and protected, or covered as it were, their privateers, who likewise went to sea, sailing between them.

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Since the undersigned has received no answer to the just remonstrances he made on this subject yesterday evening, he finds himself obliged to declare,

1. That he considers as hostilities against the French Republic all that for this month past has happened in the port of Genoa, and especially the murder committed yesterday, in sight of the people of Genoa.

2dly. That by pointing out to the Serene Government the most proper means of appeasing the just indignation of the National Convention and the French land and sea force, he has by no means taken upon himself fully to satisfy the revenge which the nation he represents has a right to claim, on account of the scandalous insult it has twice been offered in the port of this city.

3dly. That by demanding a pension for the widow and children of the French citizen who has been assassinated in the execution of his duty, it was by no means his intention, that by that pension the subsistence of that unfortunate family should be provided for, since the honour of supplying their wants belongs to the Convention ; he, on the contrary, only meant to afford the Serene Government an opportunity of testifying their concern at that disastrous occurrence ; and by so doing, to stifle in the bosom of that family the cries of vengeance which will be raised by every Frenchman.

The undersigned demands a prompt and categorical answer to this note, as well as to that of yesterday. Dilatory ways and pretences will do no longer. In the course of this day the Genoese government must declare its sentiments in a clear and open manner, that the French Republic may positively know,

1st. Whether the word neutrality, of which for a long time it has made a gross abuse, is not a mere cloak for promoting the interests of the enemies of France, whilst it pretends to further those of the latter.

2dly. Whether the Serene Government will suffer a few Genoese, who are enemies of the French people, and of the form of government they have adopted, to sacrifice to their pride and avidity the true interests of the Republic of Genoa. In fine,

3dly. Whether the friendship which the Serene Government professes to entertain for France is a mere feint, or a true and real sentiment on which the French nation can rely.

Note of the British Minister to the Genoese Republic.

THE undersigned ——, thinks it his duty to expose to the most Serene Government the following circumstances:

The report having been circulated and credited, that on the 6th instant, two French privateers endeavoured to sail from this port, without having previously given the securities stipulated in the sixth article of the edict of neutrality, long ago published by the most Serene Government, and the most strict execution of which was promised in the face of Europe; an edict which, among other clauses, expressly states, that no vessel shall be molested until twenty-four hours after her sailing. That the officer commanding the battery of the Mole, endeavouring, conformably to the express orders he had received from the most Serene Government, to prevent the privateers from sailing, and thus obviate the manifest and insulting infraction of the formal laws of the country, ordered a gun to be fired without ball, but this measure having had no effect, that the officer, respecting his duty, and the express orders of the most Serene Government on such occasions, fired with ball, and by this means obliged the privateer to submit to the laws of the port.

That in consequence of this event, an agent of the convention having taken on him to make the strongest complaints against the conduct of the commanding officer, as if his exactness in doing his duty could be considered as a crime; and having added to his complaints the most insulting threats to an independent power, threats which become the more insulting, because it is impossible for him to realize them. And that lastly, the most Serene Government deliberating on these occurrences, has not only thought proper to allow itself to be intimidated by his menaces, but has even made apologies to this agent of the convention; has imprisoned the commanding officer of the port, and the gunners who fired on the privateers, whose conduct is notwithstanding justified by the positive orders of the most Serene Government, to cause the neutrality to be respected.

The undersigned ——, informed of all these particulars, could, in the first instance, view them in no other light than as calumnious reports, circulated by malevolence and the enemies of the most Serene Government, not being able to persuade himself that it could deviate in a way so open and so insulting to the formal laws of its neutrality. But these reports acquiring daily more and more consistency, the undersigned thinks it his absolute duty to pray the most Serene Government to give him by an explicit reply, a knowledge of the degree of credit these reports may deserve; for it is of much consequence to his court, as well as to all Europe, to know what reliance can be placed on the protestations so frequently and

and solemnly repeated by the most Serene Government, that the laws of the neutrality of the port should be respected.

The undersigned profits by this opportunity to inform the most Serene Government, that privateers are fitting out in this port, more especially one between the wooden bridge and the arsenal, notwithstanding this is in manifest and clear contradiction of the 7th article of the edict of neutrality above cited.

August 10, 1795.

(Signed)

FRANCIS DRAKE.

Answer of the Genoese Republic to Mr. Drake's Note.

THE under-signed secretary of the most Serene Republic of Genoa has the honour to answer to the note of Mr. Francis Drake, minister plenipotentiary for his Britannic Majesty, dated the 10th instant, that since many days it is notorious, that on the 8th instant the New-Mole fired with grape-shot at the French privateer Sibille, which had sailed from this port without the bill of clearance, though it was strictly ordered to the officer commanding that post to enforce the execution of the edict of neutrality communicated to all the foreign ministers and consuls at Genoa. However, he was not permitted to fire with grape shot, which was never used on any occasion, and was not prescribed by the regulations and instructions given to the commandant of the battery.

The government, on its being informed of this accident, even before the French minister had brought any complaint (which related only to the quality of the shot, and not to the fact itself) was affected with that surprise which it would have felt, had it been the case of any other flag, and caused the gunner, as well as the officer, to be arrested, in order that a trial might be instituted according to the law, and the French minister was then made acquainted with it. Such a conduct, by which the government is assured to have acted in conformity with the system of neutrality, and with the edict, by which the mode of its execution is prescribed, could not be interpreted in an unfavourable manner, but by some ill-disposed persons, and by them insidiously exposed to the British minister, in order to determine him to bring a complaint.

The Republic, therefore, has not altered in the least its conduct, nor has in the least deviated on this occasion from that regularity which is the leading character of justice. The Republic, therefore, cannot help remarking its surprise, in observing by the note of the British minister, that (independent of the instructions received from his court upon the new point, which constitutes the substance of the said note) he has thought proper to insist upon an explicit answer, even in regard to the quality and observance of the neutrality of Genoa,

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The adoption of this diplomatic measure (the importance of which cannot but be too well known to the British minister) in respect to a free government, which never ceases to conform its operations to the strictest impartiality, cannot reasonably shake the firmness by which it is directed.

But as the unfavourable colour of the transaction, which involves the neutrality of the Republic, must yield to the truth of the fact, the said government rests assured, that it will not, in future, make any such unfavourable and injurious impressions on the mind of the British minister, as was expressed by him in terms that the King his sovereign, who respects the dignity of others in his own, would not permit to be inserted in the note presented by his minister.

Letter from General de Vins to the Genoese Government in August, 1795.

THE evils experienced by the Genoese of the western coast proceed not from the wish of the coalesced armies, but from the Serene Republic, or at least, from those who advised suffering the French to enter the territory. The attacks by which I have driven the French from various posts have cost the Emperor's army blood, and consequently all the ground occupied by the Imperial army might be considered as conquered from an enemy, not as appertaining to the Serene Republic, which took no pains to preserve it from an enemy; but the Republic is indebted to the goodness of his Imperial Majesty, for having left to it all the rights of sovereignty, although the conduct of the Republic has given room to treat it with the same enmity with which it has acted towards the Imperial army.

In fact, some persons have been apprehended for having come through mere curiosity to the Austrian army at Dego. Besides, an asylum has been given under the very glacis, to French soldiers repulsed by our troops, although they had arms in their hands, and the Austrian troops, on the contrary, have been fired upon when they approached. Notwithstanding all this, in conformity to the clemency of my sovereign, I have caused the strictest military discipline to be observed, and every thing to be paid for in good ready money. But my military duty compels me to treat this country in a military point of view, as a country conquered from an enemy, and to regard the country now occupied by the French as an enemy's country. I therefore consider the rest of the western coast, beginning at Borghetto, as if it were contiguous to France; consequently, in an enemy's country, all correspondence is interrupted; and as the French army has supported itself for three years by commerce with the Serene Republic, this requires more than ordinary rigour, in order that the supplies which, under different

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pretexts and frauds, the enemy has received by commerce, may be entirely cut off.

I know that the French go from house to house for grain and provisions; if then I were to send corn and provisions to the inhabitants of those houses, it would be sending them to the French themselves, it would be feeding an enemy who will soon be reduced to want every thing, and so abandon a country which he ought never to have been permitted to enter. The French purchase the grain at Genoa, and give in exchange merchandize of every kind. To suffer this merchandize to pass would be to induce traders to send them grain at all risks. As to the arrest of couriers, it is a consequence of the precaution necessary for our own safety. The wild discourses of some individuals of Genoa, who speak of arming the people against the Imperial troops, render it necessary to read all correspondence. The complaints and the maledictions of those who suffer from these necessary laws cannot be addressed to me, but to those who have given the evil council of suffering the French to enter the Genoese territory.

Substance of the Answer of the Genoese Government.

THE reproach contained in the memorial of General Baron de Vins, that the Serene Republic gave the French troops access to its territory, has been also made to it by the French for suffering the entrance of the Austrian army. The truth is, that neither from the one nor the other, is the reproach either reasonable or merited. As we should have vainly opposed the entrance of General de Vins, so were we unable to prevent the entrance of the French troops. This destroys all the grounds upon which it is attempted to consider the ground occupied by the General as conquered country, and all that the French army occupies to Borghetto, as French territory. The government, after replying to the other points of the Austrian general's memorial, concludes with urging in very strong terms, that no opposition may be made to supplying the inhabitants of the coast with provisions, for that there is not a moment to lose.

Genoa, September 8.

A DECLARATION had been published by General de Vins, that in consequence of the treaty of peace, concluded between France and Spain, all vessels loaded with grain, provisions, or ammunition, will be stopped by the Imperialists, and considered as good prizes.

The Spanish envoy, informed of this declaration, demanded the following explanation :

1. Does General de Vins insist on the project announced of intercepting and condemning as good prizes all vessels taking their departure from Genoa to Spain, although provided with papers and the necessary documents to prove their destination ?
2. In case that should not be his intention, what documents or formalities will be necessary to dissipate all manner of doubt from the mind of General de Vins, and to assure him that the vessels are destined for Spain, and no other place ?
3. Whether the order of General de Vins extends only to Danish ships, or comprehends vessels bearing the Spanish flag ?
4. Whether the said order will affect only vessels that sail on the account, and at the risk of Genoese merchants, or extends to those of Spain ?

The answer of General de Vins bears in substance, that his intentions were misunderstood—that the prohibitions in question respected only provisions and ammunition ; as provisions that are carried along the coast of France are liable, on account of their scarcity in that country, to be forcibly detained ; and that the bad faith of the merchants takes away all confidence in the letters, papers, and other documents, to shew the destination of their ships. He adds, that he will consider in the same light the vessels of all nations, that are not now at war with the Emperor; with an exception only to those that supply the enemy. Finally, he declares, that the British minister, Drake, assured him, that Spain had no occasion for provisions.

Since receiving this answer, the Spanish minister has published a note, in which he sets forth, that without waiting to examine whether he has well understood the intentions of the general, in a familiar conversation which he had two months before with the English minister, when this gentleman said, that he did not think the Spaniards were in want of corn, because the merchants had not given the usual orders, that it should not on that account be presumed that they would not have future occasion for a supply, and that no resolution of General de Vins could take away from the King of Spain his incontestable right to bring into the ports of Spain, ammunition and provisions of every kind from Genoa, or any other port.

Letter of General Beaulieu, sent to the Genoese Government on entering the Genoese Territory.

Head Quarters, March 30, 1796.

Most Serene Republic,

THE circumstances of the war, and, above all, the insolence of an enemy whose unjust pretensions know no bounds, compel me, at length, to enter your territory, with a part of that force which has been entrusted to my command by his Imperial Majesty.

I am persuaded, that after what has passed at Genoa, your Republic will consider the Imperial troops as friends. Far be it that they should do you the least injury; their object is only to prevent the enemies of good order from invading your states, the defence of which is committed to me.

The Republic may be assured that I shall consider its territories as a friendly country, and that the strictest discipline shall be maintained. All provisions, wood, and straw, shall be paid for in ready money. I require only quarters and a free passage for my troops; and I trust the most Serene Republic will issue proper orders that the troops of his Imperial Majesty may meet with no obstacle, and that every occasion of dispute may be avoided.

(Signed) BARON BEAULIEU,
General of Artillery.

Address of the French Minister Fayoult at Genoa.

Most Serene Doge,

THE executive directory of the French Republic have made choice of me to reside at the Republic of Genoa in quality of minister plenipotentiary.

On their part I assure the most serene government of Genoa, of the lively interest the Republic of France takes in the prosperity and safety of the Genoese nation.

This sentiment is merely the consequence of the natural and reciprocal esteem of two people signalized by their courage and energy in the defence, and for the recovery of their liberty. Other powerful considerations ought to contribute to cement for ever the good harmony that subsists between Genoa and France; the proximity of the two countries, the industrious activity of the inhabitants, the ancientness of their commercial and political connection, and, in fine, the remarkable situation of the Genoese territory, bordering on two nations who have long meditated to divide it between them, and France who could reap no advantage in aggrandizement at her expence.

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The Genoese nation, and its most serene government, may rely on a constant succession of good offices on the part of the French nation, and reciprocally the French nation has a right to expect a loyal and sincere return on the part of the most serene government of Genoa. They have a right to think the latter will never give protection to those perfidious French, who are the contempt of the whole universe, to those emigrants who cowardly fled their country to conspire against it. The executive directory feel the full extent of the duty imposed on them by the confidence of a great nation, from a free, a generous, and magnanimous nation.

The executive directory are about to crush the remains of those enemies who disturb the tranquillity of France, while their energetic measures have already guarantied to Europe their unmovable stability, and announce all that national power confided to them, ought and will be loyal and sincere in respect to foreign nations.

Truth and justice are the only basis of their diplomatica. In fine, they trust they are worthy of that greatness and national generosity, not merely to limit their cares to the interest of France alone, but also to extend them to the happiness of those nations which have shewn themselves the sincere friends of the French. They may henceforward regard their equity and power, as forming the tutelary guide of their preservation.

I have the honour to present my credentials to the most Serene Doge, and to assure him, that in the exercise of my function, I shall ever be animated with an ardent desire to be personally agreeable to the serene government of Genoa, and to obtain the confidence and the esteem of the Genoese nation.

DENMARK.

Official Note of Count Bernstorff, Danish Minister of State.

THE system of his Danish Majesty, uninfluenced by passions and prejudices, is merely governed by reason and truth, & constantly such modifications as are rendered both just and unavoidable by the obvious change in the posture of public affairs. So long as no other than a revolutionary government existed in France, his Majesty could not acknowledge the minister of that government; but now that the French constitution is completely organized, and a regular government established in France, his Majesty's obligation ceases in that respect, and M. Grouvelle will therefore be acknowledged in the usual form. For the rest, this step remains an isolated measure, being neither more nor less than

than the natural consequence of circumstances, and an additional proof of the complete and truly impartial neutrality of the King.

February, 1796.

Citizen Grouvelle, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic in Denmark, to his Excellency Count de Bernstorff, Minister of the Council of State to his Danish Majesty, and of the Department for Foreign Affairs.

Copenhagen, 27 Ventose, 4th Year of the Republic.

THE German papers, Sir, have inserted the extract of an instruction, which appears to have been addressed in a circular manner by you to the minister at Denmark, at the different courts, and which concerns the resolutions adopted by his Majesty, to give to the character of minister plenipotentiary from the French Republic, in which character I have resided for two years and a half at this court, a suitable publicity by admitting me to a private audience. I have every reason to consider this extract as authentic, and in this character I feel myself bound to address you. Of whatever reflections the principle and spirit of that extract may be susceptible, my design is not to comment upon it at all. The government, whose representative I am, possesses, as well as myself, a scrupulous respect for the independence of governments, and even a regard for their private convenience. The tyrannical and intriguing system of asking on every subject official explanations, would be as contrary to their principles as to my own character. To make an incident of a phrase, to attach a diplomatic importance to each word, to render the slightest discussion personal, to season with arrogance the *ennui* of a laborious epistolary controversy, is a part which we have lately seen played by certain agents, who quarrel for want of business, who know not how to serve their courts, but by insulting others, and who represent nothing more than the vices of their nations ; ridicule and contempt are attached to them ; their example is fit to be recollected, only because it is proper to be avoided. As the French Republic makes it her glory to follow a contrary system to that of the powers who acknowledge such ministers, I honour myself for being a contrast to them in all my proceedings.

But, Sir, I cannot dispense with fixing my attention upon the conclusion of the extract of your instruction above mentioned, and seeing that the result is announced in terms which, by their too general acceptation, may lead to abusive interpretation, I have thought that it is necessary to have an amicable understanding with you.

In speaking of my admission, and of the public acknowledgement of my character, you say, that this step is isolated, and means nothing but what it is in itself. Do you not apprehend that the disaffected will see, in this mode of expression, a sort of restriction, of implicit reserve ; that they may go so far as to suppose that it alludes to I know not what other declaration or anterior measure which may have been adopted to the same courts to which your ministers may have held this official language ? That even attributing the publication to you, they may give a sort of credit to their inductions ? Undoubtedly you will see with pain that the public receives them ; for however forced they may be, they injure the idea which the court of Denmark wishes always to give of the frankness of its proceedings. That after having so long delayed a measure, become necessary to her own consideration, as well as to the dignity of the Republic, she might be again suspected of wishing to destroy the good effect secretly, and to weaken whatever advantage the measure might produce to France. Would not this be a real inconvenience ? I only wish to point out what in this concerns your own reputation.

On the other hand, Sir, the French government, now established on a new constitution, resumes its rank among the other European powers. It will of course be extremely cautious not to incur the charge of inconsistency, nor to suffer any stain to attach on its dignity, nor in any respect to sanction by injustice the declamation of its calumniators. The government well know the influence of public opinion, and will not fail to set themselves right in the estimation of the world, when their adversaries are busily employed in corrupting it.

Although they feel themselves far superior to flattery and ostentation, and direct all their operations with that confidence which arises from the wisdom of their councils, and the energy of their measures ; yet, the value they set upon their connection with Denmark, renders it impossible for them to behold with an eye of indifference, a circumstance which conveys a harsh reflection on their conduct. The abuse that might be made of your note, gave them much concern, and it was with extreme satisfaction that they received a testimony of the rectitude of your intentions. A royal government stoops not to a disavowal, because it asserts not in but the truth. A wise government ought to condemn false reports, but a benevolent government, or only an impartial one, will not reject overtures to an explanation, especially if it is demanded with amicable views.

It is with this view, Sir, that I now discharge this important duty, a duty which, though painful, is still necessary to prevent an interruption of the existing harmony between our respective states, which ought to be united more closely than ever. If personal consideration were of any weight, I should give my opin-

that this is not an unimportant object, and perhaps the occurrences, which preceded my admission, were not of the most conciliatory nature, and may produce some embarrassments in the event, at least with respect to this court. The first observation I submit to your wisdom, and the latter remark to your delicacy.

(Signed) GROUVELLE.

Answer of M. Bernstorff.

Sir,

I AM very sensible and grateful for the sentiments expressed in the letter which I have had the honour to receive from you. They increase my esteem, and though I cannot add any thing to that which I have verbally pronounced to you, I enter with pleasure into your wishes; and I do not hesitate to give you friendly explanations, even on the objects which do not admit of ministerial discussions. The instructions which I gave to some of the king's ministers at different foreign courts are of this kind: it is become public without our knowledge; it is nothing like a declaration to these courts. We have made no declaration; it is a simple official instruction, only designed for the information of those to whom it is addressed, and which relates to the anterior correspondence, and which breathing only the justice rendered to the present French constitution, could not surely involve us in a dispute with her, but rather with those who do not love that constitution. This is so clearly evident, that I should only weaken it by further explanation.

You know, besides, that your admission has been without the smallest reserve, absolutely in the usual and most solemn forms that we know. We never do things by half, and as you are witness of our conduct and proceedings, I should love to chuse you yourself as judge, and I depend upon your impartiality. In the same manner I intreat you to believe in the high consideration with which I am, &c.

BERNSTORFF.

Copenhagen, March 19, 1796.

T U S C A N Y.

Letter of M. Carletti to the Minister of the Interior of the French Republic, Nov. 27, 1795.

EXCUSE, citizen minister, the liberty which I take of addressing to you these few lines in confidence. At this moment, at half past one in the afternoon, I am told that the daughter of Louis

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Louis XVI. is about to begin her journey. I do not wish to know any secret of your's, but I will frankly tell you mine. Being the only foreign minister in France who represents a sovereign, the relation of the daughter of Louis XVI. if I did not endeavour to pay a visit of compliment to that illustrious prisoner, in presence of those whom the French government may chuse, I might be exposed to blame; especially as the neglect of this act of duty might be ascribed to my political opinions. Whatever may be the determination of the government on this subject, I shall respect it, communicating only to the Prince, whom I represent, the step which my duty towards him induced me to take.

CARLETTI.

Answer of the Minister of the Interior, to M. Carletti.

I HAVE not heard, Sir, of the news which you mention in your note of this day. I do not even believe that the event to which it alludes is so near as you have been informed. I shall submit to the executive directory your request, and shall with pleasure communicate to you their determination.

Resolution of the Executive Directory, respecting M. Carletti.

THE executive directory having taken into consideration a note of M. Carletti, minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the French Republic, dated the 29th of November (old style) corresponding to the 8th of the present month, by which M. Carletti requests permission to pay his compliments to the daughter of Louis XVI. before her departure, decrees, that from henceforward, all official communication shall cease between M. Carletti and the French government; but that the minister of foreign affairs shall, notwithstanding, continue to communicate with the Tuscan embassy, by means of the first secretary of legation, who shall be considered as chargé d'affaires for all business that may interest the two nations. Decrees farther, that a copy of the note of M. Carletti, and of the answer of the minister of the interior, shall be officially communicated by the French minister to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, assuring him that this proceeding of the French government is entirely personal to M. Carletti; that the directory hopes it will not in the least affect the harmony and good understanding which prevail between the two governments; that on its part the directory will maintain religiously the treaty of alliance and friendship which exists between the French Republic and his Royal Highness; and finally, that it would see with pleasure, his Royal Highness send any other minister than M. Carletti, to preserve and strengthen the bands of that alliance. These presents shall be immediately

mediately notified to Count Carletti, that he may, without delay, withdraw from the territory of the French Republic.

Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Citizen Mist, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

I TRANSMIT to you, citizen, 1. The copy of a note from Count Carletti, addressed to the minister of the home department, dated the 5th instant, in which M. Carletti requests permission to pay his respects to the daughter of Louis XVI. before her departure. 2. The answer of the minister of the home department. 3. A resolution of the directory for suspending all official communication with M. Carletti, and enjoining him to quit the territory of the Republic with all possible expedition; but at the same time stating, that the minister for foreign affairs should continue to transact all business relating to the two nations with the chief secretary of the legation of Tuscany.

You will perceive, that if, on the one hand, the executive directory have deeply felt the personal offence offered by M. Carletti; on the other, they are sincerely desirous that the inconsiderate conduct of that minister may not interrupt the harmony which subsists between the French government and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

What constitutes, in fact, the principal duty of an ambassador, towards the government to which he is sent? If every man living in a foreign state be subject to particular obligations, how much more ought that individual to be subject to them, who is vested with a public and representative character? Is it not then evident, that M. Carletti has essentially violated those obligations, by permitting himself, as an ambassador to a Republic, to express a wish to pay his pretended duty to a person, whom the constitutional laws of that Republic only consider as an isolated individual, without any quality, and possessing no other rights than those which her situation gives her to the humanity, and to the attention of those authorities on which her fate depends?

M. Carletti attempts to excuse a step, unpardonable in every point of view, by saying, that it might be supposed, that his political opinions had induced him to dispense with this duty; but you will easily perceive, that this is nothing more than a diplomatic stratagem, to which it is impossible to become a dupe, a transparent veil with which M. Carletti has endeavoured to conceal his real sentiments.

In fine, M. Carletti, at the same time that he observes, by way of threat, "that he shall only take an opportunity of making known to the parties interested, that he had not failed to insist on this point,"

point," finishes with these remarkable words, " without, however, making any official demand."

But if M. Carletti had been authorized to take such a step, how could he act otherwise than officially? And if he had no order from his court, how could he venture upon such an indiscreet violation of the duties of his office, in respect to both governments, as must result from such conduct, if it were not justly appreciated?

I leave to your prudence the task of developing the ideas which I here present to your mind; but, above all, I must request you never to lose sight of this point,—that the question regards M. Carletti alone; and that any other person will be agreeable to the government of the Republic, if, as will doubtless be the case, the Grand Duke sends him with pacific intentions, and with a determination as decided as our own, to maintain that good understanding which now subsists between us.

I request you will inform me, without delay, of the manner in which you have executed the resolution of the executive directory.

CHARLES DE LA CROIX.

VENICE.

Speech of Noble M. Querini, the Venetian Ambassador to the French Republic, to the National Convention, on delivering his Credentials.

CITIZENS representatives, the citizen of a Republic, whose liberty was founded eleven centuries ago by the necessity of flying from Barbarians, and by the modest desire of living in tranquillity, finds many motives to be deeply sensible of the confidence with which his country has honoured him by appointing him in quality of minister to a Republic, whose exploits and whose victories have concentrated the attention of the whole earth.

What indeed could be more flattering and interesting to me, than to appear in the bosom of the National Convention of France for the important purpose of confirming the sentiments of perfect amity, which the Senate and Republic of Venice wish to preserve for the French Republic.

I hope, citizens representatives, to be able to concur in the maintenance of the happy harmony that has so long subsisted between the two nations; it is the sincere wish of my heart, and it shall be the object of my care.

I shall endeavour to attain this object by all possible means, and by thus justifying the choice of my country, I flatter myself that I shall merit the confidence of the National Convention.

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I shall also esteem myself happy if, in admiring the wisdom of the convention, I shall, during the course of my mission, see that great day in which, raising herself by her virtues above herself, the French Republic shall employ the great and true fruits of her glory in the relief of suffering humanity, and in giving peace to Europe.

The President of the Convention's Reply.

Noble M. Querini,

THE National Convention ranks, amidst the number of the happy days of the French Republic, the day in which the ambassador from the illustrious Republic of Venice was presented to this assembly.

The marks of satisfaction which have been expressed are the guarantees of our satisfaction.

Long, it is true, have the ties of friendship united Venice and France; but the union was repressed by the rod of kings.

How sweet is the concord that reigns now between two countries which have liberated themselves from such a yoke.

It was indeed a fine sight to see a Republic rising amidst the tempests that vexed the Adriatic Sea, braving in its infancy all the efforts of the barbarians who tyrannized over Italy, escaping amidst the lapse of ages a thousand dangers, becoming famous by its wisdom and its exploits, deciding frequently upon the fate of kings, and preserving the West from the invasion of those warlike people who had overthrown the empire of the Greeks.

With regard to France, posterity will not be less astonished; for it is in the midst of terrible storms that our Republic has risen, in spite of the efforts and powerless rage of our enemies.

A hundred times more barbarous than the bands which the north disgorged upon Italy; what have they not done to destroy us? Without they have used the force of arms; within they have brought ignorance to extinguish knowledge, and vice to massacre virtue: they have fomented civil discord to a degree at which nature shudders; vain projects, shame, and remorse will alone result from them. Genius of liberty, thou wilt succeed and be triumphant under our banners. Governed by a wise constitution, directed solely by the principles of justice and reason, and the purest maxims of morality, France is on the point of enjoying the objects of her wishes, liberty, equality, and union, the fruits of so many sacrifices and labours.

But it is not this kind of relation that will alone unite the two Republics.

France, always great, will reply to generous proceedings by proceedings equally generous. When, on all sides, our rising Republic was assailed in its cradle, and the event appeared to be uncertain,

certain, the Venetian senate; not content with keeping within the bounds of neutrality, received with distinction the envoy of the French Republic.

We love to talk of and to publish our gratitude. The measure was so much the more noble, insomuch as it exposed our faithful ally to much embarrassment.

Noble M. Querini, France under a despotic yoke might be ungrateful and treacherous, but France restored to freedom, France become a Republic, cannot be otherwise than grateful and loyal.

Tell your nation, that she may number amongst the most pure and zealous of her allies the French Republic. Holland, comprised in our treaty with Spain, proves that we do not forget our friends.

There is another object upon which we must testify our satisfaction to your government ; it is for having sent you. All Venice, we know, applauded the choice. You have brought with you the esteem of your own country ; you will add to it the esteem of our country.

The expression of your wish for our particular prosperity and for the general tranquillity of Europe has sensibly affected the National Convention. It was the effusion of the heart of a friend to humanity in general and particularly to our Republic. Those wishes will no doubt be fulfilled ; peace will restore a calm to Europe and soon, we love to repeat it, soon, under the august reign of the laws, which will speedily be established, France will present to the universe the delightful portrait of perfect social harmony.

TURKEY,

*Speech of Citizen Verninac at his first Audience of the Grand Vizier,
at Constantinople, on the 29th of June, 1795.*

THE Sublime Porte, faithful to the sacred principle of the independence of nations, and not less faithful to the ancient friendship which united France with the Ottoman empire, in these critical times, whilst so many governments have deviated from the principles of their interests, constantly respected the exercise of our rights, has refused to take up arms to oppose the establishment of our Republic. Let, therefore, the high wisdom of your Excellency receive the tribute of homage which is due to so commendable a conduct, and let him receive it from the mouth of a citizen of that Republic, who, sent by its founders, is the first who speaks the language of sincere friendship, in the name of that Republic, in this palace.

History

History will not forget this glorious title of the Sublime Porte; when it shall represent in the most lively colours, the memorable epocha, when the French people were forced to unite to the right of their cause, the right of their revenging sword and that of victory; when they have given to the world the most brilliant example which ever did honour to any portion of the human race.

The principles which have directed the Sublime Porte in these critical moments, have for me become a motive of encouragement, and a guarantee of success; in accepting the mission from the representatives of the French people, in order to cement between France and the Ottoman empire the foundations of peace, to strengthen more and more the ties of friendship, and to increase the relations between them to their mutual advantage.

I have also found the strongest motives of flattering hopes in the nature of even the things themselves; the two nations have the strongest reasons to love each other, and have absolutely not the least pretext for hatred or jealousy. Lastly, I have found them in the wisdom and in the enlightening which distinguish him who represents the authority of his Highness.

Every thing, therefore, informs me, that in reward for my respect for the rights and the interests of the Sublime Porte, I shall find in her, during the course of my mission, the high regard which is due to the dignity of the French Republic: the amicable execution of the treaties and capitulations which unite the two nations, and a constant benevolence towards the French, who, in the different parts of this empire, are occupied in the doubly advantageous care to render valuable the productions of the Ottoman soil, and in enriching this empire with useful inventions of French industry and arts.

The Grand Vizier's Answer.

THE sentiments of affection which at all times animated the Sublime Porte towards the French nation, have hitherto never suffered the least alteration. The High Ottoman court has been faithful to the rights of friendship, and to the ties existing between the powers, and has shewn itself very attentive to every thing which might have interested the safety and felicity of the French, who are established in the Ottoman empire.

These rights of friendship, and of the treaties, shall be observed for the future, with the same eagerness, and with the same affectionate attention. Such is the sovereign will of his most Majestic Highness, the most magnanimous, and the most powerful Emperor, our benefactor, lord, and master.

We, on our side, shall second you with a constant and exact attention. Besides this, we see, with an entire satisfaction, that

the citizen envoy; our friend, worthy of reputation for his estimable qualities, has been appointed by the French Republic, our friend, to come to reside near the Sublime Porte.

SWITZERLAND.

Letter from his Excellency M. Barthelemy, Ambassador of the French Republic, to the Burgomasters, Chief Magistrates, Landammann, and Council of the Twelve Swiss Cantons.

Magnificent Lords,

THE executive directory having thought proper to renew the credentials of several of the envoys of the French Republic to foreign powers, has just transmitted to me those by which it has been pleased to accredit me to the very respectable Helvetic body, in quality of ambassador of the French Republic. I enclose them in this.

I flatter myself, Magnificent Lords, that the knowledge you already have of my sentiments for all the members of the illustrious Helvetic confederation, will leave you no doubt of my zeal to cultivate the confidence of which you have already given me such satisfactory proofs; and I also hope, Magnificent Lords, that you will be persuaded beforehand, that, as the faithful interpreter of the constantly amicable dispositions of the French government to your country, I shall not cease to exert myself zealously in concurring to the success of its views, in whatever may be the best calculated to strengthen the indissoluble ties which constitute the happiness of the two nations, and to secure the tranquillity and prosperity of the Helvetic body.

I pray God, &c.

(Signed)

BARTHELEMY.

Bafle, March 2, 1796.

Letter of the Executive Directory to the Highly Respectable Helvetic Body.

Very dear, great Friends, Allies, and Confederates,
THE wish we entertain to keep up and cultivate a friendship and good understanding with you, induces us to appoint citizen Barthelemy to reside in Switzerland in quality of ambassador of the French Republic.

The knowledge we have of the principles and sentiments of citizen Barthelemy, authorises us to think that the choice we have made of him to fill this important post, cannot but be agreeable to you.

you. It is with this persuasion that we pray you, very dear, great friends, allies, and confederates, to grant him a full confidence in whatever he may be charged to say to you from us, and more particularly when he shall express to you our wishes for the prosperity of the Helvetic body, our anxiousness to concur in whatever may contribute to its satisfaction, and to strengthen the bonds which unite the two Republics.

Given at Paris under the seal of the French Republic, 15 Pluviôse, fourth year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

REUBELL, President.

By the Executive Directory.

The Secretary General.

By the Minister of External Relations,

LA GARDE.

CH. DE LA CROIX.

*Declaration of the Executive Directory, dated Paris, the 16th Germinal,
(5 April) to the Senate of Basle.*

THE executive directory is credibly informed, that last year a plan was formed to attack the French frontiers, by marching the corps of emigrants commanded by the Prince of Conde, first into the Frickthal, and from thence through the territory from Basle, against the department of the Upper Rhine, the Mont-Terrible, Doubs, and Jura; that this plan, so far from being laid aside, is again resumed; and that preparations are actually making to carry it into effect. This plan is supported by several inhabitants of Switzerland, who employ all their interest and influence to facilitate its execution. The known sentiments of several magistrates of Basle, and other inhabitants of note, are by no means qualified to appease the solicitude of the directory on this head, it being notorious that they treat with as much ill-nature the friends of the French Republic, as they shew predilection for whatever concerns the Imperial armies, and the interest of the Emperor.

Thus it must be supposed, that if, in the execution of that plan, the enemy violated the territory of the canton of Basle, the magistrates who compose the government of this city, would endeavour, by pleading the impossibility of resistance, to ward off the consequences of the violated neutrality of the canton; of course, there does not exist at present, sufficient security that its neutrality will be respected. Under these circumstances, the directory finds itself obliged to declare to the magistrates of the city and canton of Basle, that, unless they adopt vigorous, sufficient, and unsuspicious measures for the defence of their own territory, and the maintenance of the respect due to their neutrality, it is resolved to take every step that shall be requisite for the protection of the frontier departments against every kind of insult; and the directory renders them answerable

sverable for all the unhappy consequences that may result from the military operations which circumstances may require.

Letter from the Sovereign Council of Basle to his Excellency M. Barthélémy, Ambassador from the French Republic in Switzerland.

WE have received, with your Excellency's letter of the 16th Germinal, (5 April) a paper, coming from the executive directory, and as it appears extracted from their registers—we pass over this unusual form, because it is to be supposed that it was through mistake that the paper was so transmitted to us, and that without doubt the intention of the directory was solely to transmit to us, through the medium of the minister for foreign affairs, the result of their deliberations. But if the form surprised us, the contents of the paper excited our surprise in a much greater degree; of this our reply will convince your Excellency.

The executive directory announce to us, that the corps of emigrants meditates an invasion of our territory. It does not belong to us to call in question the proofs which the directory say they have received; we shall confine ourselves to observe, that at the opening of each campaign mention has always been made of a project of this kind, and that nevertheless it has never been carried into execution; so that we are still to know, whether the reports that are spread are merely a trick of war, or whether such a design has been renounced either from the uncertainty of decisive success, or the want of accordance with other events that were to concur with it; or finally, whether, and much more probably, it be, because the Emperor, faithful to his engagement to respect our neutrality, has forbidden the peace of an independent people to be disturbed, who for several ages, contented with their limits, have taken no part in the dissensions of the great powers of Europe. In short, we can assure you that at present the danger, if danger does exist, does not appear to be imminent. The corps of emigrants is at too great a distance from our frontiers; it does not form a sufficient force to dare to attempt an invasion, and we do not perceive yet preparations which are the forerunners of hostilities, and indispensable to the execution of hostilities.

The second point of the note of the executive directory concerns the defence of our territory and the demand of a sufficient guarantee. No people can give such a guarantee. If belligerent powers, with their fortresses, their armies, their efforts in every sense, cannot procure the guarantee, that their territory shall not be violated, much less can a neutral state procure and assemble forces, whose mass would perhaps afford more umbrage than

than it would inspire security. Besides the expence of such a force, and the provisions that it would require, are above our means, which the circumstances of the times weaken more and more. But there is another kind of guarantee, which we deem more sure than a great assemblage of troops; it is the firm resolution of all the governments of Switzerland, not to depart from the principles of neutrality which they have inherited from their ancestors, and of which all our neighbours have a positive conviction; it is the sacred word, which the members of the Helvetic Body, either separately or united, in solemn diet, have given. It is the local difficulties that would attend a passage through our territory, without being exposed to a certain loss from the measures of prudence, which the attacked canton might take, and without renouncing every hope of retreat, by the arrival of contingents from our confederates as zealous to avenge the outrages offered to neutrality, as religious in the observance of the duties of neutrality. It is the dispositions taken to be warned in time of every species of danger, to circulate the alarm, and to be in a condition even to repel and punish aggression when the danger should have made its appearance. Finally, it is the experience and the success of those dispositions, during four years of a war the most bloody of which modern history has preserved the remembrance.

We proceed to the accusations, which the executive directory have made against magistrates and private persons of our canton, and of the other States of the Helvetic Body. So vague an accusation, and of such a kind, is probably without example. The moral person of the sovereign in Republics is manifested only by resolutions emanating from the council of the state, and not from the particular opinions of individuals; and whatever be the difference of opinion amongst the latter, there is a first opinion, which is as general as it is essential and fundamental; it is the love of country, and the deep and universal conviction, that neutrality is the basis of our political existence. It unites all minds, all counsels, all governments. We invite the executive directory to consider here only the assembly. We are to be gained by proceedings of justice, benevolence, and friendship; our hearts are to be alienated by indefinite reproaches and random suspicions. What if these suspicions should perhaps be founded only on documents, dictated by men, whose reprehensible views either of vengeance or malevolence, of ambition or cupidity, should have led them to exaggerate what is insignificant, to blacken what is innocent; and to disguise what our political actions in their true point of view would disclose?

Finally, the executive directory render us responsible for the fatal effects which may result from military operations. Governments, we know, are responsible for the faults which they commit

mit with the intention of violating their duties. But tranquillised by our principles, and proud of the sense of the purity and equity of our measures, we accept this responsibility. We are one for all in the bosom of our councils, and it is in the same sense that we rely not only upon all our own resources, but upon all the members of the Helvetic Confederation. Responsibility can only alarm those who, breaking the ties which have united for several ages the two nations, should prepare evils of which human prudence cannot calculate the issue to their authors.

Very different sentiments have animated your Excellency during the course of your painful mission. The executive directory have testified in the renewal of your credentials their just and honourable satisfaction. We have no doubt that they will receive with favourable dispositions the answer which we have the honour to address to your Excellency, after having deliberated in concert with the Helvetic representatives.

We pray God to take you into his holy and powerful keeping.

(Signed) The Burgomasters and Council of the
City and Canton of Basle.

Basle, April 9, 1796.

Letter of M. Barthélémy, Ambassador from the French Republic, to the Canton of Basle, 20th Floreal, (May 9) 1796, Extraordinary Year of the French Republic.

Magnificent Lords,

THE orders of the executive directory of the French Republic oblige me to recall the attention of your honourable canton to the circumstances and motives which dictated the declaration of the directory, I was charged to transmit to you, on the 16th of Germinal last. The answer you have made has not been such as was expected. Charged with the care of the defence of the territory of the Republic, and of its glory, the executive directory was bound to look forward to events, and to render abortive, by denouncing to you the projects of the enemies of France, and of its republican constitution. It was bound to invite you to take measures capable of removing its apprehensions, and making its neutrality respected; and it has demanded of you what were these measures.

If the terms of its declaration were severe, it was because the object of it was serious: it was because experience of the attempts and projects of our enemies, already more than once denounced, gave it reason to conceive inquietude and suspicion. It was because positive reports announced, that these projects were about to be renewed. It was because it was then necessary

to be certain, as to the more than equivocal sentiments of many of the Helvetic States, some of whom had not dreaded to throw a doubt on the existence of the French Republic, by refusing to pronounce on the acceptance of the credentials of its ambassador, and deferring the epoch of their determination by insulting and ridiculous delays.

When a government so powerful as that of the French Republic is thus unacknowledged; when this neglect is founded on the regard which is thought due to criminal fugitives, whose whole proceedings tend only to harass their country, against which they are in a permanent conspiracy, while their measures tend only to involve in their fall the States blind enough to be misled by them; when the Swiss Cantons, the ancient allies of France, dare to hold a conduct so reprehensible, is it very surprising that the executive directory should, for a moment, withhold the aspect of kindness, to assume towards you that of quietude? There are still other considerations, on which I believe I need not enlarge here. They are, doubtless, painful, and belong to the guarantee, that the French Republic expects to find in the sentiments and affections of the governments and people of neutral states.

Such are the views which have animated and still animate the executive directory. They expect from you, with the least delay, a frank and amicable explanation, capable of dissipating the doubts and reviving in our government the sentiments of goodwill. It has given me orders for my ultimate conduct, in case that your answer should not fulfil this end.

Answer of the Canton of Basle to M. Barthelemy, Ambassador of the French Republic, May 11, 1796.

WE see, with real pain, by your Excellency's letter of the 20th Floreal, that our sentiments seem to be misunderstood, and that we have reason to apprehend the executive directory of the French Republic may suspend their dispositions of kindness towards us. When the war commenced, we declared for a neutrality, to preserve which has since that time been the constant object of our cares, of our zeal, and of our solicitude; and no sacrifice has been avoided for maintaining it in proportion to the dangers to which it was in certain epochs exposed. Nothing afflicts us more profoundly, than when the fidelity of our conduct and the purity of our intentions seem to be doubted, since these form the most solid basis of our happiness, independence, and tranquillity.

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We

We pray your Excellency to assure your government that we shall never depart from the principles that have been transmitted to us from our predecessors, and that our greatest ambition is to convey the deposit unimpaired to those who shall succeed us. This is the first duty of our situations, and the true means of conciliating the confidence and the gratitude of our fellow-citizens. It is, however, necessary to observe, that since our letter of the 9th of April, we have not confined ourselves to mere wishes for the maintenance of our neutrality. Our uneasiness relative to this object having been communicated to the minister of his Imperial Majesty, he has written to us, by order of the Emperor, that certainly he had not the least thought of acting, nor of permitting the emigrants to act against the cantons, in any manner which might disturb the tranquillity of their territory. We have prepared our signals and our alarm guns, which, on account of the armistice and the winter season, had been neglected; and it is generally known that by these means a very great force can be assembled in a few days. We have exercised our troops, and they are ready to march on the first signal. They will be added to the contingents of the other cantons which assemble in ours, and are directed to redouble their vigilance in the posts confided to them. The representatives of the Helvetic body, deputed to us for considering the state of affairs, for acting in the name of the whole confederation, and informing their constituents of every danger which may approach our States, allow no means to escape them of consolidating the repose of the common country. We have written to our co-allies, to remind them of the treaties which unite us, and we have received the unanimous assurance that all are ready to fly to our assistance and defend our frontiers.

We conclude, by praying your Excellency to transmit those details to the directory; and, above all, to fortify them against the exaggerated reports that an excess of zeal may have occasioned.

GENEVA.

The following are Articles of the Concordat agreed upon among the different Parties in Geneva, as well as the Resolution taken by the Syndics and Council on this Subject.

Art. I. RESPECT^I to the law, obedience to the magistrate, engage both parties united, to maintain the government at the risk of their lives, with dispatch, and entire readiness, as often as necessity shall require it, to suppress every act of in-

insubordination or violence ; to cause the legitimate authority to be respected, and the free and impartial administration of justice and the laws.

II. A full and entire abrogation of all the sentences pronounced by the revolutionary tribunals, and the sincere and loyal abjuration of all public and personal vengeance passed against any individual whatever. Such persons so prescribed, may rest assured of an inviolable asylum in the bosom of the union of all the citizens, for which we now labour, and of which we shall give an example.—This surely shall be pronounced by the nation, as the first article of the preliminaries upon which that union shall be founded.

III. A sincere mutual return, and inviolable attachment of both parties thus united in the three fundamental principles, already consecrated by our primitive laws, and the present constitution ; namely, political equality, removal from public offices, and the separation of powers.

IV. The citizens who have hitherto expressed a dislike to the revolution of 1792, declare, " That with respect to the new legislation, now in a state of formation, they will confine themselves in demanding that a more moderate application should be made, with respect to the removal from office, and the separation of the powers, than that which exists at present ; as also the re-establishment of the forms of our ancient government, which are not incompatible with the three fundamental principles announced above. The citizens attached to the revolution of 1792, acknowledge that these demands accord with the true interests of the Republic, and receive that declaration with pleasure ; they consider it as inviolable and secret, and declare, on their part, that they will formally adhere to it.

V. The Assembly decreed, that this address shall be printed, made public, and sent to the syndics and administrative council, desiring, that, in their wisdom, they will incessantly consider of the means adapted to the public interest, and of solemnly consecrating the reciprocal engagements contained therein.

(Signed) L. A. CONSTANTINE BLANC.

Geneva, 31st August, 1795, Fourth
Year of the Genevese Equality.

*Extract from the Registers of the Administrative Council.—Monday,
August 31, 1795, Fourth Year of Genevese Equality.*

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

JAMAICA.

*Speech of his Excellency the Right Honourable the Earl of Balcarres,
to the House of Assembly of Jamaica, met on the 24th of September,
1795, pursuant to Proclamation.*

Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and
Gentlemen of the Assembly,

THE urgency of public affairs has put me under the necessity of calling you together at a very early season of the year.

The unfortunate insurrection which has taken place among the maroons of Trelawny town is the immediate cause of my now assembling you.

These insurgents have committed the most daring acts of unprovoked rebellion.

I have every reason to believe that hostility has long been pre-meditated at the instigation of the convention of France, whose object it undoubtedly is, to throw this island into a state of anarchy and confusion.

I have ordered the several documents to be laid before you. The evidence contained therein marks in a strong manner the designs, the progress, and the expectations of the enemy in fomenting internal commotions.

By the blessing of Providence, this conspiracy has been frustrated before it had ripened into maturity.

Their plans of raising a rebellion might have produced a co-operation of the most dangerous tendency, and the early intimation we have obtained thereof is truly fortunate.

The precipitate and insolent conduct of the rebellion gave the advantage of acting with celerity and vigour; for had I permitted them to gain time, and to manage the war according to their arrangements, and those of their supporters, this island would have been undone, and the inhabitants must have submitted to a dominion similar to that now exercised in several of the windward islands.

The valour and conduct of his Majesty's forces have secured every advantage that could be obtained by regular manœuvres.

The

The troops now occupy a chain of posts through the maroons district ; they have stormed and carried their country ; they have stormed their towns, and have driven them to fastnesses rugged and barren, where they can subsist only as a band of robbers.

The insurrection has now assumed, in some degree, the form of a local disturbance, and it will deserve your most serious consideration, whether statutes may be so framed or amended as to put proper and efficient power into the hands of government, without subjecting the country to the serious inconveniences that result from the declaration of martial law.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

I have to lament the heavy expence incurred in consequence of the measures I have been obliged to adopt ; but as you have witnessed the necessity of striking at the root of the rebellion, so I trust you will grant supplies as in your wisdom the exigency of the service may require.

Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and

Gentlemen of the Assembly.

When you reflect that the principles of the present rulers of France are to overturn every system of government founded on social order, morality, and religion, you will be aware that a degree of danger results to you from the general prosperity hitherto enjoyed by this happy island ; this they will endeavour to destroy, and this, I trust, your energy and unanimity will maintain.

Great vigilance is required at this moment to guard against the admission of their dangerous systems, and every effort is necessary to resist their pernicious consequences wherever they appear.

It is with those maxims that I have entered upon the administration of Jamaica, and I now meet you with the avowal of those sentiments.

It gives me the highest satisfaction to observe the steadiness, the discipline, and the alacrity of the militia.—It is with every confidence I have assured his Majesty, that in them he is possessed of a force which I am decidedly of opinion will be found equally capable of being presented with effect, to an external or internal enemy.

The glorious and important victory gained by Lord Bridport, and the recent advantages by his Majesty's fleets, assuredly lessen the impending danger to this island : and the general aspect of affairs in the interior of France may fairly lead our hopes to an honourable termination of the present war.

In calling to your recollection the many blessings which we have enjoyed under the illustrious House of Hanover, you will receive with every sentiment of joy the accounts of the solemnization of the marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick. I congratulate you on an event so interesting to his Majesty's domestic happiness, and to the welfare of his people.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament on the 29th of October, 1795.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a great satisfaction to me to reflect, that, notwithstanding the many events unsavourable to the common cause, the prospect resulting from the general situation of affairs has, in many important respects, been materially improved in the course of the present year.

In Italy, the threatened invasion of the French has been prevented; and they have been driven back from a considerable part of the line of coast which they had occupied.—There is also reason to hope, that the recent operations of the Austrian armies have checked the progress which they had made on the side of Germany, and frustrated the offensive projects which they were pursuing in that quarter.

The successes which have attended their military operations in other parts of the campaign, and the advantages which they have derived from the conclusion of separate treaties with some of the powers who were engaged in the war, are far from compensating the evils which they experience from its continuance. The destruction of their commerce, the diminution of their maritime power, and the unparalleled embarrassment and distress of their internal situation, have produced the impression which was naturally to be expected; and a general sense appears to prevail throughout France, that the only relief from the increasing pressure of these difficulties must arise from the restoration of peace, and the establishment of some settled system of government.

The distraction and anarchy which have so long prevailed in that country, have led to a crisis, of which it is as yet impossible to foresee the issue; but which must, in all human probability, produce consequences highly important to the interests of Europe. Should this crisis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a disposition to negotiate for general peace, on just and suitable terms, will not fail to be met, on my part, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect. But I am persuaded you will agree with me, that nothing is so likely to insure and accelerate this desirable end, as to shew that we are prepared for either alternative, and are determined to prosecute the war with the utmost energy and vigour, until we have the means of concluding, in conjunction with

with our allies, such a peace as the justice of our cause, and the situation of the enemy, may entitle us to expect.

With this view I am continuing to make the greatest exertions for maintaining and improving our naval superiority, and for carrying on active and vigorous operations in the West Indies, in order to secure and extend the advantages which we have gained in that quarter, and which are so nearly connected with our commercial resources and maritime strength.

I rely with full confidence on the continuance of your firm and zealous support, on the uniform bravery of my fleets and armies, and on the fortitude, perseverance, and public spirit, of all ranks of my people.

The acts of hostility committed by the United Provinces, under the influence and controul of France, have obliged me to treat them as in a state of war with this country.

The fleet which I have employed in the North Seas have received the most cordial and active assistance from the naval force furnished by the Empress of Russia, and has been enabled effectually to check the operations of the enemy in that quarter.

I have concluded engagements of defensive alliance with the two Imperial courts; and the ratifications of the treaty of commerce with the United States of America, which I announced to you last year, have now been exchanged. I have directed copies of these treaties to be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It is a matter of deep concern to me, that the exigencies of the public service will require further additions to the heavy burthens which have been unavoidably imposed on my people. I trust that their pressure will, in some degree, be alleviated by the flourishing state of our commerce and manufactures, and that our expences, though necessarily great in their amount, will, under the actual circumstances of the war, admit of considerable diminution in comparison with those of the present year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have observed for some time past, with the greatest anxiety, the very high price of grain, and that anxiety is increased by the apprehension, that the produce of the wheat harvest in the present year may not have been such as effectually to relieve my people from the difficulties with which they have had to contend. The spirit of order and submission to the laws which, with a very few exceptions, has manifested itself under this severe pressure, will, I am sure, be felt by you as an additional incentive to apply yourselves with the utmost diligence to the consideration of such measures as may tend to alleviate the present distress, and to prevent, as far as possible, the renewal of similar embarrassments in

in future. Nothing has been omitted on my part that appeared likely to contribute to this end ; and you may be assured of my hearty concurrence in whatever regulations the wisdom of Parliament may adopt on a subject so peculiarly interesting to my people, whose welfare will ever be the object nearest my heart.

In the House of Commons, on the 29th of October, 1795, the following Address was moved by the Earl of Dalkeith, in Answer to his Majesty's Speech.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne:

We participate in the satisfaction your Majesty feels from reflecting, that, notwithstanding the many events unfavourable to the common cause, the prospect resulting from the general situation of affairs has, in many important respects, been materially improved in the course of the present year.

We derive great pleasure from observing the events which have taken place in Italy, and from finding reason to hope that a check has been given to the progress of the French on the side of Germany, by the recent operations of the Austrian army.

In contemplating the situation of our enemies, we cannot but be sensible that the successes which have, in some parts of the campaign, attended their military operations, and the advantages which they have derived from the conclusion of separate treaties with some of the powers who were engaged in the war, cannot compensate for the evils which they experience from its continuance : and it is natural to suppose, that the destruction of their commerce, the diminution of their maritime power, and the unparalleled embarrassment and distress of their internal situation, must have produced a general sense, that the only relief from the increasing pressure of their difficulties must arise from the restoration of peace, and the establishment of some settled system of government.

We are well aware how impossible it is to foresee the issue of the extraordinary crisis which has arisen in that country ; but we receive with the truest satisfaction your Majesty's gracious declaration, that should it terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a disposition to negotiate for general peace on just and suitable terms will not fail to be met, on the part of your Majesty, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect.

Wc

We, at the same time, cordially join with your Majesty in the persuasion, that nothing is so likely to ensure and accelerate this desirable end, and to provide for the permanent interests of your kingdom, as to shew that we are prepared for either alternative; and that we are determined to prosecute the war with the utmost energy and vigour, until your Majesty has the means of concluding, in conjunction with your allies, such a peace as the justice of the cause in which we are engaged, and the situation of the enemy may entitle us to expect.

Impressed with these sentiments, we shall feel it our duty to give your Majesty our firmest and most decided support in your Majesty's farther exertions, and particularly in those which are directed to the maintenance and improvement of our naval superiority, and for securing and extending the advantages which have been gained in the West Indies, and which are so nearly connected with our commercial resources and maritime strength: and we are persuaded your Majesty may securely rely on the uniform and unshaken bravery of your fleets and armies, and on the fortitude, perseverance, and public spirit of all ranks of your people.

While we cannot but lament that the influence and controul exercised by France over the United Provinces, should have produced acts of hostility which have obliged your Majesty to treat them as in a state of war with this country, it must at the same time afford us much satisfaction to learn, that the fleet which your Majesty has employed in the North Seas, has received the most cordial and active assistance from the naval force furnished by the Empress of Russia, and has been enabled effectually to check the operations of the enemy in that quarter.

We acknowledge your Majesty's condescension in having directed to be laid before us copies of the engagements of the defensive alliance which your Majesty has concluded with the two Imperial courts; and of the treaty with the United States of America.

Although we must at all times see with regret the necessity of making further additions to the heavy burdens which have unavoidably been imposed upon our constituents, we feel it an indispensable duty to make such provision for the different branches of the public service, as the exigency of affairs may require; and it will afford us great satisfaction to find that the pressure of these burthens is, in some degree, alleviated by the flourishing state of our commerce and manufactures, and that our expences will, under the actual circumstances of the war, admit of considerable diminution in comparison with those of the present year.

We are deeply sensible of your Majesty's paternal goodness in the expressions of the anxiety with which your Majesty has observed the high price of grain, and of your apprehension that the produce of the wheat harvest in the present year, may not have been such as effectually to relieve your people from the difficulties with which

they have had to contend. The spirit of order and submission to the laws, which, with few exceptions, has manifested itself under this severe pressure, will undoubtedly be felt by us as an additional incentive to apply ourselves with the utmost diligence to the consideration of such measures as may tend to alleviate the present distress, and to prevent as far as possible, the renewal of similar embarrassments: and nothing can afford us a higher gratification than to find ourselves enabled to adopt such regulations as may give effect to your Majesty's gracious and benevolent views for the relief and advantage of your people, on a subject so peculiarly interesting to your welfare.

A similar Address was moved in the House of Lords.

Amendment moved by Mr. Fox to the Address of the House of Commons.

WE beg leave humbly to entreat your Majesty to review the events of the three last years, and to compare the situation and circumstances of the belligerent powers, at the period when hostilities commenced, and at the present moment to consider that a great majority of the numerous allies, on whose co-operation your Majesty chiefly relied for success, have abandoned the common cause, and fought for security in peace, while others have been unfortunately thrown into alliance with the enemy.

That our foreign possessions in the West Indies have in many instances been over-run, pillaged, and destroyed, and the security of all of them put in imminent hazard.

That the expeditions to the coast of France have proved either disgraceful or abortive; tending, without any rational prospect of public benefit, to tarnish the British name, by a shameful sacrifice of those to whom your Majesty's ministers had held out the hope of public protection.

That amidst all these adverse and disgraceful events, there has been an expenditure of blood and treasure unparalleled in the history of former wars.

Such being the result of the measures which have been pursued, we cannot honestly discharge our duty to your Majesty, the country, and ourselves, without fervently imploring your Majesty to reflect upon the evident impracticability of attaining, in the present contest, what have hitherto been considered as the objects of it.

We therefore humbly intreat your Majesty no longer to act upon the opinion, that the governing powers of France are incapable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity. An opinion formerly proved to be unfounded by the situation of the States of America, and of those nations of Europe who have throughout maintained a safe and dignified neutrality, and recently

recently by the conduct and present condition of Prussia and Spain, and the Princes of the empire. But that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take decided and immediate measures for bringing about a peace with France, whatever may be the present or future form of her internal government, and look for indemnity where alone indemnity is to be found, in the restoration of industry, plenty, and tranquillity at home.

While we thus earnestly implore your Majesty to consider, in your royal wisdom, how fruitless the pursuit of the war is become, and how idle and imaginary the supposed obstacle to peace, we declare that if the existing powers in France were to reject a pacific negotiation proposed by your Majesty upon suitable terms, and to persevere in hostilities for their own aggrandisement; or with a view to the establishment of their system of government in other countries, we would strenuously support a vigorous prosecution of the war, confident that the spirit of the nation, when roused in such a cause, will still be able to accomplish what is just and necessary, however exhausted and weakened by the ill-concerted projects of those who have directed your Majesty's councils.

The amendment was negatived, and the original address carried by a majority of 140 against 59.

His Majesty's Answer to the Address of the House of Commons.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for this very loyal and dutiful address.

It affords me the greatest satisfaction to learn that you concur in the view which I entertain of the general situation and prospect of affairs, and to receive the assurances of your firm and decided support in those exertions which are most likely to ensure and accelerate the restoration of peace, on such grounds as the justice of our cause and the situation of the enemy may entitle us to expect.

Nothing shall be omitted, on my part, to make an effectual use of the means which you may put into my hands, for a purpose so important to the permanent interests and happiness of my people.

His Majesty returned a similar answer to the Address of the House of Lords.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons on the 7th of Dec.
relative to the Sale of Dutch Prizes.*

G. R.

HIS Majesty thinks proper to inform his faithful Commons, that a considerable sum is likely to arise from the sale of prizes taken from the United Provinces of Holland, and that he has ordered the amount to be ascertained, and the overplus, after the claims of the captains had been discharged, to be applied to the public service.

In the House of Commons, on the same day, it was agreed, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, thanking him for his tender concern in manifesting to the House his desire of applying the said money to the public service, after defraying the claims of the captors; and that such of the members as were of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council should present the same.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons on the 8th Dec.

G. R.

HIS Majesty, relying on the assurances which he has received from his faithful Commons, of their determination to support his Majesty in those exertions which are necessary under the present circumstances, recommends it to this House to consider of making provision towards enabling his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the service of the ensuing year, and to take such measures as the exigencies of affairs may require. His Majesty, on this occasion, thinks proper to acquaint the House, that the crisis which was depending at the commencement of the present fussion, has led to such an order of things in France, as will induce his Majesty, conformably to the sentiments which he has already declared, to meet any disposition for negotiation on the part of the enemy, and with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a treaty for a general peace, whenever it can be effected on just and suitable terms for himself and his allies.

It is his Majesty's earnest wish, that the spirit and determination manifested by Parliament, added to the recent and important successes of the Austrian armies, and to the continued and growing embarrassments of the enemy, may speedily conduce to the attainment of this object, on such grounds as the justice of the cause in which this country is engaged, and the situation of affairs may entitle his Majesty to expect.

G. R.

A similar message was also delivered to the House of Lords.

In the House of Commons on the 9th of December, 1795, the following Address was moved by Mr. Pitt, in Answer to the above Message.

TO acknowledge with the utmost gratitude and satisfaction his Majesty's condescension and goodness in having been graciously pleased to acquaint us, that the crisis which was depending at the commencement of the session, has led to such an order of things in France, as will induce his Majesty, conformably to the sentiments he had already declared, to meet any disposition for negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a treaty of general peace whenever it can be effected on just and suitable terms for himself and his allies.

To assure his Majesty, that until that desirable period shall arrive, it is our firm determination to continue to afford his Majesty that vigorous support which we are persuaded is essential to the most important interests of his kingdom, and that it will yield us the highest gratification if his Majesty's powerful preparations and exertions, added to the recent and important successes of the Austrian armies, and to the continued and growing embarrassments of the enemy, should have the happy effect of speedily conducing to the restoration of general peace on such grounds as the justice of the cause in which this country is engaged, and the situation of affairs may entitle his Majesty to expect.

Mr. Sheridan moved the following Amendment to the above Address :

Your Majesty's faithful Commons having thus manifested their determination to give your Majesty the most vigorous support in the further prosecution of the war, in case just and reasonable terms of peace should be refused on the part of the enemy, and having declared the cordial satisfaction they feel at your Majesty's gracious intention to meet any disposition to negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, cannot at the same time avoid expressing the deep regret they feel, that your Majesty should ever have been advised to consider the internal order of things in France to have been such, as should not have induced your Majesty at any time to meet a disposition to negotiation on the part of the enemy.

And your faithful Commons feel themselves at this conjuncture the more forcibly called on to declare this opinion, because if the present existing order of things in France be admitted as the motive and inducement to a negotiation, a change in that order of things may be considered as a ground for discontinuing a negotiation begun, or even for abandoning a treaty concluded.

Wherefore your Majesty's faithful Commons, duly reflecting on the calamitous waste of treasure and of blood, to which it is now

now manifest the acting on this principle has so unfortunately and so largely contributed, and greatly apprehensive of the grievous and ruinous consequences to which the persevering to act on such a principle must inevitably tend, do humbly and earnestly implore your Majesty, that it may altogether be abandoned and disclaimed, and that the form of government, or internal order of things in France, whatever they may be, or shall become, may be no bar to a negotiation for restoring to your Majesty's subjects the blessings of peace, whenever it can be effected on just and suitable terms for your Majesty and your allies.

And as the principal bar to a negotiation for peace appears to have been your Majesty's having been hitherto advised to consider the order of things in France as precluding your Majesty from meeting a disposition to negotiation on the part of the enemy, your faithful Commons now humbly beseech your Majesty to give distinct directions that an immediate negotiation may be entered on for the above salutary object.

Mr. Sheridan's amendment was negatived without a division.

An Address in answer to his Majesty's Message was moved in the House of Lords, similar to the Address that had been moved in the House of Commons.

The Duke of Bedford also moved an amendment similar to that moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Sheridan.

His Grace's Amendment was negatived without a division, and the original Address was put and carried.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, on the 8th of December, relative to the Disembarkation of Foreign Troops.

G. R.

HIS Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the House of Commons that a considerable division of ships, having on board foreign troops in the service of Great Britain, having been dispersed and damaged while on their passage from the rivers Elbe and Weser to Spithead, the place of rendezvous appointed for the convoy under which it was intended they should be sent on distant foreign service, his Majesty has found it unavoidably necessary to order the said troops to be disembarked, and to be stationed in barracks near Southampton, and in the Isle of Wight; and at the same time has given directions that they shall be re-embarked, and sent to the place of their destination, as soon as the transports necessary for their accommodation and conveyance shall be in readiness to receive them, the necessary orders for that purpose, having, by his Majesty's command, been already given.

A similar message was sent to the House of Lords.

Address,

Addresses, which, as usual, were echoes of the messages, were moved in both houses.

In the House of Commons, on the 15th of February, 1796, Mr. Grey moved,

THAT an humble address be presented to his Majesty, stating, that it is the wish of this House, that his Majesty may graciously be pleased to take such steps as to his royal wisdom shall appear most proper, for communicating directly to the executive directory of the French Republic his Majesty's readiness to meet any disposition to negotiation on the part of that government, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect.

The above motion was rejected by a majority of 189 to 50.

In the House of Commons, on the 10th of March, Mr. Grey moved for a Committee of the whole House to inquire into the State of the Nation.

The motion was rejected by a majority of 207 to 45.

In the House of Commons, on the 7th of May, 1796, Mr. Grey moved the following Resolutions.

RESOLVED—I. That at all times, and under all circumstances, it is the indispensable duty of the House of Commons vigilantly to superintend the expenditure of the public money, and strictly to inquire into the application of the grants made by Parliament to the service for which they have been voted.

II. That by an act passed in every session of Parliament, the particular sums granted for each particular service are specified, and the money that shall be paid into the exchequer is appropriated to their discharge; and that it is strictly directed that such aids and supplies shall not be applied to any use, intent, or purpose whatever, other than the uses and purposes mentioned in the said act.

III. That it appears from an account presented to this House on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 644,106l. 7s. 9d. was then due to the several colonels or commanding officers of his Majesty's forces, for net off-reckonings and cloathing for the years 1794 and 1795, although by acts passed in 1794 and 1795, money was granted to discharge the same; and although the said acts direct that the money so granted shall be applied in discharge of the same, and not otherwise.

IV. That

IV. That it appears from an account presented to this House on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 146,900l. 12s. 4d. is now due to the general and staff-officers of his Majesty's forces for the years 1793, 1794, and 1795, although by acts passed in the said years, money was granted for payment of the said sum; and although the said acts direct that the said money so granted shall be applied in discharge of the said sum, and not otherwise.

V. That it appears from an account presented to this House on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 34,313l. 13s. 3d. is now due to the several governors, lieutenant-governors, and other officers of his Majesty's forces and garrisons in Great Britain, and parts beyond seas, for the years 1794 and 1795, although by acts passed in the said years, money was granted for discharging the said sum; and although the said acts direct that the money so granted shall be applied in discharging the said sum, and not otherwise.

VI. That it appears from an account presented to this House on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 31,056l. 9s. 9d. due to the general and staff-officers of his Majesty's forces for the year 1794 was paid out of grants for the service of the year 1796, although by an act passed in 1794, money was granted for discharging the said sum; and although the said act directs that the said money so granted shall be applied in discharging the same, and not otherwise.

VII. That it appears from an account produced to this House on the 21st of April, 1796, that the sum of 172,100l. due for off-reckonings to the 24th of December, 1794, and which remained due on the 21st of January, 1796, was discharged out of the vote of credit granted for the express purpose of defraying expences that may occur in 1796. By an act passed in 1794, money was granted for discharging the said sum; and although the said act directs that the money so granted shall be applied in discharge of the same, and not otherwise.

VIII. That it appears to this House, that by an act passed in the 23d year of his Majesty's reign, for the better regulation of the office of paymaster-general of his Majesty's forces, it is enacted that no money for the service of the army shall be issued from his Majesty's exchequer to the paymaster-general of his Majesty's forces, or shall be placed or directed to be placed in his Majesty's hands or possession; but the same shall be issued and directed to be paid to the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be placed to his account.

IX. That it appears to this House, from an account produced on the 22d of April, 1796, that in open contempt and defiance of the said act, the sum of 430,200l. has been issued directly to the paymaster-general of his Majesty's forces, in exchequer bills on the

the vote of credit for 1796; and that a balance of £3,300l. was remaining unissued in his hands on the said 22d of April, 1796.

X. That it further appears to this House, that by the said act the paymaster-general of his Majesty's forces is directed and required to form his memorials and requisitions to the treasury, and to issue his drafts upon the governor and company of the Bank of England, upon the 24th day of June and 24th day of December in every year, in equal payments, to such person or persons as have a regular assignment from the several colonels, lieutenant-colonels, commandants, majors, and captains commandant, and captains, for the monies appropriated for the cloathing of the non-commissioned officers and private men of his Majesty's regular forces.

XI. That it appears to this House, that the sums of money appropriated for the cloathing of his Majesty's regular forces, and which, according to the provisions of the said act, ought to have been issued on the 24th of December, 1794, the 24th of June and 24th of December, 1795, had been diverted to other purposes, and still remained due on the 1st of January, 1796, in open contempt and defiance of the said act.

XII. That it appears that an account is annually presented to this House, shewing how the money granted for the service of the preceding year has been disposed of, distinguished under the several heads, and the parts remaining unsatisfied, with the deficiency thereupon.

XIII. That such account was intended to be what in its title it professes to be, a real account, shewing how the money given for the service of the year had actually been disposed of, in order that the House of Commons might be informed of the state of the public expenditure, and satisfy themselves as to the application of the money voted, to those services for which it had been granted by them.

XIV. That an account of the above description has been presented to this House in each of the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, in which the money granted for the services of each year is stated to have been applied to the services for which it was voted by Parliament, although it now appears from accounts since presented to this House, that the sum of 644,106l. granted for off-reckonings for the years 1794 and 1795; the sum of 146,900l. granted for the pay of the general and staff-officers of his Majesty's forces for 1793, 1794, and 1795; the sum of 34,313l. granted for the pay of the several governors, lieutenant-governor, and other officers of his Majesty's forces in Great Britain and parts beyond the seas, for the years 1794 and 1795, and severally stated to have been disposed of for those services, still remain unsatisfied.

XV. That in the instances above-mentioned, his Majesty's ministers have been guilty of presenting false accounts, calculated

to mislead the judgment of this House, of a flagrant violation of various acts of Parliament, and of a gross misapplication of the public money.

The above resolutions were negatived by a majority of 209 to 38.

In the House of Lords, on the 2d of May, 1796, the Marquis of Lansdowne moved the following Resolutions.

THAT as we see no effectual steps taken to realize these measures of reform, for which the present ministers, at their entrance into office, stood strongly pledged to the public, or those earnestly recommended in the reports upon the table, by two boards of commissioners, both appointed by Parliament,

It is incumbent on this House to inquire into the cause of so extraordinary an omission, as well as,

Whether any new offices have since been created?

Whether any old salaries have been increased on slight pretences?

Whether any salaries have been granted for special purposes, and continued, though the reasons for them have ceased?

Whether any warrants for beneficial grants have been directed? And on the whole,

Whether the public expences have increased beyond the supplies annually granted by Parliament?

This, which would be a duty incumbent upon Parliament, were the existing war ever so necessary, just, and successful, is become most urgent and indispensable, in a contest at once bloody and expensive beyond example without plan or object, except such objects as the misconduct of the war first created; attended with a waste of money profuse almost beyond imagination, which has already reduced our trade to a dependence on the very warfare which is fundamentally destroying it, and has so exhausted our resources, as to drive us to the wretched expedient of reviving taxes, which were a few years since repealed, upon the ground of thereby increasing the revenue—an effect which that repeal produced, and a policy which must, therefore, on the return of peace, be again resorted to, and which will consequently bring with it the necessity of finding new taxes, if new and productive taxes can be invented in our then exhausted state.

In a situation so alarming, and so manifestly tending to destroy the confidence of the people in Parliament, which (as every reflecting man must have, with deep concern, observed,) has for some years past been rapidly on the decline; it behoves Parliament, by a timely revival of its ancient energy and integrity, to convince the people that their constitutional guardians are awake to the common danger, and are determined to come forward with such

firm measures of public order and reform, as will effectually relieve the subject, and remedy evils which if still suffered to accumulate, will be past all remedy, and must inevitably terminate in public confusion.

The above resolutions were negatived by a majority of 104 to 12.

In the House of Commons, on the 10th of May, 1796, Mr. Fox made the following Motion.

THAT an address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to offer to his royal consideration that judgment which his faithful Commons have formed, and now deem it their duty to declare, concerning the conduct of his ministers in the commencement, and during the progress of the present unfortunate war. As long as it was possible for us to doubt from what source the national distresses have arisen, we have in times of difficulty and peril thought ourselves bound to strengthen his Majesty's government for the protection of his subjects, by our confidence and support. But our duties as his Majesty's counsellors, and as the representatives of his people, will no longer permit us to dissemble our deliberate and determined opinion that the distress, difficulty, and peril to which this country is now subjected, have arisen from the misconduct of the King's ministers, and are likely to subsist and increase as long as the same principles which have hitherto guided these ministers, shall continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain.

It is painful for us to remind his Majesty of the situation of his dominions at the beginning of the war, and of the high degree of prosperity to which the skill and industry of his subjects had, under the safeguard of a free constitution, raised the British empire, since it can only fill his mind with the melancholy recollection of prosperity abused, and of opportunities of securing permanent advantages wantonly rejected. Nor shall we presume to wound his Majesty's benevolence by dwelling on the fortunate consequences which might have arisen from the mediation of Great Britain between the powers then at war, which might have ensured the permanence of our prosperity, while it preserved all Europe from the calamities which it has since endured. A mediation which this kingdom was so well fitted to carry on with vigour and dignity, by its power, its character, and the nature of its government, happily removed at an equal distance from the contending extremes of licentiousness and tyranny.

From this neutral and impartial system of policy his Majesty's ministers were induced to depart by certain measures of the French government, of which they complained as injurious and hostile to this country. With what justice those complaints were made we

are not now called upon to determine, since it cannot be pretended that the measures of France were of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of adjustment by negotiation ; and it is impossible to deny that the power which shuts up the channel of accommodation must be the real aggressor in war. To reject negotiation is to determine on hostilities ; and whatever may have been the nature of the points in question between us and France, we cannot but pronounce the refusal of such an authorised communication with that country as might have amicably terminated the dispute, to be the true and immediate cause of the rupture which followed.

Nor can we forbear to remark that the pretences under which his Majesty's ministers then haughtily refused such authorised communication have been sufficiently exposed by their own conduct, in since submitting to a similar intercourse with the same government.

The misguided policy which thus rendered the war inevitable, appears to have actuated the ministers in their determination to continue it at all hazards. At the same time we cannot but observe, that the obstinacy with which they have adhered to their desperate system is not more remarkable than their versatility in the pretexts upon which they have justified it. At one period the strength, at another the weakness of the enemy have been urged as motives for continuing the war ; the successes, as well as the defeats of the allies have contributed only to prolong the contest ; and hope and despair have equally served to involve us still deeper in the horrors of war, and to entail upon us an endless train of calamities.— After the original professed objects had been obtained by the expulsion of the French armies from the territories of Holland and the Austrian Netherlands, we find his Majesty's ministers, influenced either by arrogance or by infatuated ambition and the vain hope of conquests, which if realized, could never compensate to the nation for the blood and treasure by which they must be obtained, rejecting unheard the overtures made by the executive council of France, at a period when the circumstances were so eminently favourable to his Majesty and his allies that there is every reason to suppose that a negotiation, commenced at such a juncture, must have terminated in an honourable and advantageous peace : to the prospects arising from such an opportunity they preferred a blind and obstinate perseverance in a war which could scarce have any remaining object but the unjustifiable purpose of imposing upon France a government disapproved of by the inhabitants of that country ; and such was the infatuation of these ministers, that, far from being able to frame a wise and comprehensive system of policy, they even rejected the few advantages that belonged to their own unfortunate scheme. The general existence of a design to interpose in the internal government of France was too manifest not to rouse into active hostility the national zeal of that people ; but their particu-

Our projects were too equivocal to attract the confidence, or procure the co-operation of these Frenchmen who were disaffected to the government of their country. The nature of these plans was too clear not to provoke formidable enemies, but their extent was too ambiguous to conciliate useful friends.

We beg leave farther to represent to your Majesty, that at subsequent periods your ministers have suffered the most favourable opportunities to escape of obtaining an honourable and advantageous pacification. They did not avail themselves, as it was their duty to have done, of the unbroken strength of the general confederacy which had been formed against France, for the purpose of giving effect to overtures for negotiation. They saw the secession of several powerful states from that confederacy, they suffered it to dissolve without an effort for the attainment of a general pacification. They loaded their country with the odium of having engaged in a combination, charged with the most questionable and unjustifiable views, without availing themselves of that combination, for procuring favourable conditions of peace. That from this fatal neglect, the progress of hostilities has only served to establish the evils which might certainly have been avoided by negotiation, but which are now confirmed by the events of the war. We have felt that the unjustifiable and impracticable attempt to establish royalty in France by force, has only proved fatal to its unfortunate supporters. We have seen with regret the subjugation of Holland, and the aggrandizement of the French Republic, and we have to lament the alteration in the state of Europe, not only from the successes of the French, but from the formidable acquisitions of some of the allied powers on the side of Poland, acquisitions alarming from their magnitude, but still more so from the manner in which they have been made, thus fatally learning that the war has tended alone to establish the very evils, for the prevention of which it was avowedly undertaken.

That we now therefore approach his Majesty to assure him, that his faithful Commons heard with the sincerest satisfaction, his Majesty's most gracious message of the 8th of December, wherein his Majesty acquaints them, that the crisis which was depending at the commencement of the present session, had led to such an order of things, as would induce his Majesty to meet any disposition to negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a general treaty of peace, whenever it could be effected on just and equitable terms for himself and his allies.

That from this gracious communication, they were led to hope for a speedy termination to this most disastrous contest; but that with surprise and sorrow they have now reason to apprehend that three months were suffered to elapse before any steps were taken towards

towards a negotiation, or any overtures made by his Majesty's servants.

With equal surprise and concern they have observed, when a fair and open conduct was so peculiarly incumbent on his Majesty's ministers, considering the prejudices and suspicions which their previous conduct must have excited in the minds of the French; that instead of adopting that open and manly manner which became the wisdom, the character, and dignity of the British nation, they had recourse to a style calculated rather to excite suspicion, than to inspire confidence in the enemy. Every expression which might be construed into an acknowledgment of the French Republic, or even an allusion to its forms, was studiously avoided; and the minister through whom this overture was made, was in a most unprecedented manner instructed to declare, that he had no authority to enter into any negotiation or discussion relative to the objects of the proposed treaty.

That it is with pain we reflect that the alacrity of his Majesty's ministers in apparently breaking off this incipient negotiation, as well as the strange and unusual manner in which it was announced to the ministers of the various powers of Europe, affords a very unfavourable comment on their reluctance in entering upon it, and is calculated to make the most injurious impression respecting their sincerity on the people of France.

On a review of so many instances of gross and flagrant misconduct, proceeding from the same pernicious principles, and directed with incorrigible obstinacy to the same mischievous ends, we deem ourselves bound in duty to his Majesty, and to our constituents, to declare that we see no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a system radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our present calamities.

Unless his Majesty's ministers shall, from a real conviction of past errors, appear inclined to regulate their conduct upon such a system, we can neither give any credit to the sincerity of their professions of a wish for peace, nor repose any confidence in them for conducting a negotiation to a prosperous issue. Odious as they are to an enemy who wish still to believe them secretly to cherish those unprincipled and chimerical projects which they have been compelled in public to disavow, contemptible in the eyes of all Europe, from the display of insincerity which has marked their conduct, our only hopes rest on his Majesty's royal wisdom and unquestioned affection for his people, that he will be graciously pleased to adopt maxims of policy more suited to the circumstances of the times than those by which his Majesty's ministers appear to have been governed, and to direct his servants to take measures, which, by differing essentially as well in their tendency as in the principle upon

upon which they are founded, from those which have hitherto marked their conduct, may give this country some reasonable hope, at no very distant period, of the establishment of a peace suitable to the interests of Great Britain, and likely to preserve the tranquillity of Europe.

Mr. Fox's motion was negatived by a majority of 216 to 42.

In the House of Lords, on the 13th of May, 1796, the Earl of Lauderdale moved the following Resolutions, which were negatived.

1. THAT it appears to this House, that the amount of the funded debt incurred during the present war, is 93,846,000l.
2. That it appears to this House, that the sum voted for the service of the present year, exclusive of the civil list, and interest of the national debt, amounts to 33,262,360l.
3. That it appears to this House, that the amount of the permanent taxes imposed during the present war, is 4,423,351l.
4. That it appears to this House, that a sum of 10 millions must, on the conclusion of the war, be raised for the discharge of arrears and other incumbrances, the interest of which, including the provision to be made by the 32d of Geo. III. c. 55, will amount to 1,600,000l.
5. That it appears to this House, that the sum of 200,000l. is annually voted by Parliament to be added to the fund for the reduction of the national debt.
6. That the probable increase of the peace establishment, at the conclusion of the present war, will amount to 500,000l.
7. That the annual peace expenditure, calculated on an average of five years, ending 5th January 1791, and including the sum annually applied to the reduction of the national debt, amounted to the sum of 16,816,984l.
8. That it appears to this House, that the above-mentioned sums of 16,816,984l. 500,000l. 200,000l. 600,000l. and 4,423,351l. making together the sum of 22,540,335l. must be provided for as the lowest future peace expenditure which can be estimated, even supposing the war to conclude with the present year.
9. That it appears to this House, that the total produce of the taxes for the year ending the 5th of April, 1796, deducting an occasional payment for stock of wine on hand, amounted to 15,603,285l.
10. That it appears to this House, that the estimated produce of the new taxes imposed in the present session, is 1,618,000l.
11. That it appears to this House, that the land and malt taxes are calculated by a committee of the House of Commons, to produce the sum of 2,558,000l.
12. That

12. That it appears to this House, that calculating the amount of the taxes existing previous to the war, to produce the same on the return of peace, as they did on an average of four years immediately preceding the war, an improvement in the present revenue may be expected to the amount of 757,480l.

13. That it appears to this House, that the above-mentioned sums of 15,603,285l. 1,678,000l. 2,558,000l. and 757,480l. making together the sum of 20,596,765l. afford the only resources at present existing, which can be stated as applicable to the future peace expenditure can be defrayed; and that the sum of 1,943,570l. being the difference between the future peace expenditure, estimated as above at 22,540,335l. and the future peace income estimated as above at 20,596,765l. will remain to be provided for.

14. That it appears to this House, that the sum of 500,000l. is annually due from the East-India company to the public, provided that a surplus profit arises to the said company, after discharging the whole of their regular payments; but that no payment on the above account had been received by the public since the 1st of April, 1794.

15. That it appears to this House, that a lottery may be estimated to produce a sum of about 250,000l.

On Thursday, the 19th of May, 1796, his Majesty went in State to the House of Lords, and delivered the following Speech from the Throne to both Houses of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE public business being now concluded, I think it proper to close this session, and at the same time to acquaint you with my intention of giving immediate directions for calling a new Parliament.

The objects which have engaged your attention during the present session, have been of peculiar importance; and the measures which you have adopted, have manifested your continued regard to the safety and welfare of my people.

The happiest effects have been experienced from the provisions which you have made for repressing sedition and civil tumult, and for restraining the progress of principles subversive of all established government.

The difficulties arising to my subjects from the high price of corn, have formed a principal object of your deliberation; and your assiduity in investigating that subject, has strongly proved your anxious desire to omit nothing which could tend to the relief of my people, in a matter of such general concern. I have the greatest satis-

satisfaction in observing that the pressure of those difficulties is in a great degree removed:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons;

I must in a more particular manner return you my thanks for the liberal supplies which you have granted to meet the exigencies of the war—While I regret the extent of those demands which the present circumstances necessarily occasion, it is a great consolation to me to observe the increasing resources by which the country is enabled to support them. These resources are particularly manifested in the state of the different branches of the revenue, in the continued and progressive state of our navigation and commerce, in the steps which have been taken for maintaining and improving the public credit, and in the additional provision which has been made for the reduction of the national debt.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I shall ever reflect with heartfelt satisfaction on the uniform wisdom, temper, and firmness which have appeared in all your proceedings since I first met you in this place. Called to deliberate on the public affairs of your country in a period of foreign and domestic tranquillity, you had the happiness of contributing to raise this kingdom to a state of unexampled prosperity. You were suddenly compelled to relinquish the full advantages of this situation, in order to resist the unprovoked aggression of an enemy whose hostility was directed against all civil society, but more particularly against the happy union of order and liberty established in these kingdoms. The nature of the system introduced into France, afforded to that country, in the midst of its calamities, the means of exertion beyond the experience of any former time. Under the pressure of the new and unprecedented difficulties arising from such a contest, you have shewn yourselves worthy of all the blessings that you inherit. By your counsels and conduct, the constitution has been preserved inviolate against the designs of foreign and domestic enemies; the honour of the British name has been asserted; the rank and station which we have hitherto held in Europe has been maintained; and the decided superiority of our naval power has been established in every quarter of the world.

You have omitted no opportunity to prove your just anxiety for the re-establishment of general peace on secure and honourable terms; but you have at the same time rendered it manifest to the world, that while our enemies shall persist in dispositions incompatible with that object, neither the resources nor the spirit of Englishmen will be wanting to the support of a just cause, and to the defence of all their dearest interests.

A due sense of this conduct is deeply impressed on my heart. I trust that all my subjects are animated with the same sentiment,

and that their loyalty and public spirit will ensure the continuance of that union and mutual confidence between me and my Parliament, which best promote the true dignity and glory of my crown, and the genuine happiness of my people.

IRISH PARLIAMENT.

On Thursday, January 21, his Excellency John Jeffreys, Earl Camden, came in the usual State, and delivered the following Speech from the Throne :

My Lords and Gentlemen,
I HAVE received his Majesty's commands to meet you in Parliament.

It gives me the most sincere satisfaction to be authorized to inform you, that notwithstanding the advantages which the enemy possessed at the commencement of the last year, and the successes which attended their operations in the former parts of the campaign, the general situation of affairs is on the whole most essentially improved.

The continued and brilliant successes of the Austrian armies upon the Rhine; the important captures of the Cape of Good Hope and of Trincomale by his Majesty's forces, and the decided superiority of his fleets, are circumstances of the utmost importance to the common cause; and their effect is strengthened by the internal distresses, the ruined commerce, and increasing financial embarrassments of the enemy.

The crisis lately depending in France has led to an order of things in that country, such as will induce his Majesty to meet any disposition to negotiation on the part of the enemy with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a treaty of general peace when it may be effected on just and suitable terms for himself and his allies.

The treaty of commerce between his Majesty and the United States of America having been mutually ratified, I have ordered copies of it, by his Majesty's command, to be laid before you.

I have the pleasure to announce to you, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales has been happily delivered of a princess; an event, which, by giving additional stability to his Majesty's august house, cannot fail to afford you the highest satisfaction.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,
I observe with the sincerest pleasure that, notwithstanding the continued pressure of the war, the commerce and revenues of this kingdom have not in any degree fallen from that flourishing state of advancement, which in the last session of Parliament was a subject of such just congratulation. This circumstance affords a decisive proof that your prosperity is founded on a solid basis, and leads me

to indulge the flattering hope, that whatever additional burthens you may find it necessary to impose, will not be materially felt by the people.

I have ordered the public accounts and estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, and have no doubt of your readiness to provide such supplies as a due sense of the exigencies of the kingdom shall suggest, and the wise policy of strengthening his Majesty's exertions for procuring a solid and permanent peace shall appear to render necessary.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is with regret that I feel myself obliged to advert to those secret and treasonable associations, the dangerous extent and malignity of which have in some degree been disclosed on several trials, and to the disturbances which have taken place in some parts of the kingdom. It has at the same time been a source of great satisfaction to me to observe the successful and meritorious exertions of the magistrates in several parts of the kingdom, and the alacrity which his Majesty's regular and militia forces have universally manifested in aid of the civil power, whenever they have been called upon for the preservation of the peace, and support of the laws. It remains for your prudence and wisdom to devise such measures as, together with a continuance of those exertions, and the additional powers, which, by the advice of the privy council, I have thought it necessary to establish in different counties, will prevent the return of similar excesses, and restore a proper reverence for the laws of the country.

The superior and increasing importance of the agriculture and manufactures, and particularly of the linen manufacture of the kingdom, will command your accustomed support. Under the present situation of Europe you cannot fail to attend with peculiar vigilance to the general state of provisions; and if circumstances shall at any time render your interposition adviseable, I have no doubt of your adopting such measures as shall best apply to the existing necessity of the times.

I am desirous of pointing your attention to the protestant charter schools, and other institutions of public charity and improvement.

Your unanimity and zeal can never be of more importance than at the present crisis, in order to impress the enemy with a thorough conviction of the resources of his Majesty's kingdoms, and to procure a favourable termination to your honourable efforts. His Majesty has the fullest reliance on your firmness and attachment, and on the fortitude, spirit, and perseverance of his people.

It will be my ambition, as it is my duty, to represent your zeal to his Majesty's service; and it will be my personal and most anxious wish to co-operate with your efforts in the common cause in which we are all equally engaged and interested, and my utmost

endeavours shall be used to secure the happiness and prosperity of this kingdom, and to protect and maintain its most excellent constitution.

Addresses to his Majesty, in Answer to the above Speech, were moved in both Houses of Parliament.

IN the House of Commons, Mr. Grattan moved an amendment, the substance of which was, to enforce a vigilant attention to the state of provisions, and the situation of the lower orders of the people, by imploring his Majesty to recommend to his Parliament of Great Britain such a regulation in the commerce between both countries, as should establish a reciprocal reception of their respective manufactures, and thereby extend the manufactures of Ireland for the employment of the poor.

The amendment was negatived by a majority of 122 to 14.

Speech of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons, at the Bar of the Irish House of Lords, on presenting the Bills of Supply of this present Session to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant for the Royal Assent.

I SHOULD feel a pride in repeating the sentiments of loyalty which direct the Commons in all their deliberations, but the bills of supply which they now offer declare it more effectually than it is in the power of any language to express.

We are a part of the empire ; we will stand or fall with Britain ; it is our repeated determined resolution, and this nation will exert all its powers, and will call forth all its resources, to support with her the common cause, to uphold the safety of the laws, the religion, and the constitution, against the overthrow which the present unprovoked and unexampled war attempts to threaten them with.

Peace is an object most devoutly to be wished, but an insecure peace is only a smothered war ; for a lasting and honourable one (and none can be lasting that is not honourable) we look to the powerful impressions which the abundant resources of the empire, the vigour of his Majesty's exertions, and the cordial co-operation of all his subjects, must make on the common enemy.

We have accordingly, with an unanimous voice, granted supplies to the utmost desire expressed by his Majesty's ministers, and in doing so we look back with great satisfaction on the energy, wisdom, and oeconomy with which the very liberal supplies of the last sessions have been administered under your Excellency's government.

The

The defence of the kingdom has had due attention paid to it. The spirit of insurrection has been vigorously suppressed wherever it has appeared, and we have the strongest hope, from the vigilance, the firmness and conciliating moderation which have marked your Excellency's conduct since your arrival in this kingdom, that under the additional powers with which the laws of this session will have armed the magistracy, it will be totally and speedily subdued.

On Friday, April 15, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant came in State to the House of Lords, and being seated on the Throne, delivered the following Speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN releasing you from farther attendance in Parliament, I am peculiarly commanded by his Majesty to thank you for that conspicuous zeal and unanimity, so honourable to yourselves and so impressive on our enemies, which have marked your conduct through the whole session, in promoting by your energy and temper the interests of your country, and in supporting by your spirit and liberality the common cause of the empire.

His Majesty has taken the steps which appeared most proper for setting on foot a negotiation for general peace, if the enemy should be disposed to enter into such negotiation on grounds consistent with the safety, honour, and interest of his Majesty's kingdoms and of his allies.

If his Majesty's views in this respect should fail, he has no doubt that the valour of his subjects, the resources of his kingdoms, and the exertions of the powers engaged with him, will ultimately produce this desirable end.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you, in his Majesty's name, for the cheerfulness and liberality with which you have provided for the current services of the year, and it affords me the highest satisfaction to reflect that these objects have been attained by burthens, so judiciously imposed, that they can scarcely affect the lower orders of the people. It is equally satisfactory to observe that your strength and prosperity remain undiminished, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, and it will be my endeavour to cherish your resources, and apply your liberality with economy and prudence.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The inquiries I had ordered to be made with regard to the produce of the last harvest, and the measures taken by you to prevent the export of grain, must relieve the public mind from an apprehension of scarcity. If any illicit means should be attempted, to evade the provisions

provisions of the laws, which have been enacted upon this important subject, I shall not be inattentive in exercising those powers with which I am entrusted.

The vigorous measures you have adopted for the suppression of insurrection and outrage, and the wise provisions you have made for preventing the extension of similar offences, must have the most salutary effects.

The new regulation of licences under the superintendence of magistrates, will tend to promote tranquillity and sobriety. The establishment of more frequent sessions of the peace will afford an easy and expeditious administration of justice in the different districts throughout the kingdom. The liberal increase of the salaries of the Judges, and the alteration of the civil bill jurisdiction, for the convenience of the lower ranks of the people, will ensure the constant and regular attention of his Majesty's judges to the civil and criminal business that will remain to be done on the circuits.

These measures cannot but demonstrate to the people at large the firmness and the temper of Parliament, which, whilst it is determined to repress the excesses of licentiousness and outrage, is at the same time anxious to ensure to the country those permanent advantages of security, peace and good order, which are to be derived from a prompt and upright administration of justice.

I cannot too strongly recommend it to you to give effect to these benefits by your example and presence, and I am confident, that when you are relieved from your duty in Parliament, all ranks and descriptions of his Majesty's faithful subjects will feel themselves protected by your exertions and authority in your different counties.

Your kind declarations in favour of my administration make the deepest impressions upon my feelings. If I have any claim to your confidence and good opinion, it arises from the fidelity with which I have represented to his Majesty your loyalty and zeal, and from the sincere desire I feel to conform my conduct to your sentiments.—Great Britain and Ireland form one empire; they are inseparably connected; they must stand or fall together; and are all equally engaged, because we are all equally interested in the common cause of defending and upholding our religion, our laws, and our constitution.

After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Excellency's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the 14th day of June next, to be then here holden: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday, the 14th day of June next.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

NAVAL EVENTS.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 27, 1795.

Admiralty-Office, June 27, 1795.

Dispatches, of which the following are Copies and Extracts, were yesterday received at this Office.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Vice-admiral Cornwallis, dated on board his Majesty's ship Royal Sovereign, at Sea, the 11th of June, 1795, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

I REQUEST that you will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, on the 6th instant, a ship having been chased by the squadron, a signal was made to me from the Phaeton, that it was an enemy's frigate; but in the evening Captain Stopford made me a signal that he could not come up with the chace, upon which I called him in, and brought to for the night, being then in latitude 47 deg. 28 min. longitude 5 deg. 57 min. In the morning of the 7th a sail was seen again to the eastward. I made the signal for the Phaeton, Pallas, and Kingsfisher to chace, and followed them with the line of battle ships: it was blowing fresh from the north. As we came in with the land several large ships were seen under sail, which proved to be a French squadron, consisting of three line of battle ships, six frigates, a brig, a sloop and cutter. Some of them were at first standing off shore, but unfortunately the wind was fair for them to get into Belleisle Roads, where I saw several large ships at anchor. We had got very near the enemy's ships, and I had hopes at first we should have got up with them before they would have reached their port; and I made the signal for the ships to form for their mutual support, and engage the enemy as they came up. The Phaeton fired several shot, which the line of battle ships returned from their sterns. I followed as far as I thought it prudent, and then hauled the wind. Soon after I saw three sail standing in, I made the signal to chace. There were two French frigates, and a large Dutch built ship in tow of one of them. They stood round the south end of Belleisle. The headmost ship got within gun-shot, and several were exchanged. The Kingsfisher fired several broadsides at the frigates. They were obliged to cast off the ship in tow; and rounding the point of the island we came upon a can-

voy, chiefly brigs: Eight of them were taken; but the frigates running in shore among shoals, the Triumph and Phaeton having made signals to me of danger, were obliged to give over the pursuit.

By what I can learn the convoy came from Bourdeaux, laden with wine, and under the charge of the three line of battle ships and eight frigates. A brig corvette had anchored close in with the south end of the island in the evening, whilst the frigates were chased. At night I directed Captain Stopford, in the Phaeton, to work in shore, and if he did not perceive any works to protect the corvette, to endeavour to bring her out. He attempted it in the morning, but they opened a battery upon the ship which he had not seen; and the brig having been hauled very close in shore during the night, Captain Stopford very properly thought it was not an object of consequence enough to balance the loss the ship was likely to sustain, and therefore returned, having had one man killed, seven wounded, and two of his guns dismounted. I find the vessels have naval stores as well as wine. The ship has cannon, and I understand is laden with naval and ordnance stores.

Two American vessels, laden with provisions of different kinds, have been detained by the squadron; I send them in by the Kingfisher. I have ordered Captain Gosselin to join me again immediately.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Gosselin, of his Majesty's Sloop Kingfisher, dated Falmouth, June 24, 1795, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

YOU will be pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of the arrival of his Majesty's sloop under my command, of this port, and of having seen the large ship (captured by Vice-admiral Cornwallis's squadron on the 7th inst.) in safety; all the rest of the convoy parted company with me on the 19th in a severe gale of wind.

(Signed) T. L. M. GOSELIN.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-admiral Cornwallis to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty.

Royal Sovereign, at Sea, June 19, 1795.

I HAVE the honour of acquainting you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 16th in the morning, standing in with the land, near the Penmarks, I sent the Phaeton a-head to look out for any of the enemy's ships upon the coast. I stood after her with the rest of the ships.* At ten she made a signal for seeing a fleet a-head, and afterwards that they were of superior force. Upon her bringing to, I made the signal to haul to the wind upon the starboard tack. At this time I could not see the hulls of the strange sails. Thirty were counted, and some of them had all their sail out upon a wind, being directly to leeward of us. I stood upon the starboard tack

* Mars, Triumph, Brunswick, Bellerophon, Phaeton, and Pallas.

with

with all our sail, keeping the ships collected. Upon inquiring by signal the enemy's force, Captain Stopford answered thirteen line of battleships, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter; in all thirty sail. Near half of them tacked in shore in the afternoon; the wind fell very much, and came round to the northward, off the land, and of course brought those ships of the enemy, (which had tacked) to windward, and the others laid up for us. They were seen in the morning before it was daylight, upon both quarters of the squadron.

At nine in the morning one of the front line of battle ships began to fire upon the Mars. Their frigates were ranged up abreast of us to windward, except one, which kept to leeward, and ran up upon the larboard quarter of the Mars, then yawed and fired, which was frequently repeated. This was the only frigate that attempted any thing. The line of battle ships came up in succession, and a teasing fire; with intervals, was kept up during the whole day. In the evening they made a flew of a more serious attack upon the Mars, (which had gotten a little to leeward) and obliged me to bear up for her support. This was their last effort, if any thing they did can deserve that appellation. Several shot were fired for two hours after, but they appeared to be drawing off, and before sun-set their whole fleet had tacked and were standing from us. The Mars and Triumph being the sternmost ships were of course more exposed to the enemy's fire; and I cannot too much commend the spirited conduct of Sir Charles Cotton and Sir Erasmus Gower, the captains of those ships. Lord Charles Fitzgerald also in the Brunswick kept up a very good fire from the after guns, but that ship was the whole time obliged to carry every sail. The Belleroophon being nearly under the same circumstances, I was glad to keep in some measure as a reserve, having every reason at first to suppose there would be full occasion for the utmost exertion of us all, and being rather a-head of me, was not able to fire much. I considered that ship as a treasure in shore, having heard of her former achievements, and observing the spirit manifesting by all on board when she passed me, joined to the activity and zeal shewed by Lord Cranstoun during the whole truize. I am also much indebted to Captain Whitby for his activity and unremitting diligence on board the Royal Sovereign. The frigates shewed the greatest attention and alertness. I kept the Pallas near me to repeat signals, which Captain Curzon performed very much to my satisfaction. Indeed, I shall ever feel the impression which the good conduct of the captains, officers, seamen, marines, and soldiers in the quadron has made on my mind; and it was the greatest pleasure I ever received to see the spirit manifested by the men, who, instead of being cast down at seeing thirty sail of the enemy's ships attacking our little quadron, were in the highest spirits imaginable. I do not mean the Royal Sovereign alone, the same spirit was shewn in all the ships as they lay near me; and although (circumstanced as we were) we had no great reason to complain of the conduct of the enemy, yet our men could not help repeatedly expressing their contempt of them. Could common audience have allowed me to let loose their valour, I hardly know what might not have been accomplished by such men.

Little damage has been received by the ships in general, except the Mars having been very much shook by firing the guns. The Mars sports twelve men wounded, but none killed; the main-mast, fore and

fore-top-sail-yard wounded, and her rigging and sails cut a good deal. The Triumph has shifted and repaired some of her sails, but any damage she has received is so trifling, at least in her Captain's eye, that Sir Erasmus Gower has not thought it worth reporting; indeed, the cool and firm conduct of that ship was such, that it appeared to me the enemy's ships dared not to come near her. It has blown hard from the north-east since I parted from the French fleet.

I take the first opportunity of sending this by the Phaeton, left, upon hearing that the French fleet are at sea, their Lordships may be under apprehensions for the safety of these ships.

I have the honour, &c.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Capt. Cochrane, of his Majesty's ship Thetis, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty, dated Halifax Harbour, May 28, 1795.

*On board his Majesty's ship Thetis,
Halifax Harbour, May 28, 1795.*

Sir,

BE pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that in consequence of orders from Rear-admiral Murray to cruise off the Chesapeake, to intercept the three French store-ships then laying in Hampton Roads, and ready for sea, I proceeded, on the 2d instant, with his Majesty's ship Hussar, and on the 17th instant, at day-break, Cape Henry, bearing E. by S. distant twenty leagues, we discovered five sail of ships standing to the N. W. with their larboard tacks on board. We soon perceived that they were ships of force; two of them appeared to carry from 28 to 30 guns on their main decks, one of which had lower deck ports; the three others from 20 to 24 guns.

On observing us standing towards them, they formed a line of battle a-head, and waited to receive us. At nine, A. M. I made the Hussar's signal to prepare to engage the second ship of the enemy's van, intending, in the Thetis, to attack the centre ship, which appeared the largest, with the two others that formed their rear.

At half past ten, the five French ships hoisted their colours, the second ship from the van carrying a broad pendant. By this time we had got within half musket shot, when the firing commenced on the side of the enemy, which was soon afterwards returned by his Majesty's ships.

Before eleven we had closed with the enemy, and the Hussar compelled the Commodore and his second a-head to quit the line, and make sail to the E. S. E.

The fire of both ships then fell on the centre ship and those in the rear. At a quarter before twelve the three ships struck their colours: the two in the rear, attempted, notwithstanding, to make off, one which was soon brought to by the Hussar. Within an hour after the largest ship struck, her main and fore-masts went over her side. On taking possession, we found her to be La Prevoyante, pierced for 28 guns on the main deck, with four other ports, which can be cut out for pleasure, and ten ports below; she had only 24 mounted, part of wh-

they shifted over during the action. The ship that the Hussar had taken possession of is called La Raison, carrying 18 guns, but pierced for 24, which, with the other three, had escaped from Guadaloupe on the 25th ult. and were bound to one of the American ports to take in a cargo of provisions and naval stores for France. I am sorry to say, that we had 8 of our best men killed, and 9 others wounded, some of them badly ; the Hussar has been more fortunate, having only 2 wounded.

From the fire of the three rear ships being principally directed at the Thetis, our rigging and sails were almost cut to pieces, our lower masts and yards shot through, which, with the other damages we received, prevented me from pursuing the enemy, and to take possession of those that had struck. The damages sustained by the Hussar appeared to me in proportion to ours ; these considerations, joined to the information I had received, which I here enclose, made it absolutely necessary that I should not risk the separation of the two ships, which must have been the case, had either of us followed the enemy.

I cannot say too much in praise of Captain Beresford, for his conduct in leading into action, and while engaged. He speaks in the highest terms of the behaviour of his officers and the ship's company.

It is a duty I owe to those under my immediate command, to say, that one soul seemed to animate the whole, despising the apparent superiority of the enemy before we closed to feel their pulse.

Allow me in a particular manner to point out the merits of Mr. Lamour, my first lieutenant, to whom I am much indebted for the assistance he afforded me during the action. His behaviour on this as well as every other occasion justly entitles him to every praise in my power to bestow, and I hope may be found deserving of their Lordships' protection ; Lieutenant Ravot, who was stationed on the main deck, conducted the fire of the guns under his command much to my satisfaction.

To Mr. Mackie, the Master, I shall ever feel obliged for the assistance he gave me during the action. The carronades on the quarter deck were very ably served by Lieutenant Crebbin, and the marines under his command. La Prevoyante is a very fine ship, about 143 feet long, but not so broad as the Thetis ; she can carry with ease 40 guns ; is only two years old.

La Raison is also a very fine ship, and is coppered ; and I trust they will both answer for his Majesty's service. Being employed in taking on board the prisoners, and repairing our damages during the night, it was my intention to proceed at day-light after the enemy, in company with the Hussar, leaving the prizes under the charge of Lieutenant Saville, of the Prince Edward cutter, who joined soon after the action, and used every endeavour to arrive up while engaged ; but a fresh breeze of wind springing up early in the morning, enabled them to get out of sight before day-break.

I, therefore, proceed with the Hussar and the prizes to this port, in order to obtain the necessary repairs.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

A. F. COCHRANE.

The LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,

SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1795.

Admiralty-Office.

The following Dispatch was this morning received from Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B.

Sir,

Royal George at Sea, June 27.

IT is with sincere satisfaction I acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's squadron under my command attacked the enemy's fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, attended with eleven frigates and some small cruisers, on the 23d instant, close in with Port L'Orient. The ships which struck are the Alexander, Le Formidable, and Le Tigre, which were with difficulty retained. If the enemy had not been protected and sheltered by the land, I have every reason to believe that a much greater number, if not all the line of battle ships, would have been taken or destroyed.

In detailing the particulars of this service, I am to state, that at the dawn of day on the 22d instant, the Nymphe and Astrea, being the look-out frigates a-head, made the signal for the enemy's fleet. I soon perceived that there was no intention to meet me in battle; consequently I made the signal for four of the best sailing ships, the Sans Pareil, Orion, Russel, and Colossus, and soon afterwards for the whole fleet to chace, which continued all that day, and during the night, with very little wind.

Early in the morning on the 23d instant, the headmost ships, the Irresistible, Orion, Queen Charlotte, Russel, Colossus, and Sans Pareil, were pretty well up with the enemy, and a little before six o'clock the action began, and continued till near nine o'clock. When the ships struck, the British squadron was near to some batteries, and in the face of a strong naval port, which will manifest to the public, the zeal, intrepidity, and skill of the admirals, captains, and all other officers, seamen, and soldiers employed upon this service, and they are fully entitled to my warmest acknowledgments.

I beg also to be allowed to mark my approbation, in a particular manner, of Captain Domett's conduct, serving under my flag, for his manly spirit, and for the assistance I received from his active and attentive mind. I feel likewise great satisfaction in doing justice to the meritorious conduct of all the officers of every class, as well as to the bravery of the seamen and soldiers in the Royal George, upon this event, and upon former occasions.

I judged it necessary, upon the information I had received of the force of the enemy, to put the Robust, Thunderer, and Standard, into my line of battle; but their distance from my squadron, and under the circumstance of little wind, they could not join me till after the action was over.

I shall proceed upon my station as soon as I have ordered a distribution of the prisoners, and made other necessary arrangements for the squadron.

Squadron. It is my intention to keep at sea, in order to fulfil every part of my instructions.

I have judged it necessary to send Captain Domett with my dispatches, who will give their Lordships such farther particulars as shall have occurred to him on the victory we have gained.

You will herewith receive a list of the killed and wounded, with the ships they belonged to, and the commanders names.

I am, &c.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

BRIDPORT.

N. B. I am happy to find, by the report made to me, that Captain Grindall's wounds are not dangerous.

Note—Captain Domett reports that the remainder of the enemy's fleet made their escape into L'Orient.

List of the Killed and Wounded on Board his Majesty's Squadron under my Command, in Action with the Enemy off Port L'Orient, June 23, 1795.

Irrefistible, Captain Grindall.—3 seamen killed; 9 seamen and 3 soldiers wounded.—Captain Grindall and Mr. Troughton, the Master, wounded.

Orion, Sir James Saumarez.—5 seamen and 1 soldier killed; 17 seamen and 1 soldier wounded.

Queen Charlotte, Sir A. S. Douglas.—4 seamen killed; 25 seamen and 5 soldiers wounded.—Mr. David Coutts, Master's Mate, and Mr. Hornsby Charles, Midshipman, wounded.

Russel, Captain T. Larcom.—2 seamen and 1 soldier killed; 9 seamen wounded.—Captain Bacon, of the 118th Regiment, wounded.

Colosius, Captain J. Monkton.—4 seamen and 1 soldier killed; 26 seamen and 2 soldiers wounded.—Lieutenant Mends, and Mr. John Whyley, Midshipman, wounded.

Sans Pareil, Right Hon. Lord Hugh Seymour, Captain Browell.—7 seamen and 1 soldier killed.—Lieutenant C. M. Stocker, ad Lieutenant, Lieutenant W. Jephcott, ad Lieutenant of Marines, killed; Lieutenant F. J. Nott, and Mr. Richard Spencer, Midshipman, wounded.

London, Captain E. Griffith.—2 seamen wounded.—Mr. J. E. Baker, Midshipman, wounded.

Queen, Vice-admiral S. A. Gardner, Captain Bedford.—None killed or wounded.

Prince George, Captain Edge.—None killed or wounded.

Royal George, Admiral Lord Bridport, Captain Domett.—5 seamen and 1 soldier wounded.

BRIDPORT.

Royal George, at Sea, June 24, 1795.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 28.

Admiralty-Office, July 28.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-admiral Murray, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed in North America, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty, dated Halifax, June 22, 1795.

ON the 7th of January I sent the Oiseau and Argonaut to cruise, and on the 11th the Argonaut returned, bringing with her the French corvette, L'Esperance, which she took on the 8th. No. 2, is a copy of Captain Ball's letter to me, mentioning the circumstances of her capture. As I found L'Esperance completely fitted and in good repair, and being much in want of a vessel of the kind, on the 31st of January I sent her and the Lynx to cruise. These vessels took a privateer from Charlestown, named La Cocarde Nationale, mounting 14 guns and 6 swivels, and carrying 80 men. They also retook the ship Norfolk, of Belfast, and brig George, of Workington. The former they sent to Providence, and the latter to Halifax.

The squadron re-took an American ship called the Ceres, laden with Dutch property, from Amsterdam to Surinam, which had been captured near the port of her destination by a French privateer from Baltimore, and sent her to Halifax.

C O P Y.

*Argonaut, Lyn Haven Bay,
Jan. 11, 1795.*

Sir,

I HAVE the satisfaction to acquaint you, that on the 8th instant, Cape Henry then bearing E. S. E. about eighteen leagues, I captured a French republican ship of war called the Esperance, mounting 22 guns, six and four-pounders, and 130 men, commanded by M. de St. Laurent, a lieutenant de vaisseau.

She is a very complete vessel, and sails well. She had been out fifty-six days from Rochfort, and was bound to the Chesapeake.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEX. JOHN BALL.

*Rear-admiral Murray,
Esq. Esq. Esq.*

From the LONDON GAZETTE, August 1.

Admiralty-Office, August 1.

DISPATCHES have been received from Sir J. B. Warren, Bart., K. B. dated La Ponone, at Sea, July 24, 1795, stating, that the peninsula of Quiberon, with Fort Penthierville, which had been taken possession of by the French regiments in the pay of Great Britain on the

ad of that month, was surprized by the enemy on the night of the 21st. It appears, that owing to the desertion and treacherous behaviour of some private soldiers belonging to some of the regiments above-mentioned, the enemy were enabled to get possession of the fort before any effectual disposition of resistance could be made. A part of the troops, to the amount of about 900, together with near 1500 of the royalist inhabitants, who had joined the regiments in the pay of Great Britain, effected their embarkation on board the ships. The remainder fell into the hands of the enemy, together with such stores and ammunition as had been landed. A great proportion of the principal articles were, however, still on board the transports which accompanied the expedition. The squadron proceeded to the islands of Houat and Hedic, where the troops were landed.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, August 4.

Admiralty-Office, August 4.

The following are Extracts of Letters from Admiral Sir John Lafory, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Nepean, bearing the Dates against each expressed.

*Fort Royal, Martinique,
June 23, 1795.*

LIEUT. General Sir John Vaughan having signified to me on the 18th instant, the necessity of withdrawing the garrison of St. Lucia with all possible haste, I dispatched directly such ships as I could collect upon the spot to cover and protect their embarkation; but the occasion pressing exceedingly, Captain John Barrett, commanding his Majesty's ship Experiment, who was stationed at the mouth of the careenage to co-operate with the garrison, at the desire of General Stewart, embarked the whole in his own ship and a transport, to the amount of 1200, between the hours of twelve at night and five in the morning, and got them safe out of gun-shot, except some sick and some women, who were too distantly situated to benefit by his endeavours for them. The latter were, however, sent over to us the next day.

*St. Pierre's, Martinique,
June 26, 1795.*

SINCE my letter of the 23d instant, his Majesty's brig the Drake has arrived, whose commander parted from the West India convoy in lat. 42. 52. north, and long. 11. 47. west, in a very hard gale of wind, which he thinks must have greatly dispersed the whole.

Since the Drake left Barbadoes, I have received a letter from Governor Ricketts, informing me of the arrival at that island of a part thereof, and of the capture of some, a list of which I inclose. I am hastening forward two frigates, one of which I will send with all possible dispatch to windward of Deseda, and the other off Bartholomew's,

C 2 where

where the enemy send most of their prizes, to recover as many of the captures as may be.

List of Vessels captured.

Blenheim, with troops.
Betsey, ditto.
Hanbury, with government stores.
Aurora, merchantmen.
Vintreis, ditto
Montferrat, packet.

St. Pierre's, Martinique,

June 30, 1795.

THE Packet which came here yesterday brought me a letter from Captain Charles John Moore Mansfield, commander of his Majesty's ship Andromache, who is arrived at Barbadoes, acquainting me that about forty sail of the convoy have reached that island. He confirms the account of the captures made by the enemy, of which a list is enclosed in my letter of the 26th instant.

The Matilda frigate, which I had stationed off Basseterre, Guadalupe, returned to me yesterday. Her commander informed me, that he had, on the 28th, fallen in with nine sail of ships going into that port, three of which were large frigates, and chased him off. These must be the same that have been cruizing to windward off Barbadoes, with the prizes they have made.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-admiral Caldwell, late Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Nepean, dated at Spithead, the 29th of July, 1795.

CAPTAIN Otway, of his Majesty's sloop Thorn, informed me, that on the 25th of May he captured a French ship of war, called the Courier Nationale, of 18 nine and six-pounders, and 119 men. That on his coming up with her, he immediately laid her on board, and, after an action of thirty-five minutes, (during which two attempts were made to board the Thorn) the enemy struck. The Thorn had only five men wounded, and the French ship seven killed and twenty wounded. From Captain Otway's report, too much praise cannot be given to his officers and sloop's company for their spirited conduct.

Rear-admiral Thompson returned to Martinique on the 13th of June, after seeing the convoy in safety to 24 deg. 8 min. north, and on his way back captured the Perdrix, a French ship of war of 24 guns.

Admiralty

Admiralty-Office, August 4.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was Yesterday received from Admiral Hotham, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean.

Britannia, Myrtilla Bay,

June 30, 1795.

Sir,

IT is with peculiar satisfaction I transmit to you, for their Lordship's information, the inclosed letter, which I received this evening by the Fox cutter, from Captain Towry, of his Majesty's ship the Dido, giving an account of a most gallant and spirited action which took place on the 24th instant, between that frigate, in company with the Lowestoffe, Captain Middleton, on their way to reconnoitre off the Hieres Islands, and the two French frigates named in the margin,* the termination of which contest, by the capture of La Minerve, when the great superiority of the enemy's force is considered, reflects the highest honour on the captains, officers, and crews of the Dido and Lowestoffe.

I am, &c.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

WM. HOTHAM.

Dido, Port Mahon, June 27, 1795.

Sir,

I THIS day dispatched the Fox cutter to communicate to you, that, in the execution of your instructions of the 22^d instant, with his Majesty's ship Lowestoffe under my orders, being, at day-light of the 24th, in latitude 41 deg. 8 min. and longitude 5 deg. 30 min. east, we discovered and chased two French frigates; after some manœuvring they stood towards us, and at a quarter before nine, A. M. the Dido, leading down, commenced a close action with the headmost of the enemy's ships, which falling twice on board, was at an early period much disabled from the loss of her bowsprit, fore-mast and main-top-mast; our mizen-mast being shot away, fore and main-top-sails perfectly useless, we no longer kept-to, at which time the Lowestoffe opened a well-directed fire; the enemy's second frigate then passing and exchanging the opposite broadsides, his Majesty's ships were kept on the same tack till she went about, when fearing she might stand to the assistance of the dismasted ship, the Lowestoffe was sent in chase; the French frigate escaped by superior sailing, leaving her friend to be raked, in a very judicious manner, on the return of the Lowestoffe, to whose fire she surrendered about noon. The Dido having cleared the wreck of the mizen-mast, and bent new topsails, joined in securing the prize, La Minerve, a new ship, of 42 guns, eighteen pounders, on the main deck, and 330 men, a remarkably fast sailer. Her companion we learnt to be L'Artemise, of 36 guns.

Having giving a detail of the action, it becomes as much my duty as it is my inclination to acknowledge the very able support of his Majesty's ship Lowestoffe, and to testify, that by Captain Middleton's

* La Minerve, L'Artemise.

good conduct the business of the day was, in a great measure, brought to a fortunate issue. I must, at the same time, pay the just tribute of my warmest gratitude to the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command; and it is with deep regret I add, that Lieutenant Buckol, (first of the Dido) a most active officer, is among the wounded, I fear severely, though he never quitted the deck; Mr. Douglas, the boatswain, a deserving man, is killed. Captain Middleton's report of the conduct of the officers and people of the Lowestoffe, is also highly flattering.

I have the honour to inclose a list of the killed and wounded. Having received information from the prisoners that the French fleet were actually at sea, the state of the ships obliged me to run for this port, where I propose fitting jury-masts in the prize, and proceeding to Ajaccio. Circumstances are, I hope, sufficiently strong to plead my excuse for not fully executing your former orders.

I remain, with respect,
Yours, &c.

G. H. TOWRY.

P. S. We cannot exactly estimate the loss in the French ship, but imagine it to be about twenty. L'Artemise was also much hulled.

Admiral Hotham.

List of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's Ships Dido and Lowestoffe.

Dido.—Mr. Cuthbert Douglas, boatswain, and five seamen, killed—
Mr. Richard Buckol, first lieutenant, Richard Willan, clerk, John Henley, quarter-master; James Gregory, boatswain's mate, and eleven seamen, wounded.

Lowestoffe.—Three seamen wounded.

G. H. TOWRY.

*Dated on board his Majesty's Ship Dido,
Port Mahon, the 26th June, 1795.*

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Aug. 8, 1795.

Admiralty-Office, August 7, 1795.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Hotham, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships in the Mediterranean, to Mr. Nepean, dated Britannia, at Sea, July 14, 1795.

Sir,

YOU will be pleased to inform their Lordships, that I dispatched, on the 4th inst. from St. Fiorenzo, the ships named in the margin,* under the orders of Captain Nelson, whom I directed to call off Genoa for the Inconstant and Southampton frigates that were laying there, and to take them with him, if, from the intelligence he might there obtain, he should find it necessary.

* Agamemnon, Meleager, Ariadne, Mofelle, Mutine cutter.

On

On the morning of the 7th I was much surprized to learn that the above squadron was seen in the offing, returning into port, pursued by the enemy's fleet, which, by General de Vins's letter, (the latest account I had received, I had reason to suppose were certainly at Toulon.

Immediately on the enemy's appearance, I made every preparation to put to sea after them ; and notwithstanding the unpleasant predicament we were in, most of the ships being in the midst of watering and refitting, I was yet enabled by the zeal and extraordinary exertions of the officers and men, to get the whole of the fleet under weigh that night, as soon as the land wind permitted us to move ; from which time we neither saw or heard any thing of the enemy till the 12th, when being to the eastward, and within sight of the Hieres Islands, two vessels were spoken with by Captain Horham of the Cyclops, and Captain Boys of La Fleche, who acquainted them they had seen the French fleet, not many hours before, to the southward of those islands : upon which information I made the signal before night to prepare for battle, as an indication to our fleet that the enemy was near.

Yesterday, at day-break, we discovered them to leeward of us, on the larboard tack, consisting of twenty-three sail, seventeen of which proved to be of the line : the wind at this time blew very hard from the W. N. W. attended with a heavy swell, and six of our ships had to bend main-topsails, in the room of those that were split by the gale in the course of the night.

I caused the fleet, however, to be formed, with all possible expedition on the larboard line of bearing, carrying all sail possible to preserve that order, and to keep the wind of the enemy, in the hopes of cutting them off from the land, from which we were only five leagues distant.

At eight o'clock, finding they had no other view but that of endeavouring to get from us, I made the signal for a general chace, and for the ships to take suitable stations for their mutual support, and to engage the enemy as arriving up with them in succession ; but the baffling winds and vexatious calms, which render every naval operation in this country doubtful, soon afterwards took place, and allowed a few only of our van ships to get up with the enemy's rear about noon, which they attacked so warmly, that, in the course of an hour after, we had the satisfaction to find one of their sternmost ships, viz. L'Alcide, of seventy-four guns, had struck ; the rest of their fleet, favoured by a shift of wind to the eastward, (that placed them now to windward of us) had got so far into Frejus Bay, whilst the major part of ours was becalmed in the offing, that it became impossible for any thing further to be effected ; and those of our ships which were engaged had approached so near to the shore, that I judged it proper to call them off by signal.

If the result of the day was not so completely satisfactory as the commencement promised, it is my duty to state, that no exertions could be more unanimous than those of the fleet under my command ; and it would be injustice to the general merit of all to select individual instances of commendation, had not superiority of sailing placed some of the ships in an advanced situation, of which they availed themselves in the most distinguished and honourable manner : and amongst the number

number was the Victory, having Rear-admiral Man on board, who had shifted his flag to that ship upon this occasion.

I am sorry to say that the Alcide, about half an hour after she had struck, by some accident caught fire in her fore-top, before she was taken possession of, and the flames spread with such rapidity that the whole ship was soon in a blaze; several boats from the fleet were dispatched as quickly as possible to rescue as many of her people as they could save from the destruction that awaited them, and three hundred of them were in consequence preserved, when the ship blew up with the most awful and tremendous explosion, and between three and four hundred people are supposed to have perished.

Inclosed herewith is a list of the killed and wounded on board the different ships that were engaged, by which their Lordships will perceive our loss has not been great; and I have the pleasure to add, that the damages sustained by those ships have been such as can be easily remedied.

Had we fortunately fallen in with the enemy any distance from the land, I flatter myself we should have given a decisive blow to their naval force in these seas; and although the advantage of yesterday may not appear to be of any great moment, I yet hope it will have served as a check upon their present operations, be they what they may.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
W. HOTHAM.

Return of the Officers and Men killed and wounded on Board the under-mentioned Ships of the Fleet under Admiral Hotham's Command, in Action with the French Fleet on the 13th of July, 1795.

Victory.—1 midshipman, 3 marines killed—11 seamen wounded.

Captain.—1 seamen killed.

Culloden.—2 seamen killed—first lieutenant, T. Whitten, and 4 seamen, wounded.

Blenheim.—2 seamen killed—2 ditto wounded.

Defence.—2 seamen killed—6 ditto wounded.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, August 29, 1795.

Admiralty-Office, August 28.

BY a letter received from Admiral Duncan, dated on board his Majesty's ship Venerable, at sea, August 26, 1795, Texel, E. N. E. distant 22 leagues, it appears, that on the preceding day the squadron had captured two French national brigs, one named La Suffisante, mounting 14 eight and six-pounders, and the other named La Victorieuse, mounting 14 twelve-pounders, which were destined to cruise in the North Sea. The Admiral speaks in terms of much commendation of the behaviour of Mr. Oswald, acting lieutenant on board the Spider lugger, who first came up with, and afterwards took possession of one of the brigs.

The same advices state, that the Dutch fleet had returned into the Texel.

F.R.T.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Sept. 1, 1795.

Admiralty-Office, September 1.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Alms, of his Majesty's Ship Reunion, to Mr. Nepean, dated at Sea, August 23, 1795.

PLEASE to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, in pursuance of orders from Admiral Duncan, I proceeded to sea from the Downs on the 8th instant, with the Isis and Vestal under my command, on a cruize; and on the 12th instant was joined by his Majesty's ship Stag. On the 22d instant, at one P. M. the high land of Jeddier bearing N. E. two ships and a cutter were discovered to windward on the larboard tack, standing in shore, on which the squadron made all sail after them, and I made the signal to prepare for battle.

The Stag, having the advantage of a shift of wind, got up with the sternmost at a quarter past four P. M. when she began the action, and I am happy to add, that at a quarter past five P. M. the ship with which she was engaged struck to her; during which time the remainder of the squadron were firing at and endeavouring to cut off the headmost frigate and cutter; but, to my great mortification, I am sorry to say, they effected their escape into the harbour of Egeroe, at half past five P. M.

The frigate which struck to the Stag is called the Alliance, of 36 guns and 240 men; the other that escaped, the Argo, of the same force, and the Nelly cutter of 16 guns.

I have thought proper, for their Lordships' information, to send in the Alliance with my dispatches, by Lieutenant William Huggell, of his Majesty's ship under my command, whom I recommend to their favour, who will inform their Lordships of every proceeding of the chase and action; but as the Alliance struck to the Stag, have put Mr. Patrick Tonyn, her first lieutenant, to take charge of her, with orders to proceed to the Nore.

As the squadron has not received any material damage, I shall continue to execute the orders I received from Admiral Duncan; and I hope it will meet with their Lordships' approbation.

Permit me to return my warmest and most sincere acknowledgments for the steady and gallant behaviour of Captain Yorke, of his Majesty's ship Stag, his officers and ship's company; and I likewise very much approve of the conduct of the Isis and Vestal, with the officers and ship's company of his Majesty's ship Reunion under my command.

Inclosed is a list of the killed and wounded on board the respective ships, for their Lordships' information.

A List of Killed and Wounded on Board his Majesty's Ships under-mentioned, in the Action with the two Dutch Frigates off Egeroe Harbour, the 22d of August, 1795.

Reunion.—1 killed and 3 wounded.

Isis.—2 wounded.

Stag.—4 killed and 13 wounded.

Vestal.—None killed or wounded.

Admiralty-Office, September 1, 1795.

Extract of a Letter from Rear Admiral Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships at Jamaica, to Mr. Nepean, dated at Port Royal, Jamaica, the 29th of June, 1795.

THE Mosquito had been missing for some time, but yesterday I received a letter from the master, dated Providence, the 9th instant, saying, that off Cupe Maze, (the east end of Cuba) they fell in with a republican sloop privateer, called the National Razor, with six guns and forty men, and engaged her from eight o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon, when she struck to his Majesty's colours; and that the next day they retook her prize, a Spanish brig from Havannah, to Cartagena, laden with flour; that being disabled he could not rejoin me at the Mole St. Nicholas, agreeably to orders, but with a free wind made the best of his way to Providence, where he arrived with his prize and re-capture with safety. I am sorry to add, that he states that Lieutenant M'Farlane, who commanded the Mosquito, was killed very early in the action.

Extract of a Letter from Rear Admiral Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships at Jamaica, to Mr. Nepean, dated at the Mole, (St. Domingo) the 12th of July, 1795.

I AM sorry to observe, that my conjectures respecting the Flying Fish schooner, are verified, she was captured on her passage down to Jamaica, by two privateers, and carried into Leogane; but the time and circumstances I am yet unacquainted with, not having heard from Lieutenant Seton.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Tuesday, Sept. 8.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 8.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Sidney Smith, Knt. Captain of his Majesty's Ship Diamond, to Mr. Nepean, dated off Rock Douvre, the 4th of September,

I HAVE the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's squadron under my orders has had some successes in the three days which have elapsed since the date of my last letter.

The corvette I was in pursuit of with the Diamond when I wrote last secured herself in Brehat. I had, however, the good fortune to fall in with another, at day-light in the morning of the 4^d. Three quarters of an hour's chase brought us within gun-shot of her. She endeavoured to elude our pursuit in the labyrinth of rocks before Treguier, but the attempt proved fatal to her, as she struck on the Roenn, and soon after filled and fell over. We ceased our fire immediately, and sent our boats to save the crew. Her own boats, which were towing her, saved as many as they could carry; we were not fortunate enough to save more than

that nine. They reckoh about twenty perished, besides the captain, who was washed off the wreck a few minutes before our boats reached them—Her name was L'Assemblée Nationale, of 22 guns, eight-pounders, on the main deck, and 200 men, from Brést, bound to St. Maloës. The swell was so great that she went to pieces very soon, and we were obliged to anchor among the rocks to avoid a similiar fate.

Captain Dacres, who had been detached in the Childers, rejoined me this morning. On his return he fell in with and captured the Vigilant, French cutter, of six guns, one of the Garde de Côte in the Bay of St. Brieux.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Saturday, Oct 3, 1795.

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 3.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Hotbam to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Britannia, Leghorn Road, Sept. 1, 1795.

Sir,

HEREWITH I have the pleasure to inclose to you, for their Lordships information, a letter that I received this evening, by express, from Capt. Nelson, of his Majesty's ship the Agamemnon, giving an account of his having proceeded, with the ships therein mentioned, to the bays of Alaffio and Languelia, places in the neighbourhood of Vado in the possession of the French armies, and of his having cut from thence the nine vessels named in the inclosed list, besides two that he destroyed.

His officer-like conduct upon this, and, indeed, upon every occasion where his services are called forth, reflects upon him the highest credit.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W. HOTHAM.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. H. Nelson to Admiral Hotbam, dated Agamemnon, Vado Bay, August 27, 1795.

Sir,

HAVING received information from General De Vins, that a convoy of provisions and ammunition was arrived at Alaffio, a place in the possession of the French army, I yesterday proceeded, with the ships named in the margin,* to that place, where, within an hour, we took the vessels named in the inclosed list; there was but a very feeble opposition from some of the enemy's cavalry, who fired on our boats when boarding the vessels near the shore; but I have the pleasure to say, no man was killed or wounded. The enemy had two thousand horse and foot soldiers in the town, which prevented my landing and destroying their magazines of provisions and ammunition.

I sent Capt. Freemantle, of the Inconstant, with the Tartar, to Languelia, a town on the west side of the bay of Alaffio, where he executed my orders in a most officer-like manner; and I am indebted to every captain and officer in the squadron for their activity, but most particularly so to Lieut. George Andrews, first lieutenant of the Agamemnon,

* Incipient, Melenger, Southampton, Tartar, Ariadne, Speady.

(50)

who, by his spirited and officer-like conduct, saved the French corvette from going on shore.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With the highest respect,

Your most obedient servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

Admiral Hotham.

A List of Vessels taken by his Majesty's Squadron under the Command of Horatio Nelson, Esq. in the Bay of Alafio and Languelia, the 26th of August, 1795.

La Resolute (corvette) Pollaco ship, 10 guns, 4 swivels, 87 men; 6 guns thrown overboard. Belonging to the French.

La Republique, gun-boat, 6 guns, 49 men. Belonging to the French.

La Constitution, galley, 1 bras gun, 4 swivels, 30 men. Belonging to the French.

La Vigilante, galley, 1 bras gun, 4 swivels, 29 men. Belonging to the French.

A brig, in ballast, name unknown, burthen 100 tons, belonging to the French.

A bark, name unknown, burthen 70 tons, laden with powder and shells. Belonging to the French.

La Guiletta, brig, burthen 100 tons, laden with wine. Belonging to the French.

A galley, name unknown, burthen 50 tons, in ballast.

A tartane, name unknown, burthen 35 tons, laden with wine.

A bark, name unknown, laden with powder, drove on shore.

A bark, name unknown, laden with provisions, burnt.

HORATIO NELSON.

Admiralty-Office, October 3.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-admiral Harvey, dated Prince of Wales, off Belleisle, Sept. 27, 1795, to Evan Nepean, Esq.

YOU will be pleased to inform their Lordships, that the Minotaur and Porcupine yesterday evening re-captured the Walsingham packet, from Falmouth to Lisbon. She had been taken the 13th instant, by L'Insolent, corvette brig, of 18 guns, and 90 men, who very narrowly escaped being taken on the re-capture of the packet, but got into L'Orient when just within reach of gun-shot of our ships.

Admiralty-Office, October 6.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-admiral Kingsmill to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board L'Engageante, in Cork Harbour, the 21st of September, 1795.

HIS Majesty's ship Seahorse is just arrived from her cruize. Captain Peyton informs me, that on the 29th of August the squadron fell in with

two ships and a brig. The Seahorse took one ship, which proved to be a Dutch East India ship, called the Crempout; the Diana took the other ship, a South-whaler, laden with oil and coffee, called the Herstilder; and that the Unicorn parted in chace of the Comet brig of war.

Extract of a Letter from the same, dated the 28th of September.

HIS Majesty's ship the Unicorn arrived here yesterday, with her prize, the Comet Dutch sloop of war, mounting 18 English nine-pounders. I have examined the latter closely, and think she is the completest vessel of her class that I ever heard of, and even exceeds the opinion given me of her by the inclosed letter from Captain Williams.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

R. KINGSMILL.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Williams to Vice-admiral Kingsmill, dated Unicorn, at Sea, the 5th of September, 1795.

Sir,

I BEG leave to inform you, that, on the 28th ult. when cruizing, in conjunction with his Majesty's ships Diana and Seahorse, in latitude 61 deg. 18 min. longitude 4 deg. 17 min. the signal was made by Captain Faulkner, of his Majesty's ship Unicorn, under my command, to part company and chace, N. N. E. after a brig that had outsailed and separated from two ships, which the squadron were then in pursuit of. After a chace of thirteen hours, I was so fortunate as to come up with her, and, when she had discharged her guns and struck her colours, to take possession of her. She proves to be the Comet, a Dutch sloop of war, mounting 18 nine-pounders, commanded by Mynheer Claris, captain-lieutenant, from the Cape of Good Hope, bound to the Texel. The Comet is a remarkable fine vessel, only four years old, sails extremely well, and is in every respect well calculated for his Majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS WILLIAMS.

Dimensions of the Comet, being copper-bolted and coppered.

Length of gun-deck, 102 feet, 7 inches.—Length of keel, 95 feet, 10 inches.—Breadth of beam, 29 feet, 9 inches.—Height between decks, 6 feet.—And carries nine months water, and provisions for 110 men.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Oct. 24, 1795.

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 24.

Extract of a Letter from Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, K.B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated La Pomone, Road of Isle Dieu, October 27, 1795.

I BEG you will inform their Lordships, that the Aquilon frigate arrived, on the 14th instant, from Sir James Saumarez, with dispatches, and put to sea again the same day; at eleven A. M. on the 15th, she returned, and informed me, that there were two ships of Admiral Harvey's squadron in chace of the enemy. I immediately gave orders for the Concorde to weigh, and doing so with La Pomone, leaving five sail of transports in the charge of Lieutenant Bowling, of the Swinger gun vessel, and having cleared the south end of the island, I discovered the enemy, with the Orion and Thalia in chace; and soon after perceived two other sail, which proved to be the Melampus and Latona: the Aquilon, who was the headmost, being within gun-shot of the enemy, they doubled the Baleine Bank, and proceeded up the Perterus d'Antioche to Rochfort, from which it was not possible to cut them off. I hauled to the wind directly, and discovered two other sail in the N. W. steering in for the land; the whole squadron chased, and on our nearer approach found them to be a line of battle ship and a corvette brig; I endeavoured to cut them off from the land, and after several shot that had been fired, the corvette brought-to, and proved to be L'Evielle, of 18 guns, and 100 men; had been out 60 days, in company with La Forte, of 50 guns; Le Veriade, 36 guns; Tarteuf, 36 guns, and a lugger; they have, according to their report, taken 12 sail of West Indiamen, the two recaptures * by this ship and the Orion, were of the number of their prizes.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, November 28, 1795.

Admiralty-Office, November 24.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated November 22, 1795.

Sir,

YOU will please to acquaint their Lordships, that his Majesty's sloop Ferret returned here this morning from cruising to the Westward, and has brought in with her a small French lugger privateer of four guns, four-pounders, and swivels, with thirty men.

I understand the said privateer left Calais on Thursday morning last, and was taken by the Ferret the same night off Blackness.

* Kent, of London, and Albion.

Admiralty

Admiralty-Office, November 24.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir John Laforey, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Leeward Islands, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Majestic, Martinico, October 8, 1795.

ON the 30th ult. the Vanguard, cruizing to windward of Deseda, took a frigate belonging to the convention of France, called the Superbe, mounting 22 guns, and 100 men, the rest having been put into prizes, two of which she had with her, viz. a Guineaman, which escaped, and a brig from Barbadoes, bound for Newfoundland, which was retaken.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, December 12, 1795.

Admiralty-Office, December 12.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Luke, of his Majesty's Ship Caroline, to Evan Nepean, Esq. in the North Seas; the Texel bearing S. S. E. 20 Leagues. Received the 11th Instant, without Date.

YOU will be pleased to inform their Lordships, that his Majesty's ship Caroline, under my command, part of Admiral Duncan's squadron, having discovered, on the 1st of December, two strange sail, bearing S. four leagues, the Admiral, made our signal to chace. This happened about eight o'clock in the morning. At half past eleven, A. M. came within gun-shot, when we found the chace shewed French colours and fired a shot to the windward. The Caroline immediately fired, to bring her to, but she hauled her wind from us, and fired a broadside. In the course of an hour, after firing several shot, she struck: she proves to be the Pandora, a national brig, three days from Dunkirk, carrying 108 men, and mounting 14 six-pounders. The other, named Le Septnie, mounting 12 four-pounders, got off while we were taking the prisoners out.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, January 2, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, January 2.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir John Laforey, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Nepean, dated Martinico, October 22, 1795.

ON the 20th instant the Bellona arrived, having joined Vice-admiral Thompson, on the 7th of September, in the latitude 43 deg. 20 min. N. and longitude 38 deg. 9 min. W.

In my last I informed you, Sir, with the capture of the Superbe French frigate, of 22 guns, off Deseda, by the Vanguard; since which I have received an account from Captain Warre, of his Majesty's ship Mermaid, dated the 12th instant, that, cruizing to windward of Grenada,

nada, he discovered, on the 10th, off La Baye, a ship and a brig at anchor, which, upon seeing him, got under weigh and made sail from him; but the brig soon bore up, and pushed into a small bay called Requin, where the Mermaid followed her, and run aground close to her.—The French, however, got on shore to the number of 70 troops, and 50 that were her crew, and upwards of 50 had been landed by the ship while at anchor. Captain Warre got possession of the brig, which is named the Brutus, of 10 guns; the next day he chased the ship the whole day, but she escaped in the night. And in a subsequent letter, dated the 15th, he informed me that he discovered her again on the 14th to leeward of him, when he chased and captured her, after an action of half an hour, with the loss of one man killed and three wounded in the Mermaid, and twenty killed, and several wounded of the enemy: that both these vessels were conventional corvettes. The ship named the Republican, mounting 18 guns, and had on board 250 or 260 men at the commencement of the action, with a French general and his staff, destined to command at Grenada. In a letter wrote the following day he acquainted me, that upon his return to Grenada, with his prize, he had the mortification to find that the important post of Gouyave, or Charlotte Town, had been taken by the enemy the night before.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 15, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, March 15.

Extract of a Letter from Captain John Cooke, of his Majesty's Ship Quebec, dated at Spithead the 14th of March, 1796, to Evan Nepean, Esq.

Sir;

I BEG you will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 10th instant, (Scilly per account bearing N. E. distance eighteen or twenty leagues) I fell in with and captured L'Aspic, French national cutter, of ten guns and fifty-seven men, and brought her in here. She had been ten days from St. Maloes, and had captured the John sloop, of and from Galway, for Oporto.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 19, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, March 18.

Extract of a Letter from the Hon. Robert Stopford, Captain of his Majesty's Ship Phaeton, to Mr. Nepean, dated at Sea, March 21, 1796, Cape Finisterre, E. N. E. 40 Leagues.

I HAVE to request you will inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the French corvette called La Bonne Citoyenne, mounting 20 nine-pounders, and carrying 145 men, was captured yesterday by the squadron under my orders, Cape Finisterre E. by N. 58 leagues. She left Rochefort on the 4th instant, in company with La Forte, La Seine,

Steine, La Regenerée frigates, and La Mutine brig, destined for the Isle de France, and have troops and a great quantity of soldiers' cloathing on board for that place.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 22, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, March 22.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been received at this Office from Sir William Sidney Smith.

Sir,

Diamond, off Capé Frebel,
March 18, 1796.

HAVING received information that the armed vessels detached by the Prince of Bouillon had chased a convoy, consisting of a corvette, two luggers, four brigs, and two sloops, into Herqui, I proceeded off that port to reconnoitre their position, and found the channel, which I found very narrow and intricate. I succeeded, however, in gaining a knowledge of these points sufficient to determine me to attack them, in the Diamond, without loss of time, and without waiting for the junction of any part of the squadron, lest the enemy should fortify themselves still further on our appearance.

Lieutenant M'Kinley, of the Liberty brig, and Lieutenant Gossett, of the Aristocrat lugger, joined me off the Cape, and, though not under my orders, very handsomely offered their services, which I accepted, as small vessels were essentially necessary in such an operation. The permanent fortification for the defence of the bay are two batteries on a high rocky promontory. We observed the enemy to be very busily employed in mounting a detached gun on a very commanding point of the entrance. At one o'clock yesterday afternoon this gun opened upon us as we passed : the Diamond's fire however silenced it in eleven minutes. The others opened upon us as we came round the point, and their commanding situation giving them a decided advantage over a ship in our position, I judged it necessary to adopt another mode of attack, and accordingly detached the marines and boarders to land behind the point, and take the batteries in the rear. As the boats approached the beach, they met with a warm reception, and a temporary check from a body of troops drawn up to oppose their landing : the situation was critical, the ship being exposed to a most galling fire, and in intricate piquetage, with a considerable portion of her men thus detached. I pointed out to Lieutenant Pine the apparent practicability of climbing the precipice in front of the batteries ; which he readily perceived, and, with an alacrity and bravery of which I have had many proofs in the course of our service together, he undertook and executed this hazardous service, landing immediately under the guns, and rendering himself master of them before the column of troops could regain the heights. The fire from the ship was directed to cover our men in this operation ; it checked the enemy in their advancement, and the re-embarkation was effected, as soon as the guns were spiked, without the loss of a man, though we have to regret Lieutenant Carter of the marines being dangerously wounded on this occasion.

The enemy's guns, three twenty-four pounders, being silenced and rendered useless for the time, we proceeded to attack the corvette and the other armed vessels, which had by this time opened their fire on us, to cover the operation of hauling themselves on shore. The Diamond was anchored as close to the corvette, as her draft of water would allow. The Liberty brig was able to approach near, and on this occasion I cannot omit to mention the very gallant and judicious manner in which Lieutenant M'Kinley, her commander, brought this vessel into action, profiting by her light draft of water to follow the corvette close. The enemy's fire soon slackened, and the crew being observed to be making for the shore, on the English colours being hoisted on the hill, I made the signal for the boats, manned and armed, to board, directing Lieutenant Goffet, in the lugger, to cover them. This service was executed by the party from the shore, under the direction of Lieutenant Pine, in a manner that does them infinite credit, and him every honour, as a brave man and able officer.

The enemy's troops occupied the high projecting rocks all round the vessels, from whence they kept up an incessant fire of musketry; and the utmost that could be effected at the moment was to set fire to the corvette, (named L'Etourdie, of 16 guns, twelve-pounders on the main deck) and one of the merchant brigs, since as the tide fell the enemy pressed down on the sands, close to the vessels; Lieutenant Pine therefore returned on board, having received a severe contusion on the breast from a musket ball. As the tide rose again, it became practicable to make a second attempt to burn the remaining vessels. Lieutenant Pearson was accordingly detached for that purpose with the boats, and I am happy to add, his gallant exertions succeeded to the utmost of my hopes, notwithstanding the renewed and heavy fire of musketry from the shore. This fire was returned with great spirit and evident good effect; and I was much pleased with the conduct of Lieutenant Goffet, in the hired lugger, and Mr. Knight, in the Diamond's launch, who covered the approach and retreat of the boats. The vessels were all burnt except an armed lugger, which kept up her fire to the last.

The wind and tide fitting at ten at night, to come out of the harbour again, we weighed, and repassed the point of Herqui, from which we received a few shot, the enemy having found means to restore one of the guns to activity. Our loss, as appears by the inclosed return, trifling, considering the nature of the enterprise, and the length of time we were exposed to the enemy's fire. Theirs, I am persuaded, must have been great, from the numbers within the range of our fire and shells. The conduct of every officer and man under my command meets with my warmest approbation; it would be superfluous to particularize any others than those I have named; suffice it to say, the characteristic bravery and activity of British seamen never was more conspicuous.

Lieutenant Pine will have the honour to present their Lordships with the colours which he struck on the battery; and I beg leave to recommend him particularly to their Lordships as a most meritorious officer.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. SIDNEY SMITH.

Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary
to the Admiralty.

A Return

A Return of the killed and wounded belonging to his Majesty's Ship Diamond, in the Three Attacks of the Enemy's Batteries and Shipping in Hacqui, the 17th March, 1796. ...

Killed, 2 seamen.

Wounded, first lieutenant, Horace Pine, Lieutenant Carter of the marines, and 5 seamen.

W. SIDNEY SMITH.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 26, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, March 26.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been received at this Office from Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B.

Sir,

La Pomone, Falmouth,

March 24, 1796.

I BEG leave to inform you, that on the 15th instant, in consequence of my letter to their Lordships from Falmouth, I stood over to the French coast in search of the Artois, who joined me on the 18th, and on the 20th, at day-break, having discovered from the mast-head several sail of vessels in the S. S. E. the Saints bearing N. N. E. three or four miles, I made the signal to the squadron under my command, consisting of the ships named in the margin,* for a general chase, and upon our nearer approach perceived them to be a convoy of the enemy steering in for the land. At ten A. M. being up with part of the merchant ships, I captured four, and ordered the Valiant lugger to proceed with them to the nearest port. I continued in pursuit of the men of war, who were forming in line a-head to windward, and kept working to come up with the enemy, who I soon perceived were endeavouring to preserve their distance from us, and to avoid an action, by their tacking at the same time with our ships: being at length arrived within half gunshot to leeward, the two squadrons engaged, and passed each other upon opposite tacks. Immediately upon our sternmost ship being clear of the enemy's line I made the signal to tack and gain the wind, which, by making a very short board on the starboard tack, was obtained; perceiving them rallying round the Commodore close in shore, and beginning to form again, I made the signal for our's, in close order, to endeavour to break their line by cutting off the rear ships, and directed the Galatea to lead down for that purpose; but the enemy bore away, and made all sail possible from us, and stood into the narrow part of the Raz de Fontenay among the rocks; I was, however, enabled to cut off their rear ship. Night approaching, and being unacquainted with the passage, I did not think it proper to continue the pursuit further, at the risk of losing some of our ships in so difficult a pass.

I have every reason to be convinced, from the firm support and zeal I have always experienced from the officers and men of every ship of

* Artois, Galatea, Anson,

the Squadron under my command, that the issue of the contest would have been more complete if the enemy had been more disposed to give them an opportunity of trying their force.

I have inclosed an account of the enemy's force, together with the vessels of the convoy taken; and a list of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships, whose damages I shall make all dispatch possible in repairing.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

P. S. A ship corvette, two brig corvettes, and a lugger, remained with the convoy.

Evan Nepean, Esq.
Esq. Esq. Esq.

A. List of Republican Men of War engaged by the Squadron under the Command of Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B. on the 26th of March, 1796.

La Proserpine, Captain Dogier, Commodore, 44 guns, eighteen-pounders, 500 men, escaped.

L'Unité, Captain Durand, 40 guns, eighteen-pounders, 400 men, escaped.

Le Coquille, 40 guns, eighteen-pounders, 400 men, escaped.

La Tamise, Captain Fradice, 32 guns, twelve-pounders, 300 men, escaped.

L'Etoile, Captain Bertheliee, 30 guns, twelve-pounders, 160 men, taken.

Le Cygnone, Captain Pilet, 22 guns, twelve-pounders, 150 men, escaped.

La Mouche, brig, 10 guns, six-pounders, 80 men, went off with the convoy at the commencement of the action.

(Signed) JOHN WARREN.

A List of Vessels taken by the Squadron under the Command of Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B. on the 20th of March, 1796. being Part of a Convoy belonging to the French Republic.

Ship, name unknown, 500 tons burthen, from Brest, bound to Nantes.

Brig, name unknown, 300 tons burthen, from Brest, bound to Rochefort.

Brig, name unknown, 200 tons burthen, from Brest, bound to L'Orient.

Brig, name unknown, 150 tons burthen, from Brest, bound to L'Orient.

JOHN WARREN.

La Pomone, Falmouth,
March 24, 1796.

An Account of the Officers and Men killed and wounded on board the Squadron under the Command of Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B. on the 20th of March, 1796, in an Engagement belonging to the French Republic.

La Pomone, none killed or wounded.

Artois, no return made.

Galatea, Mr. Evans, midshipman, and 1 seaman, killed; Mr. Burke, acting lieutenant, and 5 seamen, wounded.

Anson, none killed or wounded.

JOHN WARREN.

La Pomone, Falmouth,

March 24, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, March 24, 1796.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Draper, of his Majesty's Ship Porcupine, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Mount's Bay, March 21, 1796.

Sir,

I BEG you will be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 20th instant, about seven A. M. the Lizard bearing N. N. E. three or four leagues, I received information from the Fox excise cutter that a French privateer had that morning captured an English brig, then bearing S. S. W. I accordingly gave chase to both, and about nine o'clock retook the Diamond, of Aberdeen, George Killar, Master, and sent a petty officer and men on board, with orders to make the nearest port, and then stood after the privateer. About twelve o'clock she carried away her main-topmast, owing to her being over-pressed with sail: about one took possession.

She proves to be Le Courreur brig, of 144 tons, and 80 men, pierced for 14 guns, has but 10 on board. She sails remarkably fast, and left St. Maloes the day before. She had only taken the vessel above-mentioned, but was in chace of a large English ship when we saw her. There were several merchant ships in sight, which she must have taken had we not prevented her.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 16, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, August 15.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. Captain of his Majesty's Ship Indefatigable, to Mr. Nepean, dated off Quiberon, the 9th of April, 1796.

ON the 20th ultimo, we chased three corvettes, one of which, La Volage, of 46 guns, we drove on shore, under a battery in the mouth of the Loire, and dismasted her, but she was afterwards got off. In

this affair the Amazon had four men wounded ; the other two ships got into the Loire. We have also captured and destroyed the vessels as per inclosed list.

List of the Ships and Vessels referred to in the above Extract, viz.

Favourite Sultana, brig, laden with salt, captured.
 Friends, brig, laden with flour, &c. captured.
 Name unknown, brig, in ballast, sunk.
 Name unknown, chasse marée, empty, sunk.
 Providence, chasse marée, laden with wine and brandy, captured.
 Name unknown, brig, laden with empty casks, sunk.
 Four Marys, brig, in ballast, captured.
 Amiable Justine, brig, in ballast, captured.
 La Nouvelle Union, brig, in ballast, captured.

Ships of War from L'Orient to Brest.

La Sagesse and La Eclatant, driven up the Loire.

La Volage, driven on shore and dismasted, but was got off again.

EDW. PELLEW.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 26, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, April 26.

Dispatches, of which the following are Copies and Extracts, have been received at this Office, from Sir Edward Pellew, Bart.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Edward Pellew, Captain of his Majesty's ship Indefatigable, to Mr. Nepean, dated at Falmouth, April 20, 1796.

I HAVE the pleasure to inform their Lordships, that on the 13th instant, at four P. M. we fell in with, and gave general chase to a French frigate to windward, the Revolutionnaire being far astern, was tacked by signal to cut the chase from the shore ; and I had the pleasure to see her, just before dark, in a situation to weather the enemy upon a different board, which obliged her also to tack.

The night setting in cloudy, we lost sight of the chase before nine o'clock, when she bore up, but not unobserved by that zealous and attentive officer Captain Cole, who pursued and closed with her at half past eleven ; and not being able to prevail upon her commander to surrender without resistance, he opened a close and well-directed fire upon her, which was faintly returned ; and, after a second broadside, the enemy struck, and proved to be the National frigate La Unité, from L'Orient to Rochfort, mounting 38 guns, twelve and six-pouders, and manned with 255 men, eight or nine of whom were slain, and eleven or twelve desperately wounded. La Revolutionnaire happily had no men hurt ; and it appears that she was manœuvred by Captain Cole in the most officer-like manner, and the attack made with great gallantry.

I have

I have the honour to inclose the report which he has made of the good conduct of his officers and ship's company upon this occasion; and from the high terms in which he speaks of his first lieutenant, Mr. Ellicott, who I know to be a good officer, I have thought proper to give him an order to command the prize to England.

La Unité was reputed one of the greatest sailors in the French navy, and is a very fine frigate, only seven years old.

The wife of the governor of the port of Rochfort, Madame Le Large, and her family, were on board, who, with her son, an ensign of the ship, I suffered to return to France in a neutral vessel, taking the parole of the young man not to serve until exchanged.

La Révolutionnaire, at Sea,
April 13, 1796.

Sir,

IT being so dark when I came along-side the French frigate La Unité that you could not observe the conduct of the two ships, I beg leave to report to you, that not being able to prevail upon the commander, Citizen Durand, to surrender, after some minutes conversation, I opened a close and well-directed fire upon him. After we had sustained the fire of his stern-chases some time, and upon firing the second broadside, he called out that he had struck. I had at the same moment directed the helm to be put to port, in order to board him, as the ships were going under a press of sail at the rate of ten knots, and drawing near the shore.

Allow me, Sir, to express to you how much I feel myself obliged to my first lieutenant, Edward Ellicott, for his very particular attention in keeping sight of the chase, and for his steady and manly courage when close engaged: the cheerfulness with which he put himself at the head of the boarders promised me the happiest success, if that event had been necessary, and which was only stopped by the enemy's calling to surrender.

In this short contest, the highest praise is due to my officers and ship's company, and the effect of their steady conduct is striking in the number of killed and wounded, of which a list is annexed.

I cannot sufficiently express my own good fortune in not having lost an officer or man, which is to be attributed to the enemy's firing at the masts and rigging.

I am, &c.

FRA. COLE.

*Sir Edward Pellow, Bart.
Esq. &c. &c.*

L'Unité, Citizen Durand, Commander,
Killed 9—Wounded 11.

Judges-

Sir,

*Indefatigable, Falmouth,
April 23, 1796.*

I HAVE most sensible pleasure in desiring you to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of my arrival at this port, accompanied by the French national frigate La Virginie, of 44 guns, eighteen and nine-pounders, and 340 men, commanded by Citizen Bergeret, capitaine de vaisseau, who sailed from Brest singly, four days ago, to cruise off the Lizard in this favourite frigate, which is considered the finest ship, and fastest sailer in the French navy, and of the largest dimensions, being 158 feet long, and 43 broad.

On Wednesday morning the 20th instant, after I had sealed my dispatches for their Lordships, laying-to under the Lizard, with the squadron waiting for the French frigate La Unité, our prize, to weather that point, I observed a ship coming in from the sea, which in my mind looked rather suspicious; and, on her not answering the private signal, when she tacked from us, I immediately gave chase to her, accompanied by the Amazon and La Concorde, (having by signal directed La Revolutionnaire to attend her prize into port, and the Argo to proceed to Plymouth.) The superior sailing of the Indefatigable gave me the satisfaction of coming up with her, after a chase of fifteen hours, and running 168 miles. Fortunately the wind prevented her from steering for Ushant, or she must have escaped.

A little past midnight I commenced action with the enemy, which was closely continued, under a crowded sail, for one hour and forty-five minutes. The enemy, who fought gallantly, was by this time much crippled, her mizen-mast and main-top-mast being shot away: the Indefatigable was not much less disabled, having lost her gaff and mizen-top-mast, the main-top-sail was rendered useless by an unlucky shot cutting both leech-ropes. In this situation we passed the enemy without the power of avoiding it, having no after-sail to back, and I had long discovered we had not only to combat a ship of large force, but that her commander was completely master of his profession, in whose presence I could not commit myself with impunity, by throwing my ship in the wind, without submitting to be raked by him.

She had not at this time struck, and we kept close a-head of her, receiving new braces to enable us to bring the ship to, to renew the attack.

At this period La Concorde appeared in sight, close under her stern; and, upon the enemy seeing her, she fired a gun to leeward, and struck her light, as a signal of surrender.

Although a very few minutes would have placed the Indefatigable again along-side of her, I am confident she would not have surrendered without further resistance, had not the Concorde so timely come up.

I am extremely indebted to Captains Hunt and Reynolds for their very particular attention in keeping after us during the night on so many courses, which nothing but the most delicate observance of my signals would have enabled them to do, their distance astern being so great.

Their Lordships are well aware how difficult it is in a night action with a flying enemy, whose rate of sailing is little inferior to her antagonist, to choose a situation; and, when it is remembered how often this

this ship changed her's in the action, I need scarcely say what great attention was paid to my orders by every officer under my command.

To Lieutenants Pellowe, Thomson, and Norway, my thanks are above expression. Lieutenant Williams of the marines, and Mr. Bell, the master, who were immediately about my person, rendered me the most essential services. The ship's company, who have been my faithful companions during the war, and are endeared to me by their uniform exertions, manifested on this occasion nothing but ardour and zeal.

But above all other pleasure I feel is, that of informing their Lordships that I have lost neither officer nor man in the contest. The enemy suffered considerably, having 14 or 15 killed, 17 badly wounded, and 10 slightly: the ship much shattered in her hull, and four feet water in her hold, from shot-holes.

I have sent La Concorde to Plymouth, with La Virginie, and shall proceed with the Amazon, who has lost her head, for the same place, to-morrow, in order to repair the damages we have sustained in the action.

I am, &c.

EDW. PELLEW.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-admiral Murray, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in North America, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty.

ON the 11th instant arrived L'Aurore, French corvette, prize to his Majesty's ship Cleopatra. She had only fifty men on board when taken.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 23, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, April 23.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty, dated on Board the Savage Sloop, April 21, 1796.

I HAVE received a letter from Captain Roe, of his Majesty's sloop Racoon, acquainting me he had taken on the coast of France, a French lugger privateer, with thirteen men, armed with blunderbusses and muskets, which had been out from Dunkirk five days, but had taken nothing.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-admiral Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Swiftsure, at the Mole, 29th of February, 1796.

I BEG leave to acquaint you, for their Lordship's information, that the Hon. Captain Carpenter, of his Majesty's ship Intrepid, being sta-

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tioned

tioned to cruize off old Cape François for the reinforcements expected from Cork, fell in with a French frigate, which, after ten hours chace, (the latter part being very light airs of wind) she having first anchored, and afterwards, by their cutting her cables, drove on shore in a cove a little to the eastward of Porto Plata, when the crew abandoned her, was taken possession of and got off, with damage, by Captain Carpenter.

It appears by the log-book that she is called La Perçante, commanded by the citoyen Jacque Clement Tourtellet, lieutenant de vaisseau, mounting twenty nine-pounders and six bras two-pounders, and had on board near 200 men, dispatched by order of the minister of marine and colonies, and sailed from Rochelle the 6th of December last, with orders not to be spoke with, nor to speak with any thing.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 26, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, April 26.

Copy of a Letter from Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on Board his Majesty's Ship La Promene, at Sea, the 8th of April, 1796.

I BEG you will inform their Lordships, that, on the 7th instant, Le Bec du Râz bearing N. E. by E. several sail were seen in the N. E. quarter; and, upon the signal for a general chace being made, it was soon perceived that they were a small convoy standing through the straits between the Saints and the Continent. As the weather appeared settled and fine, I considered that it was a proper opportunity to obtain a knowledge of the passage, and continued working through, with the tide in our favour, after them; but the wind failing when we were in the bay on the other side, I found it was impossible to cut off the brig who escorted them, as she stood close in towards Cameret Point, at the entrance of the Goulet going up to Brest, and among the rocks. The boats of the squadron, however, captured the vessels in the inclosed list, who are all laden with corn and flour. A sloop belonging to the convoy got off with the corvette, which I understand was Le Voltigeur of 16 guns.

A List of Vessels belonging to the French Republic, captured by the Boats of the Squadron under the Command of Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. within the Saints, on the Coast of France, on the 7th of April, 1796.

A brig, La Marie, of St. Maloës, 150 tons, laden with wheat, sent to England.

A brig, name unknown, 100 tons, laden with flour, ditto.

A brig, name unknown, 120 tons, laden with wheat, ditto.

A sloop, name unknown, 70 tons, laden with wheat, ditto.

A brig, name unknown, 90 tons, laden with wood and wine, scuttled and sunk.

J. B. WARREN,

Admiralty-Office, April 26, 1796.

Extract of a Letter from Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on Board his Majesty's Ship La Pomone, off the Saints, the 16th of April, 1796.

I BEG you will inform their Lordships, that on the 15th instant, at eleven P. M. a sail being discovered in the N. E. quarter, I immediately gave chase, and at three A. M. I came up with her in this ship: she proved to be La Robuste ship corvette, mounting 22 guns and 145 men, just come from Brest, bound to L'Orient.

The squadron under my command also captured a brig loaded with salt, from Croisic, on the 13th instant.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 10th, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, May 10.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-admiral King-smill, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated L'Engageante, Cork Harbour, May 5, 1796.

Sir,

I HAVE the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that a French national cutter, L'Abeille, of 14 guns and 70 men, is just brought in here; captured by his Majesty's ship Dryad, Captain Pulling, on Monday last, the Lizard bearing north half east, fifteen or seventeen leagues; Ushant S. S. W. thirteen leagues; the other ships of the squadron then in chace of a corvette, which there was every probability of their coming up with,

The Dryad had before taken a large smuggling cutter, laden with spirits, and sent her to Plymouth.

Mr. Fairweather, one of the mates of the Dryad, who has the command of the cutter L'Abeille, informs me, that she had only been out three days from Brest, and had not taken any thing. She is three years old, coppered, and appears well found; and shall be sent by the earliest opportunity to Plymouth.

Admiralty-Office, May 10.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth and Spithead, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Royal William, at Spithead, May 7, 1796.

Sir,

PLEASE to acquaint their Lordships, that his Majesty's sloop the Rattler returned to Spithead this morning, with the Pichegru French

privateer of 10 guns and 34 men, belonging to Havre, which she captured yesterday noon off Cherbourg, after a chase of eight hours.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 14, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, May 14.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir John Laforey, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Majestic, at Martinique, March 19, 1796.

LA PIQUE and the Charon have sent here a privateer brig, of 14 guns and 90 men, taken to the windward of Barbadoes; and I have intelligence that Captain Vaughan in the Alarm, with one of the sloops of war, has taken and destroyed three privateers in the gulph of Paria, and re-taken four of their captures. Since my letter of the 17th of January, a fourth ship, under Danish colours, has been taken, attempting to convey French people from Havre de Grace into Guadaloupe.

Admiralty-Office, May 14.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Richards, of his Majesty's Ship Alfred, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Barbadoes, April 12, 1796.

I HAVE to request you will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty with my arrival at this island in the late national corvette La Favourite, a prize to his Majesty's ship Alfred; which corvette was captured on the 5th of March last, with two merchant ships that she had taken the morning previous, a part of Admiral Cornwallis's convoy.

Admiralty-Office, May 14.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-admiral King Smith, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated May 9, 1796.

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that another French national cutter, Le Cigne, of 14 guns and 60 men, clinker built, is just brought in here: she had been out nine days from the Isle of Bas, but had not taken any thing, when she fell in with and was captured by his Majesty's ship Doris, having the Hazard sloop in company, on the 7th instant, after a chase of twenty-four hours, Scilly bearing S. E. distant eight leagues.

This prize parted from the Doris, off Cape Clear, at one P. M. yesterday, and shall be sent along with L'Abecille to England.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 17, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, May 17.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-admiral Colpoys, dated on Board his Majesty's Ship London, at Spithead, the 14th instant, to Mr. Nepean, Secretary to the Admiralty.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of two letters received from Captain Foote, of his Majesty's ship Niger, giving an account of his proceedings at different times I detached him in shore on the coast of France.

Niger, near the Penmarks,
April 27, 1796.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that from the time I made the signal of the chace being an enemy's cruiser, I continued working towards her. By sun-set our shot reached her; and shortly after, the signal being made for three fathoms, I anchored within half a cable's length of a rock, most of which was covered at high water, and a mile from the main land; a spring was got upon the cable, and a constant firing kept up till near nine o'clock, when I sent Messrs. Long and Thompson, the first and third lieutenants, Mr. Morgan, master's mate, and Mr. Patton, midshipman, in the barge and cutters, with their crews and six marines, giving directions to Lieutenant Long to set fire to the vessel if he could not bring her off. At half past ten the boats returned, with the second captain, a midshipman, and twenty-six men, having so effectually performed this service, that at twenty minutes past twelve she blew up. It was with great difficulty they got alongside the enemy, the tide having ebbed considerably, and they experienced a very obstinate resistance, the greatest part of her crew having remained on board, several of whom lost their lives. She proved a corvette, lugger rigged, called L'Ecuueil, mounting 18 four-pounders, commanded by Mons. Rousseau, having 105 men on board: she was coppered and had only been launched two years.

(Signed) E. J. FOOTE.

Inclosed is a return of the wounded officers, seamen, and marines.

*Return of wounded on Board his Majesty's Ship Niger, April 26,
1796.*

Lieutenant Long, first lieutenant, severely wounded on the head and hand.

Mr. James Patton, midshipman, on the head.

Three seamen and two marines slightly wounded.

(Signed) E. J. FOOTE.

Niger,

Niger, at Sea, May 8, 1796.

Sir,

IN compliance with the orders which I had the honour to receive from you on the 4th instant, I stood for the French coast, and by seven o'clock the next morning fetched close in with the eastern part of the Isle Dieu, where I discovered, and immediately gave chase to and ran on shore a French schooner and sloop. The schooner was completely bilged; the sloop, laden with wine and brandy, was brought off and taken in tow; but in a short time she became so water-logged, that I scuttled her.

Admiralty-Office, May 17, 1796.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander in Chief of his Majsty's Ships in the Downs, to Mr. Nepean, Secretary to the Admiralty, dated May 15, 1796.

Sir,

YOU will be pleased to acquaint their Lordships that the Flora armed cutter, Lieut. Reedy, is just returned here from looking into Dunkirk, and has brought in with him L'Epervier French lugger, mounting 2 two-pounders and six swivels, with 26 men, which he captured close in with Dunkirk. She sailed from Havre de Grace on the 10th instant, and had not taken any thing.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 21.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Cayley, of his Majsty's Ship Invincible, to Mr. Nepean, Secretary to the Admiralty, dated at Sea, the 4th of April, 1796, Lat. 35. 8. N. Long. 18. 16. W.

ON the 1st instant, in lat. 37. 11. N. long. 18. 2. W. we captured the Alexander French privateer, of ten guns and sixty-six men, commanded by Mons. Petre Edite, belonging to Nantz, out ten days; had captured the Signior Montcalm, from Lisbon, bound to the Brazils, which ship was also re-captured. The convoy being so near to Madeira, I thought it proper to send the Albicore there with the re-captured vessel, with orders to endeavour to join the convoy again as soon as possible. The privateer I shall carry with me to the West Indies.

Extract of a Letter from Adam Duncan, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Majsty's Ships and Vessels in the North Sea, to Mr. Nepean, Secretary to the Admiralty, dated Venerable, at Sea, May 16, 1796. At noon, Texel, S. E. by E. Distance 15 Leagues.

BE pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, on the 12th instant, at day-light, (the Texel then bearing N. W. by

By W. distance about 8 leagues) I discovered a frigate and brig standing in to the fleet, making the private signal to speak with me : they proved to be his Majesty's ship Pegasus and Sylph sloop, whom I had ordered to cruise off the Naze of Norway. Captain Donnelly came on board, and informed me, that in consequence of the information he had received on the 8th instant, of the Dutch frigate Argo, and three national brigs, having left Flickeroe the day before, bound to the Texel, he proceeded off the Jutland coast, and on the morning of the 9th got sight of them. He kept near them all day, but lost sight of them about ten o'clock that night, and judging it proper to acquaint me therewith, directed Capt. White, of the Sylph, to steer a different course to himself, in order to fall in with me, and luckily they both joined. Having consulted with Captain Donnelly, and found they could not be many leagues from us, I immediately dispatched Captain Halsted in the Phoenix, together with the Leopard, Pegasus, and Sylph, to proceed to the northward of the Texel, and spread the rest of the squadron. All the ships had just made sail about five o'clock, when the signal was made for seeing the Dutch frigate and brigs, made the signal for a general chase, it then blowing strong at W. N. W. with very hazy weather. At a little before nine o'clock the Phoenix got up with the Dutch frigate Argo, mounting 36 guns, and manned with 237 men, and, after a very smart action of about half an hour, (during which time she made every effort to get off) she struck to the Phoenix's superior fire ; for the particulars of which, must beg leave to refer their Lordship's to Capt. Halsted's letter, herewith inclosed, who, I have the pleasure to say, has on this, and on every other occasion, whilst under my command, shewn himself to be a most active, zealous, and excellent officer.

We continued in chace of the brigs, leaving the Powerful to assist Captain Halsted in shifting the prisoners, &c. At ten o'clock we saw the Leander and Pegasus near the two brigs, (which I have since found to be the Echo, of 18 guns, and the De Gier, of 14 guns) but it was so hazy, and blowing so hard, we soon lost sight of them ; however, by the inclosed letter I received from Captain Donnelly, their Lordships will be informed they were both run on shore near Basch, about ten leagues to the eastward of the Texel.

The Leander, I find, stood so near the shore as she could with safety, and saw one of the brigs a-ground ; and from the report of the master of one of the cuttis I sent in shore, understand one of them was completely lost ; the other had beat over a shoal, and got to an anchor, but as it blew a perfect storm the next day on shore, have reason to believe she is lost also.

We stood after the other brig, and a little before eleven she struck to the Sylph : she proves to be the Mercury, of 16 guns, (all of which, except two she had thrown over board during the chace) and manned with eighty-five men. We then found ourselves far to the eastward, with the wind on shore, which obliged us to carry a press of sail, and in the night it came to blow a very hard gale of wind, which continued the whole of the next day ; and the day following being more moderate, was re-joined by the Powerful, Phoenix, and Brilliant, together with the Dutch frigate and the Duke of York bye-boat from Yarmouth to Hamburgh, which had been captured by the Argo the day before, and re-taken

taken by the Phoenix on the 12th. The frigate is in excellent condition, and in a few days might be got ready for sea, and made a complete cruiser.

I am, &c.
ADAM DUNCAN.

*Pegasus, Texel, S. S. W. distant 20 Leagues,
May 12, 1796.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that two of the Dutch brigs which we chased this morning, got close in with the land about Bofch, on the coast of Friesland, and finding by outsailing them, that they had no other means of escape, run on shore close to us; one of them floated off, but she afterwards took the ground, and, having touched it ourselves, we found it necessary to stand off, leaving them with signals of distress in their fore-top-mast shrouds, and firing guns.

We should have endeavoured to get between them and the land, but could not haul sufficiently up without shortening a great deal of sail, which would have been the means of letting them fore-reach upon us so as to get away. My motive for giving this information, is in the event of the ships astern not having been sufficiently near to have ascertained it.

As it would have taken some time to work up to you, I judged it prudent to proceed in pursuance of the former orders you gave me, which I hope will meet your approbation.

I am, &c.
ROSS DONNELLY.

Adam Duncan, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

P. S. We judge the brigs to have been the Echo and Gier.

Phoenix, at Sea, May 15, 1796.

Sir,

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you, that a short time after I received your orders on the morning of the 12th instant, we saw five sail on the lee bow in the S. E. quarter, upon a wind on the starboard tack, which we made out to be a frigate, three armed brigs, and a cutter. I immediately made sail, and soon discovered them to be enemies; at the same time the Pegasus made the signal for such to you. Upon our near approach, the brigs bore up and made sail; the Pegasus and Sylph followed them, who were in chase with me, the frigate apparently undetermined whether to go at large or keep by the wind, as she often changed her position during the chase, but at length kept with the wind a-beam. Quarter past eight, A. M. being close on her weather quarter, she hoisted Dutch colours, upon which I ordered a shot to be fired across her; a few minutes after we were close alongside her to windward, when a smart action commenced on both tides, which lasted about twenty minutes, when the Dutch frigate Argo, of 36 guns and 237 men, struck to his Majesty's ship Phoenix, under my command.

It

It is with infinite pleasure I assure you of the very steady and cool behaviour of the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command, it being such as to merit every thing I can say in their praise.

I beg leave to recommend in the strongest manner, through you to their Lordships, Mr. Joseph Wood, first lieutenant, who, from long experience and steady officer-like conduct, is highly deserving their most particular attention. Our loss consists of one man killed, and three wounded; that of the enemy, six killed and twenty-eight wounded, some of them dangerously.

The sails, standing and running rigging, received some damage, as did the enemy's, but not of so much consequence but was soon put to rights. The frigate and brigs were from Norway, bound to the Texel; the cutter which we retook is the Duke of York packet, from Yarmouth to the Elbe, taken by them the day before.

I have the honour to be, &c.

L. W. HALSTED.

*Adam Duncan, Esq. Admiral of
the Blue, &c. &c. &c.*

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 28, 1796.

Admiralty-Office, May 28.

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Thomas Fremantle, of his Majesty's Ship Inconstant, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated off Bafilia,
April 27, 1796.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour of inclosing, for the information of their Lordships, the copy of a letter from me to Sir John Jervis, Knight of the Bath.

I am, &c. &c.

THO. F. FREMANTLE.

Sir,

Inconstant, at Sea, April 23, 1796.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that on the 19th, cruising near Tunis, I received an account that a French frigate had been seen off Cape Mabera, near Bonan; I therefore made sail for that place, and, on the evening of the 20th perceived a ship under French colours at anchor on the coast, which I came to, by, and directed to strike; this was prudently complied with: she is called L'Unité, a corvette, of 34 guns and 218 men. The crew had made an attempt to set her on fire, but by the exertions of Lieut. Hutchinson it was soon extinguished. Had the ship been of equal force with the Inconstant, I have every reason to believe it would have afforded me a further proof of the spirit and steadiness of every officer and person on board the ship I command.

I am, &c. &c.

THO. F. FREMANTLE.

*Sir John Jervis, K. B. Admiral
of the Blue, and Commander in
Chief, &c.*

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Admiralty

Admiralty-Office, May 31, 1796.

Copy of a Letter from Captain N. Tomlinson, Commander of his Majesty's Sloop La Suffisante, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated off Falmouth, May 28, 1796.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that being on a cruize, in his Majesty's sloop La Suffisante under my command, the Lizard bearing N. N. E. distance fifteen leagues, early yesterday morning, we discovered a sail, about six miles to windward, and immediately stood for her, and, after a chase of eleven hours, came up with her among the rocks between Ushant and the Main, she having endeavoured to make her escape to Brest through the passage Le Fou : but I was enabled to cut her off, by the superior sailing of the Suffisante. We engaged her close on board for half an hour, when she struck, and proved to be the Revanche brig, Bermudas built, a remarkable fast sailer, pierced for fourteen guns, mounting twelve long four-pounders, and eighty-five chosen men, commanded by Monsieur George Henri Diaverman, lieutenant de vaisseau, an old and experienced seaman. She was five days from Havre, bound on a cruize, but had taken nothing.

I am particularly obliged to the officers and crew of the Suffisante, for their cool and determined conduct, both in working and fighting the sloop, when the utmost exertions were necessary to prevent the enemy from escaping, and to avoid the rocks by which we were surrounded on a lee shore.

I am happy to add that there was but one seaman wounded on board the Suffisante. The Revanche had two men killed and seven wounded. I am now proceeding to Plymouth, in company with the prize, and hope we shall arrive there to-night.

I am, &c.

NICHOLAS TOMLINSON.

Admiralty-Office, May 31, 1796.

Extract of a Letter from Commodore Sir John Warren to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated La Pomone, at Sea, May 25, 1796.

I BEG you will inform their Lordships, that I on this day captured La Fantalie, a Republican privateer, copper-bottomed, mounting 14 guns and 75 men, from Morlaix, on a cruize. She had been only one day from the above port, and had not taken any thing.

MILITARY

MILITARY EVENTS.

OPERATIONS IN SPAIN, ITALY, AND ON THE RHINE.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 6, 1795.

Aranjuez, May 6:

THE Spanish army in Catalonia encamped on the 23d ultimo. General Urrutia's head quarters remained at Gerona.

On the 27th the enemy made an attack on the post of Vascara, and were repulsed with loss. They met with no better success in an attempt they made, on the same day, to force the post of Basula.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, August 8, 1795.

Barcelona, May 20:

ON the 4th instant the enemy attacked the Spaniards towards Rivas, and on the 7th near Besalu, but were repulsed in both places with considerable loss. On the 14th, at day-light, upon the appearance of some considerable bodies of the enemy, the whole Spanish line was got under arms, and quickly after General Urrutia, seeing the advanced posts to the right and left engaged, passed the river with the whole center, except a reserve on the bridge just finished at Biscara. This passage was opposed by a very smart fire of cannon and howitzers, placed in advantageous situations, but the enemy were nevertheless attacked and driven from all the posts they occupied in about two hours, during a violent storm of wind, thunder, and rain, and pursued to within musket-shot of their camps. The whole of the Spanish line was formed in battle beyond the Hermitage of Pontos, and then retired and repassed the river, after having taken all the artillery which the enemy had with them, viz. 1 eight-pounder, 1 four and 1 republican two-pounder, 2 six-pound howitzers, with their respective ammunition carts; the camp kettles and messes, and a quantity of blankets and hand-barrows. When the greater part of the Spanish troops had repassed the river, the enemy appeared again, and attacked those that were yet on the other side; upon which a second action took place, and was still more obstinately disputed than the former. This second action began about one o'clock; at three the French retreated precipitately, but the Spanish light troops pursued and harassed them till six, when the whole army retired across the Fluvia.

Though no correct statement has been received of the loss on the side of the Spaniards, in the action of the 14th, it may be computed, according to the different accounts, to amount to 36 officers and about 700 men killed and wounded. The regiment Fijo de Malaga, is said

to have suffered much, having borne, with great firmness, the fire of two of the enemy's batteries for a considerable time. The most considerable loss, on the part of the French, was on the right, where the Spanish cavalry passed the river, and attacked the division of the enemy commanded by General Soret, encamped at Castillon, consisting of near 6000 men : they were thrown into confusion, and killed in great numbers by the Spanish horse, who made no prisoners ; they left a number of their dead on the roads, but carried off the greater part of their wounded. All the spies and deserters agree in the report that the enemy lost about 2000 men.

According to the officer's report, 25,000 men had, in the evening of the 13th, taken the posts which they occupied the next morning, in order to protect a general harvest of wheat in Lampourdain ; 600 reapers were brought for this purpose out of Roussillon, and the troops had orders to keep their position to the last extremity.

Genoa, June 30.

INTELLIGENCE has been received here, that, on the 24th instant, General de Vins had attacked and carried the different posts of the Madonna del Monte, from which the French, stationed on the heights behind Vado, had attempted in vain to dislodge him ; that two battalions of Thourn, and a division of Croats of Carlstadt, commanded by General Cantu and Lieutenant-colonel Marquette, had attacked and driven the French from their strong entrenchments on the mountain of St. Giacomo ; that two companies of the free corps of Julay had also carried the French entrenchments on the mountain of Settepani ; that General de Vins, having driven the enemy from all those posts, had established himself on the sea-coast between Savona and Vado ; and that, on the night of the 28th, the French had abandoned their entrenchments at Vado, and fallen back upon Finale, leaving behind them thirty pieces of cannon, and two considerable magazines of provisions and forage.

It appears that General Colli, at the head of the Piedmontese army, has attacked the French on the side of Ormea, and succeeded in driving them from several very important posts, particularly from that of Spinarda.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,

Thursday, Nov. 12, 1795.

Downing-street, Nov. 11.

DISPATCHES, of which the following are copies, have been received from Lieutenant-colonel Craufurd by the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the foreign department.

Head-Quarters, Weilnunster, Oct. 18.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that since the 13th instant the advanced guards of the Austrian army, under Generals Bosz, Kray,

Kray, and Haddick, have been in constant pursuit of the enemy on all the roads leading across the Lahn between Weilburgh and Nassau. General Warneck, with the reserve, marched towards Limbourg, as a central point, from which he could support the advanced guards to his right or left, according to circumstances, whilst the main army advanced to the camp of Weilmunster, between Ufingen and Weilbourg, ready to cross the Lahn at the latter place, and attack the enemy's left if they should attempt to maintain a position on that river.

The Marshal has taken every step that he judged best calculated to distress their army, but their retreat has been so precipitate, and the country through which they marched so extremely intersected with woods and deep vallies, that he has only been able to bring on some affairs with the best troops of the rear-guards of their different columns. In these the Austrians have taken several cannons, a great many ammunition waggon, and between one and two thousand prisoners, besides having killed and wounded considerable numbers.

It is expected that the enemy will raise the siege of Ehrenbreitstein to day, and they seem determined to pass the Rhine, with the principal part of their army, at Neuwied, (where they have bridges) as expeditiously as possible. Their left column is directing its march toward Cologne.

The Austrian advanced guards, supported by the reserve, are still in pursuit.

The enemy have destroyed a great quantity of powder and other stores, which they had not time to send away.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. CRAUFURD.

Head-Quarters, Weilmunster, Oct. 19.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that the siege of Ehrenbreitstein is raised, and the enemy are crossing the Rhine as expeditiously as possible at Neuwied.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. CRAUFURD.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville, &c.

*Head-Quarters of Marshal Clairfayt's Army,
Limburg, October 26, 1795.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that General Wurmser has obtained a signal advantage over the French in the neighbourhood of Manheim, of which the following is a detail:

In the night from the 17th to the 18th instant, that part of the Austrian army which was stationed before Manheim, assembled in five columns, commanded by General Wurmser in person, to attack the different posts that the enemy occupied in front of that place. The disposition was very masterly, and the spirited manner in which it was executed answered fully to the wish and expectations of the General.

After

After a severe action, all the works that the enemy had thrown up were carried; their tents and a great deal of baggage were taken, besides some cannon, and several ammunition waggons.

Owing to an impenetrable fog, which continued the whole night and great part of the morning, the communication between the different columns was extremely difficult, the prompt execution of orders was impossible, and the generals could not conduct their attacks with any degree of certainty. This unfortunate circumstance enabled the enemy to get off the most of their artillery, and prevented the Austrians from following them into the place as General Wurmser intended.

The Austrians had upon this occasion about 30 officers and between 6 and 700 non-commissioned officers and privates killed and wounded. The French had one general officer, twenty-one officers, and between five and six hundred non-commissioned officers and privates taken prisoners: their killed and wounded are supposed to amount to about 2,000. In consequence of this victory, Manheim is closely invested, and the bombardment will be begun immediately.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lord Grenville, &c. &c., &c.

C. CRAUFURD.

Head-quarters, Limbourg, Oct. 26.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that General Jourdan's left column, which had directed its march towards Cologne, has passed the Rhine, as well as all those troops who retired upon Neuwied.

From the reports of the different corps which are now collected, it appears that the Austrians have taken in all, during the enemy's retreat, about 4,000 prisoners, 30 pieces of cannon, and 200 ammunition waggons. The enemy destroyed a great quantity of military stores, which they had not time to carry away. It is impossible to ascertain with any precision their number of killed and wounded, but it must have been very considerable, more especially as the peasants rose against them in many places. The whole country through which the French have marched on this occasion bear the most evident marks of their depredations. There is no village, and I may almost say, no house that has not ample reason to lament this invasion; for, however short its duration has been, the effects will be felt for many years to come.

The inhabitants have been plundered of their cattle, grain, and whatever could be found that was valuable. In many places what could not be carried off was destroyed. Even women and children have been murdered; in short, the manifold acts of atrocity, which are proved in the clearest manner, are such as could only be perpetrated by men lost to every sentiment of humanity.

The Prussian troops that were on the line of demarkation, and the guards which they stationed at different places for the purpose of affording protection, were ill treated and driven away by the French with expressions of resentment and contempt.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. CRAUFURD.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville, &c. &c.

Head-

*Head-Quarters of Marshal Clairfayt,
Mayence, October 30, 1795.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that on the 28th instant the Austrian troops, under the command of General Wurmser, stormed the Galyenberg, an intrenched height which formed an advanced post to the fortrefs of Manheim. The possession of this important point facilitates extremely the approaches against the body o' the place. To favour the assault of the Galyenberg, a false attack was intended to be made upon the Neckar Fort; however, the impetuosity of the troops was such, that they stormed it without having order to do so; but as it could not be maintained, being immediately under the fire of the town, they abandoned it, after spiking 13 pieces of cannon.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. CKAUFURD.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville, &c.

*Head-Quarters of Marshal Clairfayt,
Mayence, October 30.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that Marshal Clairfayt attacked the enemy's intrenched camp before Mayence yesterday, and gained a complete victory. The following is a detail of this very brilliant and important operation.

Your Lordship will recollect that in the month of November last the French took a position upon the heights in front of Mayence, with their right to Laudenheim, and their left to Badenheim; both of which vil-lages are on the Rhine, the former above, and the latter below the fortrefs. This position completely invests the place on that side; and from the time they first occupied it, almost to the day of the attack, they were constantly employed in constructing and perfecting the most formidable intrenchments. These consisted of two lines. The first was composed of large detached works, closed in the rear, and covered and joined with each other by three distinct ranges of *trous de loups*.* The second was a complete connected intrenchment, covered in the same manner. The ditches of both lines were of a depth and breadth far beyond what is usual in field works. Every possible advantage had been taken of the ground, which is particularly favourable for the formation of a fortified camp: and the French generals have been known to say frequently in private, that they considered this position as wholly impregnable.

Marshal Clairfayt, after having forced General Jourdan to repass the Rhine, returned with a part of his army to the camp of Wickert, about five English miles from Mayence, and in consequence of information received by him that the enemy intended to reinforce their army before that place very considerably, he, without waiting for those troops that

* Round pits of considerable depth; each range was composed of several rows of pits, placed irregularly, and quite close together.

had

had advanced beyond the Lahn, determined to attack General Schaal, who occupied the intrenchments above described with fifty-two battalions of infantry and five regiments of cavalry.

The army that was destined for this attack consisting of thirty-two regular battalions, some light infantry, and twenty-eight squadrons of cavalry, taken partly from the garrison of Mayence, was formed into four divisions: one, of ten battalions and six squadrons, under General New; one, of ten battalions and six squadrons, under General Stader; one, of five battalions and sixteen squadrons, under General Colloredo; and one, of seven battalions of grenadiers, under General Werneck. Generals New and Stader were to direct their march, the former towards the heights above Laubenheim, the latter towards Heiligy Creutz, (an old church in front of the enemy's right wing) forming their infantry into three lines, and attacking the right of the position in immediate connection with each other, whilst the Warasdin light infantry got round the village of Laubenheim; and about 1000 Sclavonians, who were embarked on the Rhine, landed under the protection of six gun boats behind the enemy's right, and kept up a heavy fire for the purpose of making a diversion. General Colloredo was to march towards Berzenheim, a village in front of the enemy's centre, from whence he was to detach a part of his troops, particularly cavalry, to co-operate with General Stader, and with a part of the remainder he was to make demonstrations towards different points of the centre, whilst two of his battalions and two squadrons, with a considerable proportion of heavy artillery, made false attacks upon Monback and Gonzenheim, two villages in front of the enemy's left. Some light troops were to land behind the left of the position, for the same purpose as those who landed behind the right. General Werneck's division was to remain on the glacis of Mayence as a reserve.

It must be observed that Marshal Clairfayt directed his real attack upon the most commanding and by far the strongest part of the camp, because the immediate retreat of the enemy's whole army was the inevitable consequence of success on that point.

The attack commenced in this order at half an hour past five in the morning. The disposition was executed with the utmost accuracy, and in a very short time the battle was decided in favour of the Austrians, who displayed exemplary discipline and bravery. The general officers finding that they could not advance on horseback on account of the *trois de bous*, dismounted, and entered the intrenchments on foot, at the head of the troops. The enemy did not in the least expect to be attacked; and although they certainly had some time to prepare for their defence from the difficulties that the Austrian troops had to surmount in approaching the works, yet it is to the circumstance of surprize, as well as to the uncommon intrepidity with which the attack was executed, that must be attributed their having abandoned, without more resistance, one of the most formidable positions that ever was occupied.

One hundred and six pieces of cannon, two hundred ammunition waggons, and about two thousand prisoners (amongst these two generals and sixty other officers) are already brought into Mayence; whilst great quantities of stores of various kinds, collected for the purpose of the siege, have likewise fallen into the hands of the Austrians.

The enemy's killed and wounded are supposed to amount to about 3000.

The Austrians had on this occasion between 60 and 70 officers, and about 1500 non-commissioned officers and privates killed and wounded : amongst the former were Lieutenant General Schmettring and Major General Wolkenheim.

General Naundorf crossed the Rhine in the afternoon, with part of his troops that had been stationed in the neighbourhood of Gerau, and possession of Oppenheim.

The Marshal is now encamped in front of Mayence, and his light troops are pursuing in all directions.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Nov. 28, 1795.

Horse-Guards, Nov. 28.

DISPATCHES, of which the following are copies, have been received at the office of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

*Head-Quarters of Marshal Clerfaye's Army,
Mayence, Nov. 3, 1795.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that Marshal Clerfaye's advanced guards have followed up the brilliant victory of the 29th with so much vigour, that they have taken forty-three pieces of artillery, in addition to the hundred and six mentioned in my last report. They have found the remains of great quantities of ammunition waggons that had been blown up ; stores of all sorts, partly damaged, partly serviceable ; and wherever their march has been directed they have perceived evident traces of the most precipitate and disorderly flight. General Schaal's dispersed army has gone towards the Mofelle.

Marshal Clerfaye has occupied Bingen and Kreutzenach, and placed a corps in each position behind the Nahe Rivulet so as to cut off all direct communications between General Jourdan and Pichegru. He has also a corps at Altzey, whose advanced posts extend near Worms. Part of his troops have returned from the Lahn, and the main army is now collected, and encamped in front of Mayence behind the Seltz rivulet.

On the 30th of October the Austrian General Botas surprised and made prisoners 700 infantry who occupied the Nieder Wert, an island on the Rhine near Neuwied. And on the 31st the enemy evacuated the strong works that they had erected to cover their bridge at that place, upon finding that the Austrians were preparing to storm them.

Every day fresh instances come to our knowledge of the outrages and cruelties exercised by General Jourdan's troops in their retreat. The inhabitants were driven to despair in many places, and fell upon the enemy with forks, scythes, and such other weapons as they could procure.

General Pichegru has taken a position with his right to the Rhine, his left to Turkheim; so that Manheim is not yet invested on this side, of the Rhine.

I have the honour to be, &c.

*Right Hon. Lord Grenville,
&c. &c. &c.*

C. CRAUFURD.

*Head Quarters of Marshal Clerfaye,
Frankenbal, Nov. 15, 1795.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordships, that Marshal Clerfaye marched yesterday to attack General Pichegru, who occupied a very strong position, with his left at Turkheim, his right to the wood of Friesenheim, which runs close up to the Rhine a little below Manheim. His left wing and centre stood upon very commanding heights; the former being covered along part of its front, and on its flank, by an impassable morass; the latter by a rivulet, the banks of which were marshy, and intersected with several deep ditches. His right wing was partly in the wood of Friesenheim, and partly in the villages of Oggersheim, Epstein, and Flomersheim, and the adjacent inclosures. This wing was also difficult of approach from the many broad ditches that ran along its front, especially near the villages, and in the wood of Friesenheim: but, upon the whole, it presented fewer obstacles than the other parts of the position. Before the left of his center was the village of Lambshiem, where he had placed a body of infantry and some artillery, as it stood upon one of the principal roads leading towards his camp.

Marshal Clerfaye's disposition was as follows: The right, or first column, forming a separate corps of five battalions and sixteen squadrons, under General Kray, was to attack at Turkheim, and if they could not force that point; they were at least to act in such a manner as to prevent the enemy's detaching from thence.

The right wing and centre of the army, commanded by the Marshal in person, was to march in six columns; four, making eighteen battalions and twenty-six squadrons, to form opposite the right of the enemy's left wing, and opposite the left of their centre: the two others, making nine battalions and eight squadrons, opposite the remainder of their centre.

The left wing, under General De la Tour, was to march in three columns; one of three battalions and four squadrons, towards the wood of Friesenheim; one of six battalions and twelve squadrons, towards Oggersheim; one of five battalions and ten squadrons, towards Flomersheim and Fosstein.

The whole had a proper proportion of heavy artillery.

Generals De la Tour and Kray were directed not to attack till the village of Lambshiem, which formed a salient point in the enemy's position, was carried. General Kray was then to begin, and General De la Tour, as soon as the right wing and centre began to form and cannonade the enemy's line, after the taking of Lambshiem, but not before, because his attack must necessarily be so much facilitated by their movements.

Upon the approach of the Austrian army, General Pichegrui quitted his very advantageous position, and retreated towards Frankenthal and Turkheim. The Austrians could not arrive in time to bring on a serious affair with his rear guard: however, they took three pieces of cannon, several prisoners, and killed and wounded considerable numbers.

Marshal Clerfaye encamped with the main army close to the Pfrim that evening; General Wartenfleben at Kircheim.

On the 11th the Marshal crossed the Pfrim, and encamped on the right of the road that leads from Worms to Manheim. The enemy had evacuated Worms in the night, and General De la Tour, with part of the reserve, drove them out of Frankenthal, whilst the army was occupying its position. He took three cannon and above 200 prisoners: the enemy, in the course of this day, had above 200 killed and wounded. The advanced posts were pushed towards Manheim, Turkheim, and Keyserlautern.

To-day no movement of any consequence has taken place on this side.

General Wartenfleben returned to Altzey the 11th, as part of General Jourdan's army had appeared in front of his post at Kreutzenach and Bingen; and to-day he has encamped with his whole corps between these two places.

The Austrians lost, in the course of the 10th and 11th, about 250 men.

On the 10th at night, the trenches were regularly opened at Manheim.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. CRAUFURD.

*Right Hon. Lord Grenville,
&c. &c. &c.*

*Head Quarters of Marshal Clerfaye,
Pfeiderheim, Nov. 13, 1795.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that in the afternoon of yesterday, after I had sent off my last dispatch, part of General Pichegrui's army attacked the Austrian post at Frankenthal. The ground in front of that town is of such a nature as to admit of the enemy's approaching to within a very short distance without being discovered; and they profited of this advantage, by bringing a large body of troops, and above thirty pieces of cannon so forward, before they commenced the attack, as almost to ensure their carrying the place, more especially as it was not occupied in force. They succeeded, after a terrible fire of grape-shot and musketry: but whilst they were making their dispositions to maintain the important point which they had gained, the Austrian General De la Tour advanced with two battalions and ten squadrons, attacked the town with the utmost impetuosity, drove the enemy out of it, took about 300 prisoners, and killed and wounded between five and six hundred.

The Austrians had, on this occasion, eight officers and about 200 non-commissioned officers and privates killed and wounded.

H 2

General

The French loss in killed and wounded was very great, according to all the reports of the deserters and prisoners.

During the battle General Naundorff, who was posted with a light corps upon the right of Germshiem, pushed on strong parties on the roads leading to Keyserstautern.

Marshal Clerfaye marches to-day, and encamps with his left to the Rhine above Manheim, his right to the mountains between Turkheim and Neustadt.

General Pichegru's retreat has rendered his communication with General Jourdan more difficult. The latter has advanced with part of his army towards General Wartensleben, who is posted behind the Nake rivulet, between Kreutzenach and Bingen; and on the 12th he attacked the post of Kreutzenach, but was repulsed with the loss of a great number of men and two pieces of cannon.

The first parallel before Manheim is opened at a very short distance from the works, and the siege is carrying on with the utmost vigour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

*Right Hon. Lord Grenville,
&c. &c. &c.*

C. CRAUFURD.

Extract of a Letter from Robert Craufurd, Esq. to Lord Grenville, dated Head Quarters of General Wurmser's Army, near Manheim, November, 23, 1795.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that the commandant of Manheim having, the night before last, sent out an officer to General Wurmser to propose terms for the surrender of the place, a capitulation was concluded yesterday morning, by which it was agreed that the garrison should march out with the usual honours, lay down their arms on the glacis, and become prisoners of war.

As soon as the capitulation was signed, the Austrian troops occupied the out-works, and two of the gates of the town, viz. the Heidelberg and Rhine gates.

The garrison marched out this morning, and the place was taken possession of by General Wurmser, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, after a siege of only twelve days of open trenches.

The French troops, which by this event are become prisoners of war, consist of ten half brigades, or thirty battalions of infantry, a proportionate corps of artillery, sappers, miners, &c. and a squadron of hussars, making in the whole, four generals, 389 officers, and 9949 non-commissioned officers and privates.

This great diminution of force must be severely felt by the enemy, at a time when their armies are so weakened and dispirited, and their strength rapidly declining by the immense desertion which daily takes place.

The enclosed list of the garrison of Manheim is a corroborating proof of the truth of the information that is received from all quarters upon this subject, as, of the ten half brigades, or thirty battalions of infantry, which, if complete, ought to amount to 30,000 men; the actual strength is only 8372. Their officers acknowledge that they have long since ceased to receive any recruits.

Slate

*State of the French Garrison of Mannheim, at the time of its
Surrender.*

Names of Corps.	No. of Officers.	No. of Non-commissioned Officers and rates.	Total.
19th half brigade infantry	38	866	904
16th ditto	37	996	1033
108th ditto	11	404	415
139th ditto	26	694	720
204th ditto	18	498	516
4th ditto	16	715	731
8th ditto	59	886	94
202d ditto	44	1105	1149
21st ditto	45	1000	1045
26th ditto	37	877	914
Detachment of the 7th regiment of hussars	4	50	54
4th battalion of sappers	7	304	311
8th ditto	3	172	175
6th company of miners	3	29	32
Detachment of the 5th regiment of light artillery	1	45	46
5th regiment of artillery	33	631	664
Pontoneers of the Rhine	6	111	117
National gens d'armes	1	27	28
Six and wounded	—	539	539
	389	9949	10,538

Capitulation proposed by the General of Division Montaign, commanding the French Troops at Manheim, to General Count de Wurmser, commanding the Austrian Troops before that Town.

Article I. General Montaign shall deliver up the fortres of Manheim to the Count de Wurmser, on the _____ of November, with the warlike stores and artillery therein, and in the state in which they now are.

Answer. The fortress shall be delivered up on the twenty-third of November.

Art. II. The French troops shall march out of Manheim, with their arms and baggage, as soon as the means shall be arranged for their passing to the left side of the Rhine; in all cases they shall march on the _____ of November, and take the route which shall be agreed upon between the two commanding generals.

Ans. The French garrison shall be prisoners of war; they shall march out of the place on the twenty-third of November, with the honours of war, and shall lay down their arms on the glacis at nine o'clock in the morning; they shall take the route which shall be directed by General Count de Wurmsler.

Art. III. The troops of his Majesty the Emperor, under the command of the Count de Wurmser, in two hours after the exchange of the capi-

capitulation, signed by the two commanding generals, shall take possession of the fort at the head of the bridge of the Neckar; of the outposts, of the gate of Heidelberg, and of the redoubt of the Rhine, before the gate of l'Ecluse; and they shall not enter into the town till the last division of the French troops have marched out.

Ans. After the signing of the capitulation, the Austrian troops shall take possession of the out-works of the gate of Heidelberg, and of the gate of the Rhine, to-morrow, the 22d of November, at eight o'clock in the morning.

Art. IV. The carriages necessary for the transport of the effects belonging to the Republic, or to the corps and individuals composing the garrison of Manheim, shall be furnished to them upon paying for the same by agreement, according to the orders of Count de Wurmser, on the roads by which the French troops shall pass.

Ans. The carriages necessary for the transport of the effects and property belonging to the French officers shall be furnished to the French troops at the rate usual in the country. Whatever belongs to the nation shall be delivered up to the Austrian commissioners.

Art. V. The Count de Wurmser shall give orders for furnishing the necessary forage in the places where the French troops shall pass, and which the garrison may not be able to provide at Manheim; as also four days provisions for the French troops, to be computed from the day of their departure from thence.

Ans. Care shall be taken to furnish bread to the troops. The officers, who shall be desirous of keeping their horses, may purchase forage, which shall be delivered to them by the conductors, at the current price.

Art. VI. The sick remaining in the hospital of Manheim shall be taken care of by the officers of health of the French army, who shall remain in the place till its entire evacuation; for whom the necessary carriages shall be provided to the nearest town in the possession of the French troops. General Montaigne relies upon the humanity of the Count de Wurmser, that they will be supplied with every assistance necessary for their recovery.

Ans. The sick shall be treated with humanity, which is never refused in such cases; but they shall be attended by Austrian surgeons. After their recovery they shall remain prisoners like the other troops.

Art. VII. An officer of engineers of the French army shall deliver to an Austrian officer the plans, maps, and effects which the French engineers have received since their entry into Manheim.

Ans. This article shall have effect as soon as the Austrian troops occupy the two above-mentioned gates; and it is to be understood that all military effects are to be delivered up, such as artillery, magazines, plans, maps, &c. for which purpose Austrian officers of the engineers and artillery shall be sent into the town on the 22d of November, at eight o'clock.

Art. VIII. The regency, magistrates, and inhabitants of the town of Manheim, shall not be proceeded against in any manner on account of the former surrender of that town to the French.

Ans. This article depends entirely on the pleasure of his Imperial Majesty.

Art.

Art. IX. When the day is fixed for the garrison to march out of Manheim, a staff officer of the Austrian army, accompanied by a staff officer of the French army, shall precede the troops in order to give the necessary orders for their march, and for providing quarters, until their arrival on the territory occupied by the troops of the Republic.

Anf. Answered by the second article.

Art. X. As soon as the capitulation is signed by the two commanding officers, the Count de Wurmser shall furnish an officer of the French army with a passport to enable him to carry an account of the present capitulation to General Pichegru.

Anf. The reports made by General Montaign shall be sent to General Pichegru.

(Signed)

MONTAIGN.

Manheim, November 21, 1795.

Additional Articles to the Capitulation proposed by General Montaign, commanding the French Troops at Manheim, to General Count de Wurmser, commanding the Troops of his Imperial Majesty.

Article I. THE garrison shall have no covered carriage, and references shall be had to the fourth article, by which all military effects, without any exception whatever, such as chests, ammunition, horses, cloathing, provisions, are to be specified, and faithfully delivered up to the Austrian officers and commissaries appointed for that purpose.

Art. II. Until the execution of the present capitulation, reciprocal hostages shall be given, viz. a field officer, and a captain shall be exchanged to-morrow morning at seven o'clock.

Art. III. To-morrow morning the French commanding officer shall make known the number of carriages that are wanted, and before the garrison shall march out, he shall deliver a return of his troops.

The garrison shall give up the Austrian deserters.

(Signed)

MONTAIGN.

Manheim, Nov. 21, 1795.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, December 19, 1795.

Downing-street, Dec. 19.

DISPATCHES, of which the following are extracts, were received last night from Robert Craufurd, Esq. by the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the foreign department.

*Head Quarters of Marshal Clairfayt's Army,
Alzey, Dec. 2, 1795.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Marshal Clairfayt, with that part of his Army which, during the siege of Manheim, had been encamped between the Rhine and Neustadt, arrived on the 9th in the neighbourhood of Creutzenach, where they formed a junction with

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General

General Wartensleben's corps, and took nearly the same position that the latter had occupied for some time past, the right flank being at Bingen, the left on the heights behind Cretzenach and Fursfeld, and the advanced posts pushed on beyond the Nahe.

General Kray, as soon as he was relieved from the post of Neustadt, directed his march towards Wolfstein ; from whence, after having received reinforcements from the army, he was to advance by Lautereck and Missenheim to turn the right flank of the enemy, encamped near Zemern, whilst the main body of the army should menace his front.

General Kray could not arrive at Lautereck before the 1st instant. In the mean time General Jourdan advanced with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, consisting of about fifty-five thousand men, drove back, on the 30th, the Austrian advanced pickets that were on the other side of the Nahe, and took a position opposite to that of Marshal Clafayt's army, his right flank being covered by one division posted behind Lautereck and Missenheim on the Glahn, his centre and left extending along the banks of the Nahe to the Rhine. At Bingen, which is situated at the conflux of these two rivers, and on the right bank of the former, there is a stone bridge over the Nabe ; but it is equally difficult for either party to undertake any thing on this quarter. From thence to Cretzenach, where there is also a stone bridge, the nature of the ground is much more favourable for the enemy than for the Austrians, as the hills on the left bank (that is, on the enemy's side) are very commanding, and close to the Nahe ; whereas, on the right bank there is a plain of considerable breadth, from which the heights rise in so gradual a slope as to afford, in general, no position for the Austrian artillery near enough to defend the passage of the river without being entirely commanded by the French batteries on the opposite side. These circumstances exist in a peculiar degree at Cretzenach itself ; so much so, that infantry posted on the hill called the Schloßberg, on the left bank, can fire quite into the town and on to the bridge.

On the morning of the 1st instant the enemy were seen in very great force drawn up on the opposite hills. About nine o'clock a large body of infantry, supported by the fire of artillery very advantageously placed on the heights behind the town, advanced to attack Cretzenach : the Austrians defended it with great firmness, but the disadvantages of the situation made it impossible for them to prevent the enemy at length getting possession of it, which happened at about eleven o'clock. The Austrians, however, having re-formed on this side of the town, advanced again, and attacked the French with so great bravery, that they presently drove them quite over the bridge, and out of the place.

The enemy renewed the attack with a large body of fresh troops, and the Austrians in the town being extremely galled by the commanding fire of the French artillery, and by that of the infantry on the Schloßberg, and being totally unsupported by their own cannon, (which, from the nature of the situation, could not be made use of) they found it impracticable to maintain the post : they therefore abandoned it a second time, and retired to the heights, bringing away the only piece of artillery that had been employed in the affair.

The enemy contented themselves with occupying the bridge, and did not venture to shew themselves on this side of the town.

The

The loss of the Austrians in this affair amounts to near five hundred killed and wounded.

Fifty of the enemy were taken prisoners, and their loss in killed and wounded must have been considerable.

The having been obliged to abandon the post of Creutzenach is not of any very material consequence, as the army maintains exactly the same position as before, excepting that the part of the line which is opposite that place is thrown a little back, in order to occupy the most commanding heights.

At the same time that the above-mentioned affair happened at Creutzenach, General Kray attacked and defeated a corps of the enemy at Lautereck, and entirely cut to pieces and took two whole battalions. The number of prisoners are eight officers, and one hundred and fifty men. General Kray occupies Lautereck.

Head Quarters of Marshal Clairfayt's Army, Alzey, December 5, 1795.

THE situation of the Austrian armies on this side of the Rhine is at present as follows, viz.

Marshal Clairfayt's behind the Nahe, from Bingen to the heights behind Volcksheim, (near Creutzenach) and Furfield. Two or three battalions at Alsentz and other villages to the left to keep up the communication with General Kray's corps, which is at Lautereck and Wolfstein, and has lately been reinforced by some battalions from the army. General Nauendorf is in march from Kayserlautern, which post, and those dependent on it, as Franckenstein, Nipstetd, and Hockspier, were this day occupied by a detachment of General Wurmsur's army.—Another strong corps of that army extends from Newstadt, behind the Speerbach and Rechbach, to the Rhine, occupying Speier, &c.

Frankfort, Dec. 2.

BY accounts from the Austrian army it appears, that the enemy's loss, in the battle of the 14th of November, amounted to about five thousand men, besides about seven hundred prisoners; and that twenty-two pieces of cannon, with above one hundred ammunition waggons, and some considerable magazines of different kinds, were taken by the Austrians; and other magazines, and numbers of ammunition waggons, destroyed by the enemy in their retreat.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, January 16, 1796.

Downing-street, Jan. 16.

A DISPATCH, of which the following is an extract, has been received from Lieutenant-colonel Craufurd by the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the foreign department,

ment, dated head-quarters of Marshal Clairfayt's army, Creutzenach, the 21st of December, 1795.

In consequence of the advantages obtained by Marshal Clairfayt, as stated in my last, General Jourdan, after having attempted in vain by different manœuvres to secure the right of his army, began his retreat from the Nahe on the 13th inst. and on the 15th he took a position upon the Hunsrück, occupying all the principal passes between Bacharach on the Rhine, and Trarbach, on the Moselle.

From the 15th to the present date several unimportant actions have taken place between the advanced corps of these two armies, and the Austrian light troops have at different times scoured the country from Birkenfeldt to Treves; but the strength of the enemy's position in the mountains, and the roads that lead to it being rendered so bad by the late rains, as to make the march of heavy artillery almost impossible, have prevented Marshal Clairfayt from undertaking any operation of consequence. His Excellency's line now extends from Dreyekhausen, on the Rhine, by Stromburg Kirn, and Oberstein, to Birkenfeldt, from whence the left of his army is connected by a chain of light troops with Marshal Wurmser's right, which occupies Kaiserslautern, by Neustadt, along the rivulet called Spirebach, to the Rhine.

General Pichegru has made several attempts to oblige the Austrians to abandon the post of Kaiserslautern; and on the 20th inst. he attacked it with very superior numbers; but, after an action of several hours, he was completely repulsed, with the loss of near 2000 men and several cannon. The Austrians had, on this occasion, twenty-nine officers, and between six and seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates killed and wounded.

The enemy sometimes make demonstrations from Dusseldorf, but the Austrian corps stationed upon the Sieg rivulet keeps them completely in check on that side.

Part of Marshal Wurmser's army and the Prince of Condé's corps defend the right bank of the Rhine from Philippsbourg to Basle.

OPERATIONS

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST INDIES.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 27, 1795.

Horse Guards, June 27.

Dispatches, of which the following are a Copy and an Extract, have been received from General Sir John Vaughan, K. B. by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

(COPY.)

Sir,

Martinice, April 16, 1795.

THE enemy having gained to their cause many of the French inhabitants and negroes in Grenada, and concerted measures for raising an insurrection in that colony, which, from the perfidy of the inhabitants alluded to; they were invited to attempt, they conveyed to that island, early in the last month, a quantity of arms and ammunition, with a small number of troops, which, secretly joining themselves to the conspirators, appeared suddenly in arms.

Lieutenant Governor Home and many other gentlemen in the country, were surprised and made prisoners. His Majesty's troops being employed on many points, this dangerous revolt could not be immediately suppressed, though, from the exertions of Captain Rogers, of his Majesty's ship the Quebec, and of the garrison there, joined to the militia, they were kept in cheque.

The unfortunate death of Brigadier General Lindsay, (whom I sent to command there) a few days after his arrival, retarded the operations against them. Upon the arrival of the reinforcement, under the convoy of Rear Admiral Parker, at Barbadoes, two battalions, with a detachment of royal artillery, were ordered to Grenada. Several skirmishes happened since their landing, in one of which, on the 10th instant, it is with concern I have learned, that Captain Stopford, of the 9th regiment, Captain Hewan, of the 25th, and Ensign Baillie, of the 99th, were killed, and about twenty men killed and sixty wounded, owing entirely to their attempting the side of a steep mountain, defended with abbatiss.

Brigadier General Nicolls, whom I have sent to command there, will, I am satisfied, make every exertion to subdue this enemy; and I trust soon to receive good accounts from him.

I am sorry to add, that the enemy has committed many acts of barbarity.

In St. Vincent the Charibbs, instigated by the French, and joined by most of the French inhabitants, seized a favourable time, most treacherously,

roully, to attack the English inhabitants of that colony. The acts of cruelty which they have committed upon defenceless men, women, and children, are beyond description, and burning every plantation in their power.

Fortunately, by General Seton's exertions and that of the navy under Captain Skinner of the Zebra, with the spirited behaviour of the garrison and inhabitants, they were beaten from a post they occupied over Kingston, with the loss of their chief; and the arrival of the 46th regiment has enabled the governor again to attack them, which he did on the 10th instant, and succeeded in driving them from their positions, with considerable loss on their side, and but small upon our's.

The colony, from their devastation, is reduced to a very distressed situation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN VAUGHAN.

*Right Hon. Henry Dundas,
Esq. Esq. Esq.*

*Extract of a Letter from General Sir John Vaughan, K. B. to the
Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secre-
taries of State, dated Martinique, April 25, 1795.*

I HAVE just received an account from St. Lucia, that Brigadier General Stewart, after taking possession of Vieux Fort and neighbourhood, had proceeded to attack the enemy's principal place of strength at Souffriere. He was attacked by the enemy upon his march on the 20th instant, who had formed an ambuscade. The flank companies of the 9th regiment, and the black corps under Captain Malcolm, were the troops engaged. The enemy, after a severe conflict, were driven back, Captain Malcolm and Captain Nesbitt of the 9th were wounded, after behaving in the most gallant manner. The troops continued their march upon Souffriere, near to which, upon the mountainous ground, our attack was made on the 22d instant, by Brigadier General Stewart, and, notwithstanding there appears to have been the greatest exertions made by his Majesty's forces, they were unsuccessful in their object. Both sides appear to have suffered considerably; but, as I have not yet received any account from Brigadier General Stewart, I cannot be accurate. I have, however, reason to believe, that our killed and wounded exceed 200, with several officers.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 4, 1795.

Admiralty-Office, June 30.

Letters, of which the following were Extracts and Copies, have been received at this Office, from Vice-admiral Caldwell.

Ocean Transport, St. Pierre, Martinique,
April 17, 1795.

Sir,

IN my letter of the 15th of March I informed you of the insurrection at Grenada, and that orders were sent to Barbadoes to make detachments from thence, immediately on the arrival of the convoy, which took place accordingly; and I am now extremely concerned to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, of our failure in our attempt, on the 8th inst. to dislodge the enemy from an eminence on which they had taken post; for the particulars of which I beg to refer you to the inclosed copies of letters from Captains Rogers and Watkins; and for the situation of the colony to the former's subsequent letter by Colonel Webster.

Captain Sawyer has taken a sloop under St. Lucia, with arms, ammunition, and provisions from Guadaloupe; and Captain Watkins acquaints me he has captured a privateer and a schooner with arms and ammunition, under Spanish colours.

(Signed) BEN. CALDWELL.

To the Secretary of the
Admiralty.

Quebec, Grenada, April 9, 1795.

I WAS in great hopes, every day ever since the arrival of the two regiments under Colonel Campbell, to have announced to you the total subjugation of the French and rebels in this island; but such vast quantities of rain have constantly been falling until yesterday morning, as to preclude the possibility of carrying on any military operations in the mountainous part of this island. It having been judged absolutely necessary to assault the enemy's camp the first favourable moment; and willing to give every assistance in my power, from the navy, to insure, if possible, success, Captain Watkins, of the Resource, became a willing volunteer on the occasion. A corps of 150 men was selected by him from the Resource, and volunteers from the transports, with whom Captain Browell served as a volunteer. Inclosed I send you Captain Watkins's letter, to which I beg leave to refer you for the particulars of our misfortune. I have not yet seen a return from the army, though I understand the loss amounts to, in killed and wounded, 100. Every tongue is loud in praise of the gallant conduct of Captain Watkins in this unfortunate affair; and I want words to express a just sense of my obligations to him for the great zeal and exertion he has so eminently displayed ever since his arrival here.—Captain Browell's behaviour has been highly meritorious, and the service is much indebted to his exertions and example. I beg leave to assure you no relaxation of exertions with the navy will take place.

(Signed)

J. ROGERS.

To Vice-admiral Caldwell,

Ocean

Ocean Transport, St. Pierre, Martinique, April 19, 1795.

Sir,

WITH much satisfaction I inclose you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a letter from Captain Sawyer, giving an account of a successful expedition at St. Lucia; and hope, before the packet leaves St. Kitt's, to send another account of that colony being restored to peace, which the General Sir John Vaughan and myself conceive will have a very good effect at St. Vincent's and Grenada.

To the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(Signed)

BEN. CALDWELL.

Blanche, Carenage, St. Lucia, April 18, 1795.

Sir,

I BEG to acquaint you, that I have just arrived at this place (for the purpose of returning their boats to the transports) from Vieux Fort, which town and its vicinity, I have the satisfaction to inform you, the enemy abandoned the day before yesterday, and which was immediately taken possession of by Brigadier-general Stewart and his Majesty's troops. I forthwith got under weigh from the place where we had disembarked the troops, and came to an anchor off the town of Vieux Fort, where I found an empty French sloop and schooner, and an American brig, partly loaded with produce.

My stay at Vieux Fort, after the capture of the place, was not sufficient to enable me to transmit to you an account of the stores and ammunition found there; but I understand that there was in the church and other large buildings a considerable quantity of provisions and some produce. I have the pleasure to inform you, that yesterday, in my way here, I had the good fortune to capture a small privateer, which, for the present, I lie for a tender. I am now getting under weigh to return to Vieux Fort, for the purpose of co-operating with the Brigadier-general in his future plans; and I hope very shortly to be able to inform you that Souffriere, which is the principal post of the enemy, is once more reduced to his Majesty's authority, and that peace and tranquillity are again restored to this colony.

(Signed)

C. SAWYER.

To Vice-admiral Caldwell.

Ocean Transport, St. Pierre, Martinique, April 25, 1795.

Sir,

IN my letter of the 19th instant, inclosing a copy of a letter from Captain Sawyer, relating a successful expedition at St. Lucia, I mentioned my hopes that the next account would be that the colony was restored to peace, &c. but have now the unpleasing task to request you will lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the inclosed copy of a letter from Captain Sawyer, received this morning, giving an account of our having failed in the expedition against Souffriere, and that General Stewart was returning to Vieux Fort. We have no other account

account than Captain Sawyer's letter, which was brought by Lieutenant Barrett, who understood our loss was about 200 killed and wounded.

(Signed) BEN. CALDWELL.

To the Secretary of the
Admiralty.

Blanche, Choiseul, St. Lucia,
April 23, 1795.

IT is with much concern I relate to you that the enemy, with a force infinitely superior to any Brigadier-general Stewart imagined they could collect, attacked the troops under his command yesterday, on their march to Souffriere, and, after an engagement which lasted seven hours, compelled them to retreat to this place. I am sorry to observe our loss has been very considerable.

We are now embarking the troops with which the General proposes to return to Vieux Fort, which place he thinks his present force equal to maintain.

As negroes could not be procured to drag the cannon, the General applied to me for men to assist the soldiers in that fatiguing duty. I accordingly sent Lieutenant Barrett on shore with twenty seamen and ten marines, for that purpose. I feel it my duty to inform you, Sir, that the General expresses, in the strongest terms, his approbation of Lieutenant Barrett's conduct in this instance, as also that of the seamen and marines under his command.

(Signed) C. SAWYER.

To Vice-admiral Caldwell.

Horse Guards, July 4.

A Letter from General the Honourable Sir John Vaughan, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in the Leeward Islands, dated Martinico, May 11, 1795, of which the following is an Extract, has been received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to you an extract of a letter which I have this morning received from Governor Seton. It will give you full information as to the present state of affairs in that island.

I also inclose Brigadier-general Stewart's return of the killed and wounded in the late actions at St. Lucia, which was not received when my last dispatches were closed.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Seton to Sir John Vaughan, dated St. Vincent's, May 8, 1795.

THE enemy having appeared yesterday on the height above Calliaqua, to the number of seven or eight hundred, I requested Captain Carpenter, with his Majesty's ship Alarm, to move round to Calliaqua Bay,

Bay, which he immediately complied with. They had sent two insulting messages to Captain Molesworth, who commanded the party there, requiring him to surrender at discretion. Being informed that they had, within these few days, been considerably reinforced from Guadalupe, and suspecting, from their number and apparent confidence, that some attempt would be made against the town of Kingston, I sent a party, under Captain Hall, of the 46th regiment, consisting of one sub-lttern and thirty-three rank and file of that regiment, forty militia, and forty of the corps of rangers, with five of the royal artillery, and a fourteen pound field-piece, to take possession of Dorsetshire Hill yesterday forenoon. About one o'clock this morning they were attacked by a body of about 300 French and Charibs: our party made a vigorous resistance, but, owing to the enemy's great superiority in numbers, they were obliged to retreat to the post on Sion Hill, leaving the field-piece spiked. Knowing that the town must be inevitably destroyed by the enemy if they kept possession of that hill, I thought it necessary to use every exertion to dislodge them, and concluding that no time was to be lost in attempting it, I immediately detached sixty rank and file of the 46th regiment, under the command of Captain Forster, 100 of the corps of rangers, and forty militia, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Seton of the rangers, to attack the enemy at day-break. They had, with great dexterity, found means to clear the field-piece of the spike during the short time they had it in their possession, and had been joined by upwards of 100 French and Charibs immediately after Captain Hall's party retreated: our troops attacked them with great spirit at the time appointed; and though they were unexpectedly annoyed by several discharges of grape-shot from the field-piece, and, notwithstanding the enemy were in such force, in less than half an hour they retook the field-piece, and got complete possession of the hill, the enemy flying on all sides. In the two attacks there were three privates of the royal artillery wounded, three rank and file of the 46th regiment killed, nine rank and file wounded; Captain Forster and Ensign Lee slightly wounded; three privates of the militia killed; Captain Rois and twelve rank and file wounded. Of the enemy, twenty-three Frenchmen and nineteen Charibs were found dead on the hill, and two Frenchmen and two Charibs taken prisoners; but it is believed their loss in all was twice that number, as many of them were seen at some distance carrying off in hammocks after the attack.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Actions on the following Days, of the Troops under the Command of Brigadier-General Stewart, in the Island of St. Lucia, 14th of April, 1795.

9th, flank companies—2 rank and file, killed; 6 rank and file, wounded.

61st—3 rank and file, wounded.

68th, flank companies—3 rank and file, wounded.

Royal Rangers—1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, wounded.

15th of April.

Royal Rangers—2 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.

20th of April.

9th, flank companies—2 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 14 rank and file, wounded.

Royal Rangers—6 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 18 rank and file, wounded.

22d of April.

Royal Artillery—5 rank and file, wounded.

9th, flank companies—3 rank and file, killed.

61st—9 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 3 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 8 drummers, 53 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file, missing.

68th, flank companies—1 captain, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 subaltern, 1 serjeant, 10 rank and file, wounded.

Carolina Corps—1 rank and file, wounded.

Royal Rangers—4 rank and file, killed; 5 rank and file, wounded.

Total—1 captain, 29 rank and file, killed; 4 captains, 4 subalterns, 13 serjeants, 2 drummers, 127 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file, missing.

Names of the Officers killed and wounded.

Captain Waugh, of the 68th regiment, killed.

Captain Malcolm, of the Royal Rangers, Nesbitt, 9th regiment, Rid-del and Whelan, 61st, wounded.

Lieutenants Grant and Moore, of the 61st, wounded.

Ensign Butler, of the 61st, wounded.

Lieutenant Malot, of the 68th, wounded.

Mr. Loirceau, Assistant Engineer, wounded April 15.

One volunteer killed, April 22.

Two sailors wounded, April 22.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Aug. 1, 1795.

Horse Guards, Aug. 1.

Dispatches from General the Hon. Sir John Vaughan, dated Martinico the 22d and 23d of June, 1795, of which the following are Extracts, have been received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

IT is with infinite concern I acquaint you, that Brigadier-general Stewart was under the necessity of evacuating the island of St. Lucia, on the 19th instant.

The natural strength of Morne Fortune had encouraged me to hope, that I should be able to maintain that post until the arrival of a reinforcement; but by the capture of Pigeon Island, when least expected, and the subsequent loss of the Vigie on the 17th instant; on which alone depended our uninterrupted communication with the Carenage, this evacuation was judged absolutely unavoidable. It accordingly took place on the evening of the 18th, and was happily effected undiscovered by the enemy.

We are indebted to the great affiduity and uncommon exertions of Captain Barrett, of his Majesty's ship Experiment, that the garrison was brought off with the loss of only a few sick, who were unavoidably left behind.

I have the honour to forward you by this opportunity some letters and papers, which will give you a full account of the success that has so happily attended his Majesty's arms in the island of Dominique.

The whole body of the enemy, amounting to 400, having consented to become prisoners of war, has relieved us from the anxiety we were under for the fate of that island.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Madden, to General the Honourable Sir John Vaughan, dated Prince Ruper's, June 22, 1793.

I HAVE the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that Captain Bathe, having made a most judicious disposition of his detachment, so as nearly to surround the enemy in both their encampments; on the 17th instant the first encampment sent in a flag, requesting liberty to lay down their arms, which Captain Bathe assented to. The conditions have not been as yet reported to me.—Captain Bathe, on the 19th instant, sent a flag to the second encampment, offering the same terms that had been granted to the first, which they immediately submitted to.—I have now twenty-five officers prisoners here; two they call generals, and 249 rank and file. I am informed that Captain Bathe, who is still in camp, has seventy-nine more with him. There are a number of them dispersed in two's and three's in the woods, that the English negroes are in pursuit of, and are hourly bringing some in. I am sending out small parties of militia (who have behaved uncommonly well) to the different parishes, in order to root them out entirely, and hope very soon to have to report to your Excellency, that there is not a brigand in the island.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Madden, to General Sir John Vaughan, dated Prince Ruper's, June 27, 1793.

I HAVE the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that the invasion of and the rebellion in this island is now entirely settled, every Frenchman that landed being either killed or taken prisoner, and the inhabitants of the rebellious parishes sent prisoners to Roseau, there to be disposed of by the governor.

The enemy made a third and a fourth expedition against this part of the island, but perceiving that we were prepared to give them a proper reception, they returned to Marie Galante, firing a gun and flewing national colours,

Horse Guards, Aug. 1, 1795.

BY dispatches received from General the Honourable Sir John Vaughan, dated Martinico, the 28th of June, it appears, that in the island of St. Grenada, the white French people, who had joined the brigands, were daily surrendering themselves at the British out-posts; that in the windward part of the island most of the negroes had returned to their estates, and on some were making sugar; that a party of the brigands, consisting of picked men, with their chief, Fedon, at their head, had been routed with considerable slaughter by a detachment of his Majesty's troops under the command of Lieutenant Hlunuber, of the 68th regiment. In this action Lieutenant Darling, of the 9th regiment, and four privates, were slightly wounded.

By a letter from Lieutenant-colonel Leighton to General Sir John Vaughan, dated St. Vincent's, the 23d of June, it appears, that on the 23d of that month the enemy's post on the Vigie had been carried by assault, and that the commandant was wounded and taken. The enemy are said to have lost in this affair 250 men. The loss of the British consisted of

Killed—Captain Piguet, of the 60th regiment, and nine privates.

Wounded—Captains Law and Forster, of the 16th regiment; Lieutenant Tonson, of the 60th, one sergeant, and forty-six privates.

It is further stated, that very few of the French who had taken part with the Charibis, were left throughout the island; and that Lieutenant-colonel Leighton, after this success, had advanced into the Charibis country, and taken post on Mount Young.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Nov. 21, 1795.

Horse Guards, Nov. 20, 1795.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been this Day received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Major-General Leigh, commanding his Majesty's Troops in the Leeward Islands, dated Martinico, Oct. 5, 1795.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your information, the copy of a letter I received from Major-general Irving, dated St. Vincent's, October 3, and to congratulate you on the good behaviour of the troops, and on the success of his Majesty's arms, by the possession of the important post of the Vigie, on that island.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. LEIGH,

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Major-General Irving to Major-General Leigh, dated Kingston, St. Vincent's, Oct. 3, 1795.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency, that finding this town extremely straitened by the enemy having possession of the Vigie, I judged it expedient to drive them from it, as the only means to relieve it. I informed myself, from those best acquainted with the country, that a height, called Fairbane's Hill, commanded the Vigie; upon this I formed my plan of attack. The grenadiers and light infantry, with four companies of the 40th regiment, were to gain the hill on one quarter, while the 59th regiment, supported by two three-pounders, were to force it on another; the whole marched at three o'clock yesterday morning, so as to be at the object by day-break. The first division gained the height early in the morning, with considerable loss; the 59th regiment was early within fifty paces of the enemy, and made several attempts to gain the post, but the natural strength of the ground, and, the heavy rain that unluckily fell at day-break, rendered the place inaccessible.

The troops having been exposed the whole of the day to great fatigues, and the weather being very unfavourable from violent showers during the day, and having no possibility of providing the least shelter for them, I thought it most advisable to return to our former quarters for the night. Having sufficient reason to suppose the enemy had abandoned their posts during the night, I ordered out early this morning a strong detachment of St. Vincent's Rangers to take possession of it; and I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency, that the British flag now displays itself there. We found all the cannon and ammunition there undeflected. Brigadier-general Meyers, by his able conduct the whole day, afforded me the most essential service; and the highest praise is due to this army, both officers and men, for the perseverance, discipline, and bravery, they manifested in sustaining an action from day-break until night in this climate.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. IRVING, Maj. Gen.

Return of killed and wounded on the 2d instant.

40th regiment—1 officer, 2 serjeants, 8 rank and file, killed; 13 rank and file, wounded.

54th regiment—1 officer, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, killed: 1 officer, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 24 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file, missing.

59th regiment—1 officer, 1 serjeant, 22 rank and file, killed; 2 officers, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 56 rank and file, wounded.

Martinique Rangers—1 rank and file, killed; 2 ditto, wounded.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

Killed—Capt. Patrick Blair, of the 59th regiment; Lieut. Alexander Scipton, of the 40th ditto; Lieut. Samuel Warren, of the 54th ditto.

Wounded—Capt. Christopher Seton, of the 54th ditto; Capt. Robert Vaughan, of the 59th ditto; Ensign Hannah, of the 59th ditto.

(Signed) THO. HILL, Aid-de-Camp.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 2, 1796.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 2, 1796.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on Board the Raisonnable, Oct. 27, 1795.

THIS morning his Majesty's ship the Hannibal returned from a cruise to Port Royal with two prizes, privateers, one the Convention, of 12 guns, and 74 men; the other a schooner, of eight guns, and 66 men.

Horse Guards, Jan. 2, 1796.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Extract of a Letter from Major-General Leigh to Mr. Secretary Dundas, date Martinico, Oct. 31, 1795.

IT is with real concern I inform you of the loss of the important post of Gouyave in the island of Grenada; for the particulars of which I beg leave to refer you to Brigadier-general Nicholls's letter of the 18th instant, and to the several reports made to him upon that event, copies of which I have the honour to inclose.

Extract of a Letter from Brigadier-General Oliver Nicholls to his Excellency Major-General Leigh, dated Grenada, Oct. 18, 1795.

IT is with extreme concern I report to your Excellency the loss of the post of Gouyave. The enemy having attacked and carried by assault, on the night of the 15th instant, the strong hill which commands the harbour and town, Lieutenant-colonel Schaw did not think his force strong enough to recover it immediately, and the lower situation not being tenable, he retired to this town unmolested by the enemy, a march of twelve miles, and arrived here the next morning about nine o'clock. His return, which is inclosed, will shew the loss of the 68th regiment. The 25th regiment had fifty-five sick there, with three subalterns. One subaltern, Lieutenant Ashe, and sixteen of whom were able to march with Lieutenant-colonel Schaw's detachment, are here; the rest have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Schaw, of the 68th Regiment, to Brigadier-General Nicholls, dated St. George's, October 17, 1795.

Sir,

IN obedience to your desire I should have earlier given you an account of the particulars which obliged me to evacuate the post of Gouyave,

the works (though wounded) until we found that our men were all driven out, after which we retired. The man who bayoneted him attacked me, when I fortunately shot him, by which I escaped.

I have the honour, &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 19, 1795.

Horse Guards, March 17, 1796.

A LETTER, of which the following is an extract, has been received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Major-general Leigh, commanding his Majesty's troops in the West Indies.

Extract of a Letter from Major-General Leigh to Mr. Secretary Dundas; dated Martinique, Jan. 21, 1796.

I THIS day received Brigadier-general Stewart's statement of the attack on his camp at St. Vincent's on the 8th instant, and the return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in that unfortunate affair.

The governor and a committee of the legislature of St. Vincent having written to the commanding officer at Barbadoes on the first of this disaster, Brigadier-general Knox immediately sent off 260 men of the 63d regiment, who had arrived there, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Gower, to their assistance,

Extract of a Letter from Major-General Hunter to his Excellency Major-General Leigh, dated Head Quarters, Kingston, St. Vincent's, Jan. 19, 1796.

HEREWITH I have the honour to inclose to your Excellency a letter from Brigadier-general Stewart, with a list of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the unfortunate action of the 8th instant.

I have made the best arrangement I could think for the safety of Fort Charlotte and the protection of the town; to effect which I was under the necessity of evacuating the new Vigie, perceiving the enemy's intention of cutting off our communication with it.

I also judged it prudent to withdraw the party from Morne Ronde, so that my whole force is now concentrated at the posts of Dorsetshire-Hill, Millar's Bridge, Lion-Hill, Cane-Garden, Keane's House, Kingston, and Fort Charlotte. I must, however, observe, that the very hard duty the men and officers are obliged to do at present cannot be supported for any length of time; and if some reinforcement is not sent, I much fear that I shall be under the necessity of retiring with the troops into Fort Charlotte, which is a post, in my opinion, not to be taken by all the force the enemy can bring against it.

Extract

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Extract of a Letter from Brigadier-General Stewart to Major-General Hunter, dated Kingston, Jan. 13, 1796.

ABOUT three o'clock of the morning of the 8th instant the enemy made an attack on our left, where we had a three-pounder and a co-horn placed upon a tongue of land, which ran out about fifty yards, thought, from the steepness on each side, to be almost inaccessible. On the first shot I immediately ran out as fast as the darkness would permit me, and was met by Major Harcourt, field-officer of the day. I found the men all paraded, and Brigadier-general Strutt, who had just then received a wound in his face, exerting himself much with the 54th regiment. I still proceeded to the left, but from the darkness could not distinguish the enemy from our own soldiers (about this time a French officer had got over our works, and was taken prisoner); and not being yet certain whether the enemy had taken possession of the battery to the left, I directed Major Harcourt to reinforce that post with the piquet of the 40th; but before this could be done, I had too much reason to believe it was taken, and immediately dispatched a messenger to Lieutenant-colonel Graham to bring up the whole or part of the second West India regiment; but before the messenger had got many yards, a firing was heard on the right from the enemy, and all along the front. In this situation I left Captain Harrison, of the light company of the 54th regiment, most actively employed in using every exertion to keep the men to their duty, and was proceeding to the right, by the 40th regiment, to know what was doing there; but I had scarce reached this regiment, when I heard the battery I had left was taken. I instantly turned about, directing Major Harcourt, with all the men of the 40th he could collect, to follow me and retake the battery. I again met Brigadier-general Strutt between some men, who informed me his leg was shattered, and Captain Harrison shot through the shoulder. I still pushed forward, using my best endeavours, with other officers, to animate the men to their duty, many of whom, at that moment, were killed and wounded. At this time the troops in the front and on the right of the line gave way, and the enemy took possession of the remaining battery. In this dilemma nothing but a retreat could be thought of.

We reached Biabou with inconsiderable loss. The enemy hung on our rear and right; but, from the judicious attention of Lieutenant-colonel Fuller, (who on every occasion afforded me the most ready assistance) and Lieutenant-colonel Graham, they were kept off.

Biabou being upwards of twelve miles from Kingston, without provision, and little ammunition, it appeared by no means prudent to take post here; I therefore, as soon as the men had got some little rest, and it became dark, after having ordered fires to be kindled, resumed our march towards Kingston unmolested.

Permit me, before I conclude, to express the heavy loss I sustained in the want of the able assistance of Brigadier-general Strutt, who was severely wounded soon after the commencement of the attack, as well as that of Major Harcourt, and other brave officers specified in the return of our loss, which I have the honour to send with this.

I have now the honour to inform you, that, after having ineffectually searched for them from four different points, forty-three more have surrendered themselves, of which six are stout, able Maroon men. The Maroons now out consist of twenty-four men and sixty-three women and children.

Horse Guards, April 23.

Dispatches have this day been received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Major-general Leigh, dated at Martinique, January 27, and Barbadoes, March 10, 1796. By the former of which it appears, that on the 20th of January the enemy at St. Vincent's made an attack on the British post at Millar's Ridge, which they continued with great violence from daylight until it was quite dark, but were finally repulsed with considerable loss, after twice attempting to carry the redoubt. At the commencement of the action Lieutenant-colonel Prevost, having advanced with a view of surprising an advanced piquet of the enemy, was twice wounded, but is not thought to be in any danger. The behaviour of this officer, of Major M'Leod of the 59th, who commanded at Millar's Ridge, and of the other officers, is mentioned by General Leigh in the strongest terms of commendation. The total loss of the British during the action, was 2 serjeants and 22 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel (Prevost), 2 serjeants, and 32 rank and file, wounded.

By the dispatch of the 10th of March it appears, that Major Wright of the 55th regiment, who commanded at Pilot's Hill, in the island of Grenada, was obliged to abandon that position, and fall back to the post of Sauteur, on the night of the 29th of February. It is stated, that the want of water, of which the supply had been entirely cut off by the enemy, rendered this retreat necessary, and that it was effected in good order, with the loss of only two privates badly wounded. Previous to the retreat, Major Wright had been frequently attacked by the enemy without success. His loss on these occasions was,
55th regiment—2 rank and file killed; 2 ditto wounded.
Black Rangers—8 rank and file killed; 19 ditto wounded; 2 ditto missing.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 14, 1796.

Horse Guards, May 14.

The following Extract of a Letter from Brigadier-General Nicolls, dated Port Royal, Grenada, March 28, 1796, to Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. has been transmitted by the latter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

I HAD the honour of writing to your Excellency on the 14th inst. that day I got on shore the detachments of the 8th and 63d regiments, with a part of the 3d or Buffs; I also got two six-pounders and a five

and a half-inch howitzer to a ridge south of Port Royal, and distant about 1000 yards; a battery was made in the night by the greatest exertions of Brevet Major O'Mara, of the 38th regiment, so that by daylight it opened by the enemy's redoubt. We saw the howitzer disconcert them very much; but as it was our object to close with them as soon as possible, I had determined to get on the same ridge with them, or if I saw an opening, to attempt the redoubt by assault: for this purpose, I thought it necessary to try to dislodge some strong parties of the enemy, which we saw posted on the heights on our left, as if intending to turn or distress that flank; I accordingly detached a strong black corps, with fifty of the 88th regiment; the whole under Major Houston; owing to the difficulty of the ground, it was near two hours before they could get near the enemy, when a heavy but distant fire commenced on both sides. I had previously concerted with him, that in case of attaining a particular point, which would have covered our approach to Port Royal, he was to make a signal, on which the light company of the Buffs, the detachments of the 8th and 63d regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Dawson, were to advance, while the part of the battalion of the Buffs that had landed were to form a reserve, the whole under Brigadier-general Campbell; but so far from dislodging the enemy, I saw with regret our black corps and the 88th regiment retiring, Major Houston having tried, without success, to accomplish the object he was sent on: this obliged me to detach the 8th regiment to support them, which it did effectually. At this moment an alarming fire broke out in our rear, near the place where all the stores we had landed were deposited; but by the exertions of our people, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Dyott, they were all preserved.

In the midst of these untoward circumstances we heard a firing from our ships of war that lay at anchor, and were soon informed that it was at two French schooners that were making into Marquis; the truth of this was soon confirmed, for we saw them enter and anchor. I had one of the six-pounders turned on them, as they were well within reach, but unluckily we never struck them. The situation of affairs was now so critical, that an instant was not to be lost. I accordingly directed Brigadier-general Campbell to proceed to the assault, and I brought up every thing in my power to support him; he therefore advanced with only the Buffs and 63d regiment, the 8th having, as I before stated, been detached on another service. I ordered up half of the 9th regiment to replace them, and half of the 9th also to assist if necessary; but the 29th, that I had to bring from Grand Bacolet, though they came as soon as possible, did not join him till after the Buffs had met with a check, from the advantage the enemy had of the ground, and from a very galling fire to which they were exposed; they, however, soon formed again under the cover of a hedge, and being then joined by the 29th regiment, under Captain Clavy, Brigadier-general Campbell ordered the whole to advance to the assault, which they did in the most determined manner, led by the Brigadier himself. They soon gained the top of the ridge, the enemy then ran towards their redoubt, and were followed by our people, who scrambled in at the embrasures, Captain Clavy, of the 29th, being the first that entered. The enemy then flew in the utmost terror in all directions, some throwing themselves down precipices, whilst others tried to escape down

down the hill, through brush and other wood; but there was so heavy a fire kept on them from the top by our people, that they endeavoured to escape along a bottom, where the detachment of the light dragoons, under Captain Black, and the St. George's troop of light cavalry, under M. Burney, (that had previously been formed under the hill to profit of any occasion that offered) seeing the enemy flying, rushed on them through a fire of grape from the French schooner, and cut down every man they saw, so that very few, if any, escaped that had been in Port Royal. That post was chiefly garrisoned, as I hear, from the few prisoners we have taken, by the Sans Culotte companies from Guadaloupe. We have to regret the loss of some gallant men, and of two officers, Major Edwards and Lieutenant Williams of the 3d, who fell leading their men on most spiritedly. Colonel Dawson, at the head of the 3d, was wounded through the neck before they got to the bottom of Port Royal Hill.—Major Baillie, of the 63d regiment, was then next in command to Brigadier-general Campbell, whose conduct the General reports to be steady, collected, and officer-like. The command of the 3d devolved on Captain Blunt, whose light company, as leading the first attack, suffered severely. Both he, as oldest captain, and Lieutenant Gardner, I beg leave to recommend to your Excellency's notice and favour. We have taken but six prisoners; among them are the second and third in command to Mr. Jossey, who commands the people that came from Guadaloupe. Inclosed is a return of our killed and wounded. Our success at Port Royal has been followed by the evacuation of Pilot Hill, by the enemy.

Return of his Majesty's Troops killed and wounded at the Attack of Port Royal, Grenada, March 25, 1796.

17th light dragoons—1 horse killed; 4 rank and file, and 2 horses, wounded.
 3d foot, or Buffs—1 major, 1 lieutenant, 11 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 40 rank and file, wounded.
 8th foot, or King's—1 lieutenant-colonel, wounded.
 9th foot—3 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 13 rank and file, wounded.
 63d foot—2 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 12 rank and file, 1 surgeon, wounded.
 38th foot—2 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, wounded.
 Total—1 major, 1 lieutenant, 18 rank and file, and 1 horse, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 5 serjeants, 1 drummer, 83 rank and file, 1 surgeon, and 2 horses, wounded.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

3d regiment, or Buffs—Major Edwards and Lieut. Williams, killed; Lieut. Campbell and Lieut. Harding, wounded.
 8th, or King's—Lieutenant-colonel Dawson, wounded.
 9th—Lieut. Tandy and Ensign Arbuthnot, wounded.
 63d—surgeon (attached) Morrison, wounded.

(Signed) J. H. DREW, Major of Brigade.

Return

Return of Colonial Troops killed and wounded in the Island of Grenada, from the 23d to the 25th of March, 1796.

St. George's light cavalry—1 horse killed; 1 rank and file and 1 horse, wounded.

Loyal Black Rangers—2 captains, 5 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 23 rank and file, wounded.

Captain Brander's black company—1 rank and file killed; 1 captain wounded.

Captain Davis's ditto—6 rank and file wounded.

Total—2 captains, 6 rank and file, and 1 horse, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 30 rank and file, and 2 horses, wounded.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

Loyal Black Rangers—Captain Noel and Captain John Forbes, killed; Lieutenant Porter, wounded.

Captain Brander's black company—Captain Brander wounded.

(Signed) J. H. DREW, Major of Brigade:

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 21, 1796.

Whitehall, May 21.

A Letter, of which the following is an Extract, has been received by his Grace the Duke of Portland, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Major-General Earl of Balcarres, dated Jamaica, March 26, 1796.

I HAVE the satisfaction to inform your Grace of the termination of the Maroon war.

Thirty-six Trelawny Maroons, and all the runaway negroes who had joined them in rebellion, surrendered their arms on the 17th and 21st March.

The Maroons to windward, who had shewn a most refractory and disobedient spirit since the commencement of the rebellion, have made their submission, and on their knees, in the presence of commissioners, have sworn allegiance to his Majesty. I shall, by the packet, inclose the commission and the return upon it.

The most perfect internal tranquillity is restored to the island: the slaves on every plantation are obedient, contented, and happy.

Our operations against the rebels have been carried on with unremitting vigour. In following the enemy into their new recesses, the troops have undergone fatigue hardly to be credited: the last column which moved against them were five days without one drop of water, except what they found in the wild pines.

The rebels, worn out with fatigue, continually harassed and disturbed in every settlement, have been conquered in a country where no European had ever thought of penetrating.

The very fortunate close of this war is to be ascribed to the activity and good conduct of Major-general Walpole, and I must humbly recommend him to his Majesty's favour.

OPERATIONS IN THE EAST INDIES.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Oct. 31, 1795.

Horse Guards, Oct. 31.

A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, has been received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Vice-Admiral the Honourable Sir G. K. Elphinstone, K. B. dated on Board his Majesty's Ship Monarch, Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, August 18, 1795.

I HAD the honour of informing you, in a former dispatch, that the Dutch were entrenched in a strong position at Mysenbergh, and well furnished with cannon, having a steep mountain on their right and the sea on the left, difficult of approach on account of shallow water, with high surf on the shore, but which the absolute necessity of the post rendered it requisite that we should possess, and made it obvious to Major-general Craig and myself that it ought to be attempted.

For this service I secretly prepared a gun-boat, and armed the launches of the fleet with heavy cannonades, landed two battalions of seamen, about 1000, under the command of Captains Hardy of the Echo, and Spranger of the Rattlesnake, and sent ships frequently around the bay, to prevent suspicion of an attack, when any favourable opportunity might offer.

On the 7th instant a light breeze sprung up from the north-west, and at twelve o'clock the pre-concerted signal was made; when Major-general Craig, with his accustomed readiness and activity, instantly put the forces on shore in motion, and, at the same moment, Commodore Blankett, equally zealous in the America, with the Stately, Echo, and Rattlesnake, got under weigh, whilst the gun-boats and armed launches preceded the march of the troops about 500 yards, to prevent their being interrupted.

About one o'clock the ships, being abreast of an advanced post of two guns, fired a few shot, which induced those in charge to depart; and, on approaching a second post of one gun and a royal mortar or howitzer, the effect was the same. On proceeding off the camp the confusion was instantly manifest, although the distance from the ships was greater than could have been wished, but the shallowness prevented a nearer approach.

The Echo led, commanded by Captain Tod of the Monarch, and anchored in two and a half fathoms, followed by the America, which anchored in four and a half, when the Stately and Rattlesnake, anchor-ing

ing nearer, in proportion to their lesser draughts of water, off the enemy's works, which began to fire, and the fire was returned by the sloops; but an increase of wind prevented the large ships from acting until they had carried out heavy anchors. This duty was performed by the commanders with great coolness, much to their own honour and their country's credit.

In a few minutes after the fire opened, which obliged the Dutch to abandon their camp with the utmost precipitation, taking with them only two field-pieces, and at four o'clock the Major-general took possession of it, after a fatiguing march over heavy sandy ground. To him I beg leave to refer for the particulars of what was taken therein, as the sea ran so high that no person from the ships or gun-boats could venture to land.

In transmitting to you the proceedings of the fleet under my command, I shall at all times feel great satisfaction in doing justice to the merits of the several officers. To their judgment and good conduct in the present instance is to be attributed the immediate success which attended the attempt; it is therefore my duty to recommend to his Majesty's notice Commodore Blankett, Captain Douglas, Lieutenant Tod of the Monarch, commanding the Echo, and Lieutenant Ramage, also of the Monarch, commanding the Rattlesnake, and Mr. Charles Adam, of the Monarch, midshipman, who commanded the gun-boat. I am sensibly obliged to them, each individually, for their steady and correct discharge of my orders.

I must further beg leave to add, that it is universally agreed the Echo's fire was superiorly directed and ably kept up; and particular acknowledgments are also due to the officers and men, for the general zeal and activity which appeared in every countenance, of which I was enabled to judge with more precision, as the Commodore obligingly permitted me to accompany him, and to visit the other ships employed under his direction upon this service.

The America had two men killed and four wounded, and one gun disabled, being struck by a shot; the Stately one man wounded. Some shot passed through the ships, but did not materially injure them.

I am fearful the Major-general will not be able to write by this conveyance, a Genoese ship, which intends touching at St. Helena, as he is now at Mysenbergh.

I have inclosed a list of the Dutch ships detained in this Bay,

List of Dutch Ships detained in Simon's Bay, Aug. 18, 1795.

The ship Williamstadt en Boetzlaar, Captain St. Kooter, 978 tons, arrived May 10, 1795, from the Texel. Landed her cargo here.

De Yonge Bonifacius, Captain Jan Nicholas Croese, 488 tons, arrived June 24, from Batavia, laden.

Gertruyda, Captain M. D. Vries, 660 tons, arrived May 9, from Amsterdam. Landed her cargo here.

Het Vourtrouwen, Captain Hilbrand, van Wyen, 890 tons, arrived August 14, from Batavia, laden.

Louisa and Anthony, Captain Kersjin Hilbrand, 640 tons, arrived August 14, from Batavia, laden.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,

Horse Guards, Nov. 23, 1795.

Dispatches, of which the following are Copies and an Extract, have been this Day received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Vice-Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. and Major-generals Alured Clarke and J. H. Craig.

Castle of the Cape of Good Hope,

Sir,

Sept. 21, 1795.

THE Dutch governor having not only rejected, in the most peremptory terms, the proposals which had been made to him, that the settlement should place itself under the protection of Great Britain, but having also acted in a manner demonstrative of such hostile dispositions towards us, as to justify the suspicion which was conveyed to us of its being his intention to set fire to Simon's Town, from which all the inhabitants had been obliged to retire by his order, the Admiral and myself concurred in thinking it expedient to prevent the execution of his purpose, by landing ourselves, and taking possession of the place, which I accordingly did on the 14th of July, with the part of the 78th regiment under my command, and the marines of the squadron, the latter amounting to about 350 men, and the former to 450. Very few days elapsed before our patroles were fired upon by the Burgher Militia and Hottentots, who occupied the hills round us, while our people were restrained by the directions which they had received, not to commit any act of hostility towards the Dutch troops. Hostilities being, however, thus commenced, and as the time approached when we might reasonably expect the arrival of the troops and stores which had been requested of the Governor of St. Helena, it appeared to me to be an object of consequence to dispossess the Dutch forces of the post which they occupied at the important pass of Muyzenberg, as by it we might perhaps open a more ready communication with the country, at the same time that we should by doing so convince the inhabitants of the reality of our intentions, of which we knew they entertained doubts. I accordingly proposed it to Sir George Elphinstone, who immediately agreed to it with that readiness which has so strongly attended all the instances of assistance which I have received from him. Sir George having landed a detachment of seamen, which was formed into two battalions, we were only delayed by the want of a proper wind, which would not permit the movement to take place till the morning of the 7th of August, when Sir George having made the signal that it would serve, the America and Stately, with the Echo and Rattle snake, got under weigh about twelve o'clock; and I marched at the same time with the 78th and marines, together with the seamen, being in all about 1600 men.

The post of Muyzenberg being extremely strong to the front, and covered by a numerous field of artillery, against which I had not one gun to oppose, our principal reliance was upon the fire from the ships, which, being properly disposed of at the different stations assigned them by Commodore Blankett, produced every effect which could be expected from

from it. The enemy were driven from two twenty-four pounders, which were directed towards the sea, and abandoned the post before it was possible for us to arrive near enough to profit by the circumstance so completely as we were in hopes of doing, as they carried off all their artillery, except the two heavy guns above mentioned, and one brass six pounder, with two eight-inch howitzers.

The enemy having, however, taken post on an advantageous ridge of rocky heights, very strong, and difficult of success, a little beyond the camp, the advanced guard, under the command of Major Monypenny, of the 78th, supported by the battalion of that regiment, attacked and drove them from thence with the greatest spirit, although, in addition to the strength of the ground, the enemy were further protected by cannon from the opposite side of the lagoon, which covers the post of Muyzenberg towards the Cape Town. In this affair, which terminated only with the day, the activity and spirit of the light company of the 78th, under the command of Captain Campbell, was conspicuously displayed. Captain Scott, of the 78th, was the only officer wounded on the occasion.

The next morning the enemy, having drawn out their whole force from the Cape Town, eight field pieces advanced to attack us, but finding us strongly posted, and being themselves fired upon from the pieces they had left behind the preceding day, which had been drilled and brought forward by the exertions of a company of pikemen under Lieutenant Coffin of the Rattlesnake, they thought it more prudent to desist from the attempt, and retired, after some skirmishing, attended with little loss on our side, and only remarkable for the steadiness displayed by the 1st battalion of seamen, commanded by Captain Hardy of the Echo, who, having crossed the water with the marines, received the enemy's fire, without returning a shot, and manoeuvred with a regularity which would not have discredited veteran troops. The marines, under Major Hill, displayed an equal degree of steady resolution on the occasion.

On the 9th the Arniston arrived from St. Helena, with such assistance as Governor Brooke had been able to afford us. It consisted of 352 rank and file, with some field artillery, and a very limited proportion of ammunition: they were directed to proceed immediately to camp, and the boats of the fleet were unremittingly employed in forwarding stores and provisions to us; a work in which, from the peculiar difficulty of our situation, and the insufficiency of our means, our progress was very slow, and frequently so much interrupted by unfavourable weather, that we could hardly get a-head of our consumption. While this necessary business was going on, our future operations became the object of my most earnest consideration. On the one hand, as the enemy appeared numerous, and disposed to an obstinate defence, for which they had had ample time to make the best preparations, I could not but be sensible that the force under my command was, in point of numbers, inadequate to the attempt of reducing them; and I had little to rely on to co-interbalance the disparity, but the spirit of the individuals belonging to it. I possessed no cattle or carriages for the transport of ammunition or provisions, and a communication of twelve miles was to be kept up to be furnished with either, at least till I could open a shorter one

one with the ships that the Admiral might send to Table Bay, for which the season was still very unfavourable.

On the other hand, though these difficulties were sufficiently discouraging, yet the arrival of General Clarke was uncertain, and the state of our provisions was such as to render the possibility of our stay, till it should happen, very doubtful. Under these circumstances, I determined on an attempt by night on the most considerable of the enemy's out-posts, in the hopes that a severe execution among the Burgher Militia might intimidate them, and produce circumstances to our advantage. It took place on the 27th of last month; but unfortunately, notwithstanding every attention on the part of Lieutenant-colonel Mac Kenzie, who commanded, it failed, from the intricacy of the roads, and the timidity and ignorance of the guides; while it served only to produce among the enemy a degree of vigilance, which soon convinced me of the impracticability of any further attempt by way of surprise.

On the morning of the 1st of September, the enemy, having lined the mountains above us with Hottentots and Burgher Militia, commenced a fire of musketry upon our camp, which, from the total want of effect that had attended a former attempt of the same nature, was little attended to, till unfortunately the piquet of the reserve being too much occupied with covering themselves from it, neglected their front, from whence the enemy poured in considerable numbers, and forced them in with some loss. Captain Brown, with the 78th grenadiers, advancing, however, to their support, the enemy were immediately driven down the hill again, and the ground of the piquets re-occupied. In this affair Major Monypenny, of the 78th, was severely wounded, and we suffered a great loss in being deprived of the assistance of an officer of distinguished zeal and activity in the command of the reserve, with which he had been charged since our march from Simon's Town. Captain Dentaffe, of the St. Helena troops, was also wounded.

In a conference with Sir George Elphinstone, on the 2d of September, it was agreed to wait six days longer, for the possibility of the arrival of General Clarke; and that if he did not appear by that time, I should then advance; and under every disadvantage of numbers and situation, try the fortune of an attack, which however hazardous, we deemed it our duty to make, before the total failure of our provisions, put us under an absolute necessity of seeking a supply elsewhere.

On the morning of the 3d, however, the enemy, encouraged by the little success which had attended our attempt on the 1st, meditated a general attack on our camp, which in all probability would have been decisive of the fate of the colony: they advanced in the night with all the strength they could muster, and with a train of not less than eighteen field pieces. Some movements, which had been observed the preceding evening, had given me a suspicion of their intention, and we were perfectly prepared to receive them. They were on their march, and considerable bodies began to make their appearance within our view, when at that critical moment the signal for a fleet first disconcerted them, and the appearance of fourteen sail of large vessels, which came in sight immediately after, induced them to relinquish their enterprise, and retire to their former posts. General Clarke came to an anchor in Simon's Bay the next morning; and for the subsequent events, which have been attended with the capture of this important colony, I do myself

myself the honour to refer you to his account; trusting that his Majesty and our country will do me, and the troops and seamen under my command, the justice to believe, that it has not been owing to any want of zeal, or of a cheerful determination to encounter every hazard in the necessary discharge of our duty, that the same event did not take place during the period in which we were left to ourselves. Under the circumstances of our situation I did not think the attempt justifiable, unless compelled to it by necessity; but we were at the same time fully determined not to retire, in any event, without making that attempt, which, whether successful or not, would at least have been a proof of our zeal for his Majesty's service.

It is impossible for me to close this report, Sir, without making my acknowledgments to Lieutenant-colonel M'Kenzie of the 78th, Major Hill of the marines, and the Captains Hardy and Spranger of the Echo and Rattlesnake sloops, who commanded the two battalions of seamen. Animated by the exertions of these officers, the troops and seamen have undergone great fatigue and hardships with a cheerful resignation, and have encountered a more numerous enemy with an active spirit, which entitles them to the most favourable report from me to his Majesty. Lieutenant Campbell of the Echo, who commanded a company of seamen, which I formed into a light company, merits also that I should notice his indefatigable zeal, and the ability with which he conducted the service in which his company was constantly employed. To this, Sir, I have only to add, that my sense of the obligation I am under to Sir George Elphinstone is such, as I should not do justice to in an attempt to express it; his advice, his active assistance and cordial co-operation on every occasion, have never been wanting, and entitle him to my warmest gratitude.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect,
Your most obedient humble servant,

J. H. CRAIG, Major-general.

I have the honour to inclose a return of the killed and wounded during the period of my command.

*Right Hon Henry Dundas, one
of his Majesty's principal Se-
cretaries of State, &c.*

*Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Troops and
Seam'n under the Command of Major-General Craig, between the
7th of August and the 3d of September, 1795.*

78th battalion of the 78th regiment—1 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 15 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file, missing.

St. Helena corps—1 rank and file, killed: 1 captain, 1 rank and file, wounded.

Seamen—1 rank and file, killed; 1 subaltern, 1 drummer, 10 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file, missing.

Marines—6 rank and file, wounded.

Total—3 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 1 subaltern, 1 drummer, 32 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file, missing.

Names

Names of Officers wounded.

Major Monypenny, of the 78th regiment.

Captain Hercules Scott, of ditto.

Captain Dentaffe, of St. Helena Corps.

Mr. Harty, midshipman, R. N.

J. H. CRAIG, Major-general.

Cape Town, Sept. 23, 1795.

Sir,

MY letters from St. Salvador, by the Chatham brig, will have acquainted you of our leaving that place; and I have now the honour to inform you, that all the India Company's ships, having troops on board, arrived off the Cape of Good Hope on the 3d, and entered Simon's Bay on the 4th instant, where I found the Admiral in possession of the harbour, and Major-general Craig at Muyzenberg, a post of importance about six miles on the road to this place, with a corps composed of seamen and marines from the fleet, six companies of 78th reg. that came in it, and a detachment of the East India Company's troops from St. Helena, amounting in all to about 1900 men, and the enemy who had peremptorily rejected all negotiation, in a state of active hostility against us. Under these circumstances it became necessary to endeavour to effect the execution of our orders without loss of time: I therefore, in conjunction with, and aided by the Admiral, disembarked the regiments, artillery, and necessary stores, and forwarded them to the advanced post as fast as possible, where, through his ardent zeal for the public service and indefatigable exertions, as much provision was collected as we hoped might enable us to sit down before the town, and go on till we could communicate with our ships in Table Bay, or draw some assistance from the country behind us: and having made the best arrangement we could for transporting our provisions, guns, stores, ammunition, and necessary articles of every kind, by the only means in our power, men's labour, we marched on the 14th from Muyzenberg, leaving a sufficient detachment for the protection of our camp and stores at that place. The enemy could see all our motions, and the country through which we were to pass for several miles being very favourable to the sort of warfare that it was their business to pursue, (many of them being on horseback, and armed with guns that kill at a great distance) I had reason to think we might be greatly harassed, and suffer much on our route. Our loss, however, from the precautions taken, and the shyness of the enemy, fortunately proved less than might have been expected, having only one seaman killed and seventeen soldiers wounded in our progress to the post of Wyneberg, where the enemy were in force, with nine pieces of cannon, and had determined, as we were told, to make a serious resistance. But having formed the army from columns of march into two lines, and made a detachment from my right and left to attack both their flanks, while I advanced with the main body and artillery, (which, much to the credit of Major Yorke, was extremely well conducted and served) against their centre, they found themselves so pressed by us, and at the same time alarmed by the appearance

appearance of Commodore Blankett, with three ships the Admiral had detached into Table Bay, to cause a diversion on that side, of which they were very jealous, that they retired with the loss of a few men from our cannon, before we could gain the top of the hill; from whence we followed them close for two miles, but dark coming on, and great part of the troops being much fatigued by the burdens they carried, and the harassment they met with through very swampy ground in the course of the day, I determined to halt for the night in the position I found myself, which proved favourable for the purpose, with the intention of prosecuting my march at day-light next morning.

In this situation, an officer arrived with a flag and letter from Governor Sluyssken, asking a cessation of arms for forty-eight hours, to arrange and offer proposals for surrendering the town; but I did not think it prudent to grant more than twenty-four, in which time every thing was settled agreeable to the articles of capitulation that I have the honour to inclose, whereby the regular troops that formed the garrison became prisoners of war, and his Majesty is put into the full possession of the town and colony, which I hope will prove acceptable to him, and justify the commendation and report, that I think it my duty to make of the meritorious services of all the officers, soldiers, seamen, and marines, that have been employed in this arduous service. The difficulties and hardships that great part of them have experienced are extreme, and the perseverance and cheerfulness with which they were encountered do them the highest credit, and, I am persuaded, will recommend them in the strongest manner to his Majesty's service.

The general character of Sir George K. Elphinstone, and his ardent desire to serve his country, are too well known to receive additional lustre from any thing I could say upon that subject; but I should do injustice to my own feelings, if I did not express the obligations I am under for the ready co-operation and assistance that he afforded upon every occasion, which so eminently contributed to the successful issue of our joint endeavours.

The arrangements made by Major-general Craig previous to my arrival, and the active services he rendered afterwards, claim my thanks, and furnish the best proof of his having conducted his Majesty's service in a manner honourable to himself, and beneficial to his country.

Lieutenant-colonel M^r Murdo, deputy quarter-master general to the expedition under my orders, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch. He is well qualified to give you every information that his short residence here will admit; and I take the liberty, Sir, of recommending this old and most valuable officer to your good offices, and his Majesty's favour.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

ALURED CLARKE.

P. S. The quantity of ordnance, ammunition, naval and other stores, that we find here, is very considerable; but as there is not time to have it examined, and proper inventories made, before the departure of the ship which conveys these dispatches, we must defer sending such

documents as may be thought necessary upon this subject till another opportunity.

The regular troops made prisoners of war amount to about 1000, 600 of which are of the regiment of Gordon, and the rest principally of the corps of artillery. Inclosed is a return of the killed and wounded on the 14th instant.

A. C.

Articles of Capitulation proposed by the Honourable Commissary and Council of Regency of the Cape of Good Hope to General Alured Clarke, commanding his Britannic Majesty's Troops, and to Vice-Admiral the Honourable Sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. commanding the Ships of War of his said Majesty.

Article I. The castle and the town shall be surrendered to the troops of his Britannic Majesty.—Ans. The capitulation being signed, the castle and the town must be surrendered to a detachment of his Britannic Majesty's troops at eleven o'clock this day.

II. The military shall march out with the honours of war, and shall then lay down their arms and become prisoners of war; but the officers shall retain their swords.—Ans. Agreed.

III. Such officers as shall be desirous of leaving the colony shall have permission to do so, they giving their parole of honour that they will not serve against Great Britain during the present war; and there shall be no impediment to their going home in neutral ships, if they chuse it, at their own expence.—Ans. Agreed; and in the mean time they shall remain prisoners on their parole at the Cape Town.

IV. Such officers as chuse to remain here, without service, shall have leave so to do.—Ans. Agreed.

V. All property belonging to the Dutch East India Company shall be faithfully delivered up without reservation, and proper inventories furnished to such officers as shall be appointed to receive it; but all private property, of every sort, whether belonging to the Company's civil, naval, or military servants, to the burghers and inhabitants, to churches, orphans, or public institutions, shall remain free and untouched.—Ans. Agreed, in its fullest latitude.

VI. Servants of the Company out of pay, or in the service of the burghers, desirous of remaining in the colony, shall be permitted to do so.—Ans. Agreed.

VII. The inhabitants of the colony shall preserve the prerogatives which they at present enjoy. Public worship, as at present in use, shall also be maintained without alteration.—Ans. Agreed.

VIII. His Britannic Majesty shall continue the paper-money in its present value, to prevent the total ruin of the inhabitants.—Ans. Agreed.

IX. No new taxes shall be introduced, but the present ones shall be modified as much as possible, in consideration of the decay of the colony.—Ans. Agreed.

X. The commissary, as governor, being prisoner of war, shall, after having delivered up what belongs to the Company, be at liberty to depart from hence on his parole of honour, and may, if he chuse it, take his passage on board a neutral ship.—Ans. Agreed.

XI. He shall also be permitted to carry along with him, or to realise, all

all his private property of every sort, giving his word of honour as to its being really such.—Ans. Agreed.

XII. He shall likewise have permission, after having faithfully delivered up all papers, plans, &c. belonging to this government, to retain all papers belonging to himself, and which may appear necessary to him for the vindication of his conduct during the time of his ministry, in the same manner as he might have done, had he been discharged by his sovereign.—Ans. Agreed.

XIII. No persons whatever, whether servants of the Company, seamen, military, burghers, or others belonging to the colony, shall be pressed into his Britannic Majesty's service, or engaged but by their own free will and consent.—Ans. Agreed.

(Signed) ALURED CLARKE, General.

GEO. K. ELPHINSTONE, Vice-Admiral.

Additional Article.—It having been represented to us, that the utmost confusion must ensue in the colony, and that it would, in all probability, be attended with the entire ruin of it, if the paper money, now circulating in it were deprived of that security which can alone give any effect to the eighth article, we therefore consent that the lands and houses, the property of the Dutch East India Company in this settlement, shall continue the security of that part of the money which is not already secured by mortgages upon the estates of individuals, by its having been lent to them. This is to be, however, without prejudice to the government of Great Britain having the use of the buildings, &c. for public purposes. And we will further represent to his Majesty's government the infinite importance of this subject to the future prosperity of the colony, and request that they will take it into consideration, in order to make such arrangements as may appear proper for its further security, if necessary, or for its final liquidation, if practicable.

(Signed) ALURED CLARKE, General.

GEO. K. ELPHINSTONE, Vice-Admiral.

Copy of Translation, JOHN JACKSON.

Return of the killed and wounded of the Troops and Seamen under the Command of General Alured Clarke, on the 14th of September, 1795:

78th grenadiers—2 rank and file, wounded.

84th ditto—1 rank and file, wounded.

95th ditto—4 rank and file, wounded.

98th ditto—2 rank and file, wounded.

78th light infantry—2 rank and file, wounded.

95th ditto—2 rank and file, wounded.

St. Helena Company—1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, wounded.

98th regiment—1 rank and file, wounded.

Light company of seamen—1 rank and file, killed.

Total—1 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 16 rank and file, wounded.

WALTER CLIFFE, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir G. K. Elphinstone, K. B. to Mr. Secretary Dundas, dated on Board his Majesty's Ship Monarch, Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, September 23, 1795.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that on the 3d instant the India ships from St. Salvador, arrived in False Bay; his Majesty's ship Sphynx, which sailed with them, having met with an accident, was obliged to return to the former place for repair.

On the 4th General Clarke came into the harbour, and, on a conference with him, it was determined to land the troops without a moment's loss of time; but, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of the troops and seamen, it was the 14th before the provisions, guns, ammunition, &c. could be collected to enable the General to move forward from the camp at Muyzenberg.

On the morning of that day the army marched, each man carrying four day's provision, and the volunteer seamen from the India ships dragging the cannon through a deep sand; the country being difficult to proceed on, they were considerably galled by the enemy during a fatiguing march, performed in hot weather.

At Wyneberg the bulk of the Dutch made a stand, but were soon dislodged by his Majesty's forces; and nearly at the same moment Commodore Blankett, whom I had previously detached for the express purpose of alarming the enemy, and giving them a diversion on the Cape Town side, appeared off Camp's Bay with the America, Echo, Rattlerake, and Bombay Castle India ship, and performed that service in the completest manner. At eleven P. M. the Commissary Sluyssken sent in a flag of truce to demand a cessation of arms for forty-eight hours; and on the following morning the colony was surrendered to his Majesty.

I cannot conclude this letter without acknowledging the consolation I have derived from the friendly assistance and advice of Major-general Craig during a tedious sojournment before this place, under many distressing circumstances; and it is a real pleasure to add, that, with him, and also since the arrival of General Clarke, the same sentiments seem to have actuated the minds of the officers to whom his Majesty has been pleased to entrust the conduct of the expedition.

I beg leave to notice the eminent services of Captains Hardy and Spranger; the conduct of the officers of the sea and marine corps is also truly praise-worthy, and will be acceptable to his Majesty: the readiness with which the seamen of the India ships, under the command of Captain Acland, of the Brunswick, offered their service, gave me the highest satisfaction; indeed all ranks of men bore this long service, during bad weather, with the utmost cheerfulness, though often unavoidably ill fed, and attended with great fatigue.

My anxiety to dispatch the Orpheus, and the short time since our obtaining possession, will, I hope, plead my excuse for not transmitting, by this opportunity, a return of the naval stores taken, which I understand are considerable; but the variety of other circumstances at present occupying my mind have hitherto prevented my attending to that point,

Admiralty.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 23, 1795.

A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, has been this Day received from Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. dated on Board his Majesty's ship Monarch, in Table Bay, Sept. 23, 1795. ~

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 16th instant the colony and castle of the Cape of Good Hope surrendered by capitulation to the British arms, in consequence of which I proceeded in the Monarch to this bay, whither I had previously dispatched Commodore Blankett in the America, with the two sloops and an India ship, for the purpose of raising an alarm on the Cape Town side, in which he succeeded admirably.

This event has given me great satisfaction, not only from the fortunate termination, but also from the relief it affords to the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet under my command, after a laborious service for a length of time, wherein they were continually fatigued, and often unavoidably ill fed. They merit my warmest thanks, to which the volunteer seamen from the East India Company's ships are also entitled, for their readiness in undertaking to draw the cannon, and the cheerfulness with which they performed that duty; and I must more particularly beg leave to notice the eminent services of Captains Hardy and Spranger, which, however, are more fully described in a letter from Major-general Craig to me, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, together with a list of promotions, wherein you will perceive I had given the command of the Princess to Captain Hardy, whose acknowledged merit will, I trust, justify my election, and recommend him to their Lordships' confirmation. This ship is one of those found in Simon's Bay, called by the Dutch Wilhemstadt and Boetzlaw, of 1000 tons burthen, mounting twenty-six guns, and most completely found, with copper in the hold sufficient to sheath her.

The ship Castor and Star armed brig, late belonging to the Dutch East India Company, were found at anchor in this bay; the latter, being fit for his Majesty's service, and much wanted, I have also presumed to commission,

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,

Thursday, Jan. 6, 1796.

Horse Guards, Jan. 6, 1796.

Dispatches from Colonel Stuart, of which the following are Copies, have been this Day received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

*Camp before Trincomalee, in t^e Island
of Ceylon, Aug. 17, 1795.*

Sir,
IN obedience to the orders and instructions I received from the government of Fort St. George, and Colonel Brathwaite, commanding the

the King's and Company's forces on the coast of Coromandel, I have the honour to acquaint you, for his Majesty's information, by the Royal Admiral under dispatch for Europe, that the armament, with the command of which I am entrusted, embarked the 30th ultimo at Fort St. George on board his Majesty's ships of war upon that station, and the transports taken up for the purpose of conveying it to this place.

The fleet arrived in Back Bay, to the northward of the forts of Trincomale and Oostnaburgh, on the 1st instant; and as Commodore Rainier and I were particularly anxious, that the commandant of those forts should not misapprehend the object of the armament under our command, every precaution was taken to prevent any misapprehension upon that head, by explaining to him the nature of it; and two days were spent in communications between the fort and fleet for that purpose.

As the commandant, however, did not think proper to accede to the requisition made, in the name of the King, by the commodore and me, and refused obeying the commands of his superior, Mr. Van Angelbeck, (the governor of Columbo) to deliver up the fort of Oostenburgh to a detachment of his Majesty's troops, on account of an informality in the order, the commodore agreeing with me in the propriety of landing the troops, they were disembarked on the 3d, about four miles to the northward of the fort of Trincomale, without opposition.

Neither the garrison of Trincomale or Oostnaburgh have hitherto given us any molestation in the laborious service of which the troops have been employed, of conveying provisions, ordnance, and stores, along a steep sandy beach, from a distance of three miles; nor has any act of open hostility taken place.

We are still employed in the same service, as well as in preparing materials for the construction of such works as may be necessary to reduce the forts; and if the commandant perseveres in his resolution to refuse us admittance as friends, I hope to have it in my power to begin our approaches against the fort of Trincomale to-morrow night.

I cannot too strongly express my obligations to Commodore Rainier for the readiness with which he has afforded every assistance which could be given by the squadron of his Majesty's ships under his command, in conveying and landing the troops, stores, and provisions, and in every part of his service where his aid and co-operation could be of use; and his zeal has been ably seconded by the exertions of the officers and seamen employed in carrying his orders into effect.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. STUART.

Camp near Trincomale, Augt 30, 1795.

Sir,

SOON after I had the honour to address you on the 17th instant, informing you of my intention to begin our approaches against the fort of Trincomale on the following day, circumstances occurred which induced Commodore Rainier and me to detain the ships then under dispatch, in the hope of that success which I have now the honour to announce. We broke ground on the evening of the 18th, opened our batteries

batteries on the 23d, and before twelve o'clock on Wednesday the 26th completed a practicable breach. Commodore Rainier and I then thought proper to summon the garrison to surrender, while preparations were making for the assault. Terms were demanded which could not be allowed, and such as we thought consistent were transmitted in return: these not being accepted within a limited time, our fire commenced, and in a few minutes the white flag was displayed on the ramparts, the conditions we had offered were accepted, signed, and transmitted to camp, with two captains of the garrison as hostages for their performance.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of the capitulation offered to the garrison, and accepted by the commandant, and of some explanatory articles which were afterwards arranged, with a state of the garrison, return of ordnance, and stores taken, and a list of the killed and wounded of the forces under my command.

This evening the prisoners taken here will embark for Madras. I shall immediately take up a convenient position, and begin the necessary preparations for the attack of Fort Oostenburg, the commandant of that garrison having refused to surrender when summoned on the 27th instant; and I have reason to hope that that fort will be very soon in our possession.

His Majesty's and the Honourable Company's troops, forming the force under my command, have so uniformly distinguished themselves on every former occasion, that I need only say their zeal and gallantry on the present service has been well exerted to maintain the reputation they have justly acquired.

I am beyond measure indebted to Commodore Rainier for his cordial co-operation, and the active assistance of the navy in every department of the public service; and I have particular pleasure in assuring you, that from the perfect harmony subsisting between all descriptions of the naval and land forces employed here, every thing may be expected from this division of his Majesty's troops, which is capable of being attained by their exertions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. STUART.

Terms of Capitulation.

THE garrison of Trincomalee, in consideration of the defence they have made, will be allowed to march out of the fort with the honours of war, drums beating and colours flying, to the glacis, where they will ground their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war; the officers keeping their swords. Private property will be secured to them; but all public property, papers, guns, stores, and provisions of every kind, must be delivered up, in their present condition, to the officers appointed by us to receive them.

The garrison to march out, and the British troops to be put in possession of the fort, in one hour after this capitulation is signed; and two officers of the garrison, of the rank of captains, to be delivered immediately as hostages for the performance of this agreement. These are the only terms we the undersigned officers, commanding his Britannic Majesty's forces, can grant. Major Fornbauer, if he accepts the conditions,

conditions, will sign this paper, and return it by the officers he sends as hostages, within half an hour from the time he receives it.

Given under our hands, in camp before Trincomale, this 26th day of August, 1795.

(Signed)

PETER RAINIER.
J. STUART.

EXPLANATORY ARTICLES.

Capitulation selon laquelle le Fort de Trincomale sera rendu aux troupes de sa Majesté Britannique.

Article I. Le garnison sortira demain apres midi à quatre heures par la breche, avec les honneurs de la guerre, tambours battans, drapeaux deployes; elle posera les armes sur le glacis de la place. Tous les officiers tant Europeens qu'Indiens garderont leurs armes.

Les Crets des Malays feront empaquetes dans une caisse pour leur etre remis, au cas qu'ils soient renvoyes dans leur patrie, comme etant leurs propres armes qu'ils ne consentiront jamais de perdre.

Answer.—The garrison shall march out at sun-set this evening in the manner demanded; but the redoubt, the cavalier on the flank of the breach, and the Zeeberg bastion, must be immediately given up to the British troops. The creeses of the Malays shall be disposed of in the manner requested; and the whole officers and men shall be considered as prisoners of war.

II. Toute l'ammunition et autres effets de la compagnie feront remis à ceux qui seront nommes de la part des chefs de la Majesté Britannique.

Answer.—Granted.

III. Les officiers Europeens ne seront point envoyes contre leur gre en Europe.

Answer.—Granted.

IV. Les biens tant de la garnison que des particuliers seront conserves a chacun.

Answer.—Granted.

V. Il sera permis aux employes civils de la compagnie de se retirer en un autre endroit de l'isle.

Answer.—It is not in the power of the officers commanding the British forces to grant this article.

VI. Les malades et blessés seront traités convenablement.

Answer.—Certainly.

VII. Le garnison ne sera point sujette à des reprisailles.

Answer.—Granted.

Le commandant demande la permission de pouvoir envoyer les papiers relatifs au siege au gouvernement de l'isle par un employe civile de la compagnie.

Copies of the papers to be submitted to the British commanders.

Fait au Fort de Trincomale,

26 Aout, 1795.

Signed by the authority of Com-
modore Rainier and Col. Stuart.
(Signed) J. G. FORNBAUER. P. A. AGNEW,
Dep. Adj. General.

State of the Garrison of Trincomalee.

Fit for Service.

Artillery—1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 1 quarter-master-serjeant, 4 bombardiers, 5 gunners, 1 cadet, and 17 privates.

Troops—1 major, 1 town-major, 1 garrison-writer, 9 captains, 2 captain-lieutenants, 12 lieutenants, 13 ensigns, 1 cadet, 4 quarter-master-serjeants, 45 serjeants, 44 corporals, 1 surgeon, 1 cadet, 24 drummers and fifers, and 489 privates.

Total—1 major, 1 town-major, 1 garrison-writer, 9 captains, 2 captain-lieutenants; 13 lieutenants, 15 ensigns, 1 cadet, 5 quarter-master-serjeants, 4 bombardiers, 45 serjeants, 44 corporals, 5 gunners, 1 surgeon, 2 cadets, 24 drummers and fifers, and 506 privates.

Sick and Wounded.

Artillery—1 gunner and 3 privates.

Troops—1 captain, 5 serjeants, 10 corporals, 1 surgeon, 1 cadet, 1 drummer and fifer, and 69 privates.

Total—1 captain, 5 serjeants, 10 corporals, 1 gunner, 1 surgeon, 1 cadet, 1 drummer and fifer, and 69 privates.

Trincomalee, Aug. 27, 1795.

J. G. FORNBAUER.

Abstract of the Ordnance taken in the Fort of Trincomalee.

BRASS ORDNANCE.

2 twenty pounders, 1 eighteen ditto, 1 twelve ditto, 2 nine ditto, 2 six ditto, 2 four ditto, 7 three ditto, 5 one ditto, 1 swivel, 2 six-inch howitzers, 2 five and half-inch ditto, 2 four and half-inch ditto, 3 twelve and quarter-inch mortars, 1 eleven and three-quarter-inch ditto, 1 ten and half-inch ditto, 1 eight-inch ditto, 2 five and half-inch ditto, and 5 four-inch ditto.

Total—37 serviceable, and 5 unserviceable.

IRON ORDNANCE.

2 twenty-four pounders, 3 twenty ditto, 22 eighteen ditto, 17 twelve ditto, 14 nine ditto, 3 swivels, and 4 caronnades.

Total—55 serviceable, and 10 unserviceable.

J. W. DIXON, Capt. Royal Artillery.

J. GLOW, Lt. Com. Stores.

J. QUALE, Lt. Royal Artillery.

C. CARLISLE, Capt. Com. Artillery.

General Return of Killed and Wounded of the Troops under the Command of Colonel Stuart, during the Siege of Trincomalee, August, 1795.

His Majesty's Troops.

Royal artillery—1 bombardier and 3 gunners killed; 2 gunners wounded.
Vol. III.—PART ii. Q Flank

Flank companies of his Majesty's 71st and 73d regiments—1 captain, 1 serjeant, and 6 rank and file, wounded.

His Majesty's 72d regiment—1 ensign, 2 serjeants, and 7 rank and file, wounded.

Royal navy—1 seaman killed; 2 ditto wounded.

The Hon. Company's Troops.

Staff—Major Smart, deputy quarter-master-general, wounded.

Madras artillery—3 matrosses and 6 lascars, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 1 corporal, 10 matrosses, 1 syrang, and 8 lascars, wounded.

1st battalion of Native infantry—1 sepoy killed and 6 wounded.

23d ditto—1 sepoy, wounded.

Corps of pioneers—2 sepoys, wounded.

Total—1 bombardier, 3 gunners, 3 matrosses, 1 seaman, 1 sepoy, and 6 lascars, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 serjeants, 1 corporal, 2 gunners, 10 matrosses, 13 privates, and 2 seamen (Europeans), 1 syrang, 9 sepoys, and 8 lascars (Natives) wounded.

Officers wounded.

Major Smart, deputy quarter-master-general.

Captain Gorry, of his Majesty's 71st regiment.

Lieutenant Prescot, of the Madras artillery.

Ensign Benson, of his Majesty's 72d regiment.

Camp near Trincomalee, P. A. AGNEW, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Aug. 30. 1795.

Camp at Trincomalee, August 31, 1795.

Sir,

AFTER closing my dispatch of yesterday an officer was sent to me by the commandant of Fort Oostenburgh, requesting that I would permit an officer to meet him this morning, for the purpose of opening a negotiation for the surrender of the fort. I accordingly sent Major Agnew, the adjutant-general of the forces under my command, and have the satisfaction to inform you, that the garrison this day surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and that a detachment of his Majesty's troops took possession of the fort, and the British colours were hoisted in it before sun-set.

I have the honour to inclose the articles of capitulation, but have it not at present in my power to transmit the returns which will be necessary, as Commodore Rainier and I do not think it proper to detain the Indians any longer, particularly as the commodore proposes recommending to the government of Madras to dispatch the John schooner in a few days to Europe, as a more expeditious conveyance.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, &c.

J. STUART.

*Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one
of his Majesty's principal Se-
cretaries of State, &c.*

Articles

Articles of Capitulation for the Surrender of Fort Oostenburgh.

Le Commandant du Fort d'Oostenburg rend le dit Fort à sa Majesté Britannique, sous les conditions suivantes :

Article I. La garnison du Fort d'Oostenburg se rend prisonniers de guerre : les officiers garderont leurs épées.

Answer.—Granted.

II. Le capitaine Weermann et le Lieutenant Zelman, ingénieur, demandent la permission de rester ici pour arranger leurs affaires et celles des officiers.

Answer.—These officers will be permitted to remain a reasonable time for the arrangement of their affairs.

III. Les propriétés des officiers et soldats seront assurées.

Answer.—Granted.

IV. Les soldats seront prisonniers de guerre, et livrés pour être transportés, ils ne seront pas forcés pour prendre service ; et ceux qui ne voudront pas s'engager seront transportés en Europe au temps convenable.

Answer.—Granted.

V. Les Malais seront bien traités, et ne seront pas forcés de prendre service, ni comme militaires ni comme matelots.

Answer.—Granted.

VI. Le magasinier, son assistant, et le secrétaire, demandent la permission de rester ici pour arranger leurs affaires.

Answer.—These gentlemen will be allowed a reasonable time for the arrangement of their affairs, but are to be considered as prisoners of war.

VII. Tous les articles de la capitulation de Trincomale, quoique, pas contenus dans celle-ci, seront entendus aussi sur la garnison d'Oostenburg autant convenable.

Answer.—Granted.

VIII. A quatre heures cet après midi la garnison marchera dehors, tambours battant, et mettra bas les armes.

Answer.—The garrison will march out at four o'clock this afternoon, in the manner required by this article ; but a detachment of the British army must be put in possession of the water gate at two o'clock this afternoon, and proper persons will be appointed by Captain Hoffmann to point out the magazines, &c. that guards may be posted for their security.

IX. Tous les munitions, les magazines, papiers, et propriétés publiques seront livrés au commissaire nommé de la part de sa Majesté Britannique.

Fort d'Oostenburg, ce 31 | Signed by authority of Commodore Rainier
Aout, 1795. | and Colonel Stuart.

(Signed) G. HOFFMAN, | (Signed) P. A. AGNEW,
Com. | Dep. Adj. Gen.

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SUPPLEMENT

To the GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY of Jan. 7, 1796.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 7, 1796.

Dispatches, of which the following are Copies and Extracts, have been received at this Office from Rear-Admiral Rainier, commanding his Majesty's Ships in the East Indies :

Suffolk, Back Bay, Trincomalee, Aug. 14, 1795.

AGREEABLY to the intimation in my last letter of the 20th ult. by the Royal Admiral, that ship and LaSelles have arrived here, therefore take the opportunity, in addition thereto, to request you will please to acquaint their Lordships, that the transports having received the stores and ammunition, and the troops embarked, which, owing to the unremitting exertion and attendance of Colonel Stuart, the commanding officer on this service, was effected with much expedition. I sailed from Madras, with the Centurion and transports, the 21st following, having received on board each of his Majesty's ships upwards of 300 European troops and their followers, and most of the heavy artillery; Colonel Stuart and his staff being with me in the Suffolk.

His Majesty's ship Resistance, with four European flank companies, a transport, and the Suffolk's tender, with the remainder of the troops and baggage for the Malacca expedition, sailed the same day, and about eight A. M. parted company.

On the 23d anchored off Negapatnam, and having ordered the troops appointed from thence to be immediately embarked on board his Majesty's ship Diomede, and the transports there provided, being all vessels owned and manned by natives, left Negapatnam Roads the 25th, each of the King's ships and two of the best sailing transports having the heavy sailing vessels in tow.

On the 1st of August I anchored in Back Bay with the Centurion, being joined the day before by Captain Gardner, in his Majesty's ship Heroine, from Colombo, with Major Agnew, deputy adjutant general, who had been sent to the governor of that place, the chief of all the settlements on Ceylon, with a letter from Lord Hobart, and instructions for his conduct, under the joint authority of Colonel Braithwaite, and myself, to explain to him his Majesty's commands, and the purpose of the armament.

Major Agnew brought, in return, an order from the governor of Ceylon to the commandant of Trincomalee, to admit 300 of his Majesty's troops to garrison Fort Oostenburg; to which, when presented to him, he refused obedience, under a pretence of informality in the order.

The latter part of this day and greater part of the following was occupied in receiving and replying to his remonstrances relative thereto; which, as they were apparently calculated to evade the great object of the expedition, Colonel Stuart and myself determined on landing the troops, and preparations were making accordingly; but most unfortunately, as his Majesty's ship Diomede, with her tow, were working up

against

Against a strong land wind in the bay ; she struck with so much violence on a rock, lying in fifteen fathoms water, and not delineated in our charts, between Pigeon Island and the outer Point of this bay, that the water the ship made gained so fast on every exertion of both seamen and soldiers at the pumps, there was barely time to take the men out before she foundered, without a possibility of saving a single store of any consequence but the boats.

The employment of all the boats on this pressing occasion prevented the landing the army till the following morning, when the first detachment of 530 Europeans and 110 natives, and two field pieces, landed at the White Rocks, within Elizabeth Point, without opposition, and were followed by the remainder of European troops and natives, as fast as the boats could convey them.

The boats with the first detachment rendezvoused on board the *Héroïne*, who was placed as near the landing-place as she could anchor in safety, and, on the boats pushing off, presented her broadside to cover them : the broadsides of the *Suffolk* and *Centurion* would also have done execution, had there been any opposition made. In the course of the next ten days the stores and provisions were landed with all expedition, not without the most vigorous exertions of the officers and seamen, the land breeze blowing strong all the time, as it still continues, and keeping up the most extraordinary high surf I ever remember to have seen here : the army had then to move them from the landing place to the camp, a distance of three or four miles, over a very heavy sand.

Colonel Stuart is making every effort preparatory to the attack of the lower fort : the Dutch have as yet given no interruption, as if the commandant waited some further authority, but appear to be hard at work within. I can scarcely allow myself to think he will be so rash as to risk a formal attack, but should that be the case, the event, from every consideration, will, I have little doubt, be glorious to his Majesty's arms ; a short time will decide. I have the satisfaction to inform you, Sir, that the utmost harmony subsists between the officers and men of both services, which has much expedited their united labours.

Suffolk, Back Bay, Trincomalee, August 30, 1795.

Sir,

I HAVE the pleasure to acquaint you, for their Lordships information, that the lower fort and town of Trincomalee surrendered to his Majesty's arms the 26th inst. the eighth day from the opening of the trenches, a work the enemy most unaccountably never interrupted. The grand battery of 8 eighteen pounders and 2 ten-inch mortars, from five to six hundred yards distant from the glacis of the N. W. bastion, was so judiciously planned by Colonel Stuart, and the work so ably executed, as to do amazing execution from its first opening, dismounting, in the course of the attack, almost every gun the enemy could bring to bear upon it.

There were also two batteries erected to the right of the grand battery, one of 2 twelve pounders, the other of 2 eight-inch howitzers,

that

that annoyed the enemy much, and diverted their attention from the working parties of the grand battery, which was opened on the 23d instant. During the three first days, the enemy kept up a very smart fire from all their works that looked towards our batteries, but with little execution, and few casualties. The breach was effected directly over the sea-gate and landing place of the fort at Back Bay; and when practicable, on the morning of the 26th, a summons was sent by a drum with the conditions of surrender. The return was an inadmissible demand from the commandant on the part of the garrison. However, after some little ceremony, he surrendered on the terms offered, with some few explanations; a copy whereof, with a list of the killed and wounded, and return of the ordnance found in the garrison, are herewith inclosed.

In the course of the operations of the army, observing Colonel Stuart to be short of men for working parties, the distance of the camp from the trenches being nearly two miles, partly over a heavy sand, and no draught cattle or vehicle of any kind to assist, I pressed him to accept of the services of the seamen of his Majesty's ships, who were accordingly landed as required, in parties of one and two hundred, and worked with great cheerfulness. A party of twenty-seven artillery-men, who had entered at Madras, their time being expired, were also, at Colonel Stuart's request, landed, to assist in the battery under Mr. William Staines, one of the midshipmen of the Suffolk. Three of the Suffolk's upper-deck guns were landed, to supply as many found defective in the grand battery from injury received and false boring.

Three hundred seamen and marines, under the command of Captain Smith, late of the Diomede, were also under orders, to assist in storming the breach, had the enemy determined to hold out: with the seamen were Lieutenants Page and Hayward, with Messrs. Clarke, Dredge, Jennings, Elliott, and Percy, under Captain Smith's orders for the seamen, and Lieutenants M'Gibbon and Percival for the marines; a considerable part of both were selected from the Diomede's late crew.

I beg you will assure their Lordships that every service required of the captains, officers, and seamen of his Majesty's ships under my command, was executed with amazing alacrity and steadiness, the only contention being who should be foremost on every service required.

Colonel Stuart and myself have sent all the prisoners, with a few exceptions, to Madras, in a transport and prize, under convoy of his Majesty's ship Heroine; their number as per list.—There appeared some disposition among the soldiers of the garrison to mutiny after the summons was delivered, which probably accelerated the surrender. His Majesty's forces were put in possession of the garrison that very evening; the Dutch troops marched out, and grounded their arms in the battery.

Fort Oostenburg was summoned the day following; but the commandant refusing to surrender to the very favourable terms offered it, Colonel Stuart is making every preparation for the attack of it.

Previously to the surrender of Trincomalee, the ships and boats of the squadron took two small vessels laden with provisions and stores for the garrison from Colombo, and some small craft belonging to the port; having

having also found one small ketch, under the guns of the fort, laden with rice; the whole of little value.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

PETER RAINIER.

We, the undersigned officers, commanding his Britannic Majesty's naval and land forces before Trincomalee, summon you to surrender the fort under your command to his Majesty's arms. Motives of humanity alone induce us to make this proposal, to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood. You must be sensible that the place is no longer capable of defence: by an immediate surrender, the lives and private property of the garrison will be preserved; but if you resolve to stand a storm, they must prepare to meet their fate. In this event we trust that the women and children of the garrison may be immediately sent out, and a passport will be granted for them to proceed to a place of safety. One hour, from the delivery of this summons, will be allowed you to form your resolution, during which time all firing shall cease on our part, unless provoked by acts of hostility on yours.

(Signed)

PETER RAINIER,

J. STUART.

*Camp before Trincomalee,
August 26, 1795.*

Gentlemen,

I REQUEST you will be pleased to admit of an armistice of twenty-four hours, for the purpose of settling the terms of the capitulation, the first of which is, "The unmolested departure of the garrison by the way of the breach, with permission to retire to Colombo or Jaffanapatam."

In the mean time, I have the honour to remain,

With great respect, Gentlemen,

Your most humble

And most obedient servant,

J. G. FORNBAUER.

Trincomalee, Aug. 26, 1795.

Gentlemen,

IT is proper that I should consult the officers of the garrison, respecting the articles of capitulation, and I shall have the honour of transmitting my answer by two officers, whom I shall send to you at four o'clock this afternoon.

I request you will be so good as inform me whether the paper you have addressed to me is considered as the capitulation; because, in such case, it will be impossible, in the space of one hour after its being signed, to put his Britannic Majesty's troops in possession of the fort.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, Gentlemen,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. G. FORNBAUER.

Trincomalee, August 26, 1795.

Age

*A general Return of the Killed and Wounded of the Seamen of
his Majesty's Squadron under my Command, during the Siege of
Trincomalee.*

Suffolk—2 seamen wounded.

Centurion—1 seaman killed, and 2 ditto wounded.

Heroine—2 seamen wounded.

Total—1 seaman killed, and 6 seamen wounded.

Suffolk, Back Bay, Trincomalee, Aug. 31, 1795.

Sir,

FORT Oostenburg surrendered to his Majesty's arms this morning, according to the capitulation inclosed, which please make known to their Lordships; and, I flatter myself, when it is considered how much time and labour is saved, that the construction of batteries, and the consequent repair of the works damaged when captured, would necessarily have required, the number of casualties prevented, and lives preserved, the great advantage of obtaining possession of so important a fortification in an uninjured state, at this advanced season of the year, in the security thereby afforded to both places from any enterprize of the enemy, with the acquisition of the only safe harbour on this side of India, and that a very fine one, the great object of the expedition, the value of this most seasonable surrender can scarcely be too highly estimated. Much commendation is due to the deputy adjutant general, Major Agnew, for his ability and dexterity in conducting this negotiation with the commandant of Fort Oostenburg.

I was on the point of dispatching the Royal Admiral and Lascelles with my former letters of the 14th and 30th instant, being uncertain as to the event of the business, when the commandant of Oostenburg expressed his inclination to surrender; and as I propose to recommend to the Government of Fort St. George to dispatch a packet with this important intelligence, shall not detain those ships any longer, but leave to that opportunity to acquaint their Lordships with the return of ammunition and stores found in Fort Oostenburg.

Lieutenant Pulham, of the Suffolk, cut out a small vessel from under the guns of Fort Oostenburg the night before last, without receiving any molestation from the enemy, the crew having abandoned her.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

PETER RAINIER.

Summons of Fort Oostenburg.

Sir,

THE capture of Trincomalee, the garrison of which place surrendered yesterday evening as prisoners of war, having placed the Fort of Oostenburg entirely under your orders, we, the undersigned officers, commanding the forces of his Britannic Majesty, at Trincomalee, demand of you to surrender the Fort of Oostenburg to the King our master. The officers and European troops of the garrison, if it is their wish,

wish, will be immediately received into the pay of Great Britain, with the rank they now hold. Their private property will be secured to them, and every other reasonable indulgence which you can demand will be granted, as far as the undersigned are authorized by their instructions to allow.

It must be evident to you, that resistance cannot long preserve the fort under your command; if, therefore, your refusal to surrender on the very favourable condition we now offer obliges us to erect batteries against the place, no terms will hereafter be granted; and if you are permitted to surrender, it must be at discretion.

Major Agnew, the deputy adjutant general of the army, will have the honour to deliver this to you, and is empowered by us to arrange the terms of surrender: whatever he may consent to, we will confirm.

Given under our hands, in camp near Trincomalee, this 27th of August, 1795.

(Signed)

P. RAINIER.

J.A. STUART.

[The articles of capitulation of Forts Trincomalee and Oostenburg, and return of ordnance taken in Trincomalee, are precisely the same as those in the preceding Gazette Extraordinary.]

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 2, 1796.

Horse Guards, March 31.

DISPATCHES from Major-general Stuart, commanding his Majesty's and the East India Company's troops in the island of Ceylon, dated Trincomalee, October 10, 1795, have been received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state; by which it appears that the fort of Batticalaoe, in that island, surrendered on the 18th of September to a detachment under the command of Major Fraser of the 72d regiment. That on the 24th of the same month, General Stuart embarked from Trincomalee, with a considerable detachment of troops and artillery, on board of the Centurion man of war, the Bombay frigate, the Bombay store-ship, and the Swallow and John packets; and on the 27th disembarked the troops at Point Pedro, about twenty-four miles from Jaffnapatam, of which important place he took possession on the following day. That on the 1st of October, Captain Page, of his Majesty's ship Hobart, with a part of the 52d regiment, under the command of the Hon. Captain Monson, (on their return from Point Pedro to Trincomalee) took possession of the factory and military post of Molletivoe; and that on the 5th of the same month the fort and island of Manar surrendered to Captain Barbutt, whom General Stuart had detached on that service, with the flank companies of the 52d regiment, and two companies of sepoys, immediately on his having obtained possession of Jaffnapatam.

A letter from Colonel Brathwaite, dated Madras, October 17th, 1795, announces the surrender of Malacca, and its dependencies, on

the 17th of August, to the troops sent on that service, under the command of Major Brown.

By dispatches from Bengal, it also appears that Chinsurah and its dependencies have been taken, and that the Dutch forces at those settlements are prisoners of war.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 15, 1796.

Admiralty Office, April 5.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Rainier, dated on board his Majesty's Ship Suffolk, in Madras Roads, the 15th of October, 1795, to Evan Nepean, Esq.

Sir,

YESTERDAY, on the point of sailing, I received the inclosed letter and papers from Captain Newcome, giving an account of his proceedings, and particularly of the success of the expedition, under his own and Major Browne's orders, of the Honourable Company's infantry, against Malacca, this place being now in the possession of the British troops.

I feel a more than ordinary satisfaction in announcing this event for their Lordships' information, as, on account of the original force destined for that service being reduced, my expectations were less sanguine; and also of its great importance, from the security thereby afforded to the trade of his Majesty's subjects in the straits of Malacca and the Chinese seas.

Being doubtful of the propriety of my conduct in not having corresponded with the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, on the subject of the late expeditions, in which I co-operated in council and execution, in obedience to the King's orders by him transmitted, and as therein prescribed, (not having then even received their Lordships' directions so to do, and which are also silent on that head) I have to request you will please to intercede with their Lordships to use their influence to remove any censure that may reflect upon my conduct for this omission; in which, if I have erred, it has been through defect of instructions, and my inexperience in the receipt of such kind of orders.

On the success of his Majesty's arms at Trincomalee and Fort Oostenburg, and on receiving the account of the same from Malacca, I took upon me to order salutes to be fired by his Majesty's ships then in port; and on the 13th inst. at the suggestion of my Lord Hobart, I directed Captain Lambert, of his Majesty's ship Suffolk, to fire seventy-eight guns, funeral-wipe, on the melancholy occasion of the death of his Majesty's faithful ally, his highness the Nabob Wallajah, late Nabob of the Carnatic, (the Fort of St. George, by his Lordship's orders, paying the same honours) that particular number of guns being appointed as corresponding to those of the years of his late Highness's age; which I trust their Lordships will approve, and notify to the Board of Ordnance, to be allowed in the several gunners monthly expences.

Please

Please to acquaint their Lordships, that the residency here have just received accounts of the surrender of Manar, in the gulph of the same name.

I have the honour to be, &c.
PETER RAINIER.

To Peter Rainier, Esq. Commodore and Commander of his Majesty's Ships employed in the East Indies.

Sir,

I ARRIVED here on the 15th instant, with his Majesty's ship under my command; the Ewer and Carnatic transports, and a part of the convoy, having parted company with his Majesty's ship Resistance, in the night of the 13th, between the Sandheads. Captain Pakenham joined company again in Malacca Road on the 17th, in the morning.

By the inclosed letters, you will see that we were obliged to commence hostilities, which began by the Resistance firing a few guns at the Constantia (a Dutch Indiaman run into the mud) which she returned, by firing two guns, and then striking her colours. From the great assistance afforded me by the boats from the China fleet, &c. I was enabled to land all the troops, with two six-pounders at the same time. They left the ships at seven P. M. on the 17th, and reached the shore by nine P. M. At half past nine P. M. an officer came on board the Orpheus from the Governor to surrender the place on our terms; they then delivered over St. John's Post, a commanding work well furnished with cannon, about 1300 yards from the fort, and 200 from the place of conference, to a subaltern with a party of our grenadiers, and we entered the fort with the remainder of the British detachment. The garrison being thus completely in our power, and unconditionally, further than the security of property, the Dutch guards were permitted to remain armed at their posts, until the Governor, whom we then accompanied to his house, gave, in his own hand-writing to Major Brown, a detail of the guards, which were then relieved by the British troops. From the anxious desire of complying with his Majesty's orders, we have agreed to the inclosed capitulation, and every thing now appears perfectly quiet, and all parties reconciled.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

HENRY NEWCOME.

*Orpheus, Malacca Roads,
Aug. 25, 1795.*

Preliminary Articles.

THE measures adopted by the Dutch government of Malacca subsequently to the amicable proposals tendered by the naval and military commanders of the British forces, by the agency of Mr. Forbes Ross McDonald, appointed by Commodore Peter Rainier, commanding the British Squadron in India, and Colonel John Brathwaite, commanding the land forces on the coast of Coromandel, having rendered it necessary to debark the troops, towards which the possession of the Con-

statia, a Dutch armed ship, which lay between the English squadron and the fort, becoming indispensable, actual hostilities commenced by his Majesty's ship the Resistance firing upon, and, after exchange of some guns, taking possession of her; and, having been followed up by the discharge of several guns from the Dutch battery upon the British troops, after they had gained the shore, are circumstances which, together with the invitation subsequently given to the British commanders to take possession of the fort, cannot be considered in other light than ultimately placing the Dutch garrison in the predicament of having surrendered as prisoners of war, and which has been since acknowledged by the Dutch government to have been their expectation.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

Nevertheless, in obedience to the commands of his Britannic Majesty, requiring us to cultivate the alliance, which has so long and so happily subsisted between the two nations, we dispense with the unparticipated controul, which the foregoing circumstances would warrant our taking upon ourselves, and hereby accede and confirm to the Dutch government its establishment and authority in all civil matters, to the full extent as heretofore; reserving however to ourselves, and those who have been in immediate connection with us upon the service, a claim to the public property in Malacca, and the shipping in the roads, to the extent which his Britannic Majesty may be graciously pleased to determine; and for this purpose the value of the public property ashore and in the roads to be estimated and placed in deposit, promising on our part to give protection to public and private property under the above reservation, and to defend the interests of the ancient Dutch government against their enemy the French, to the utmost of our power, under the following conditions.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

The commanding officer of the British troops to be acknowledged commandant of the fort and garrison of Malacca, and military posts thereupon depending, with a seat as second in council.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

The keys of the fort to be lodged with him, and the military stores of every description to be delivered over to him.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

The parole to be given by him.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

The disposal of the Dutch garrison to be wholly at his discretion.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

A fund to be assured to him, in monthly payment, for the subsistence of the troops, and for the defence of the fort and its dependencies, and that provisions for this fund be made in the first instance.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

This article to be understood as agreed to, so far as the resources of the Dutch government of Malacca and its dependencies extend.

N. B. This paragraph by Mr. Couperus.

In consideration of the extraordinary expence incurred by the British government in sending their troops for the protection of their allies the Dutch at Malacca, the Governor and Council of that settlement will represent these circumstances to the Governor-general and Council of Batavia, and in forwarding an account of the monthly expence of the

British troops, they will make application to the Governor-general that he may provide for it.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

The English and Dutch flags to be displayed, when occasion requires, upon the two flag staffs which are already erected.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

The armed vessels belonging to the Malacca government shall be put under the orders of the British naval commander.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

Orders shall be sent by the Dutch government to their officers commanding at Rhio and Peru, to put themselves and their garrison under the orders of the officer commanding the British forces.

Agreed.—A. Couperus.

The above conditions being drawn up in general terms, as the basis of connection with the protecting power, the illustration which any of them may require will be arranged and detailed in a subsequent paper, subject, however, in whole or in part, to the future regulation of the British government in India.

A true copy,

(Signed)

True copy,

H. NEWCOME.

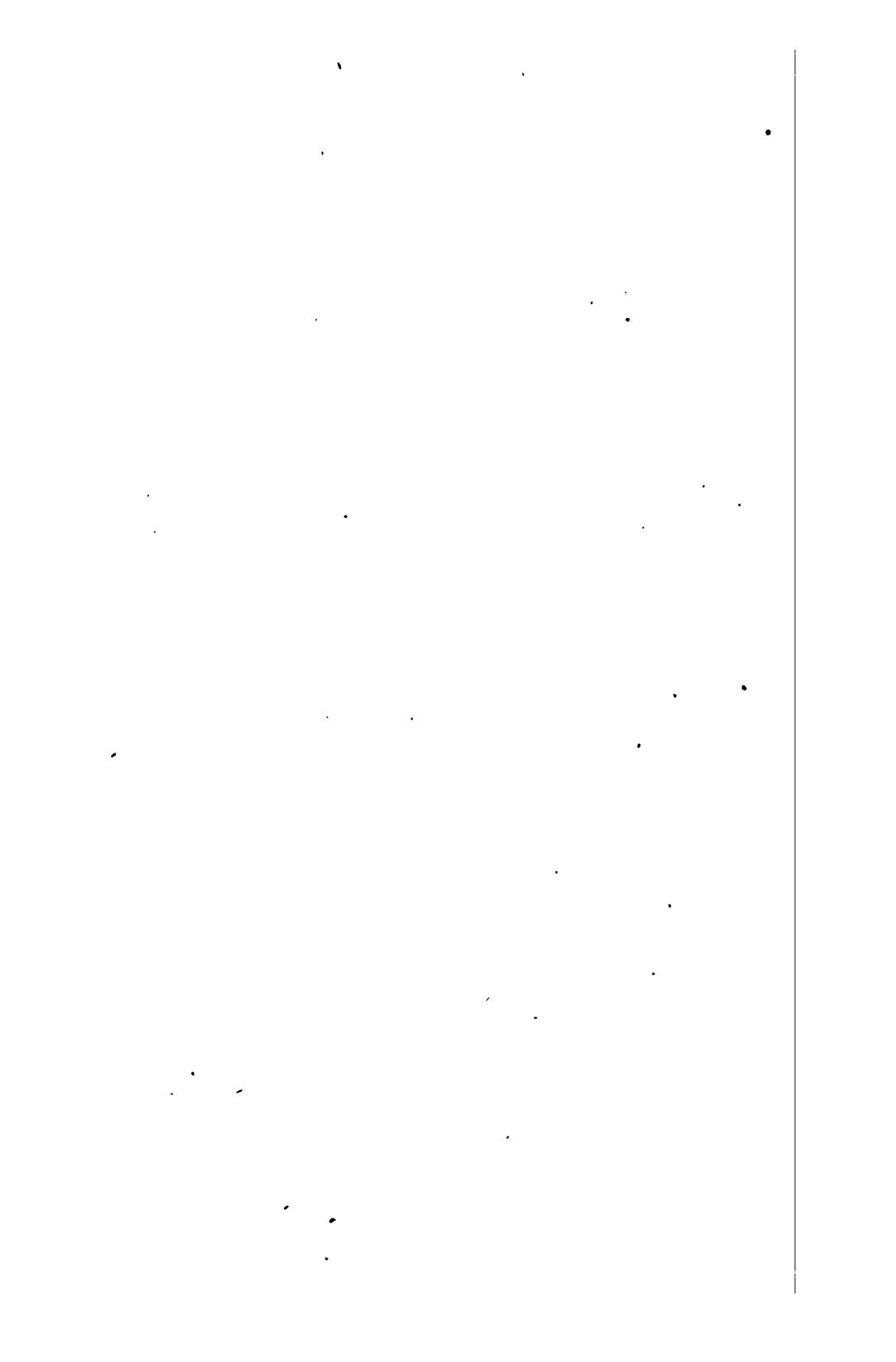
DAN. INCO, Dep. Sec.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 16, 1796.

Horse Guards, April 16.

A Letter, of which the following is an Extract, dated Ca'cutta, Dec. 15, 1795, has been received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from General Sir Robert Abercromby, K. B., Commander in Chief of his Majesty's and the East India Company's Forces in Bengal.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that Major Petrie, soon after the surrender of Cochin, detached a force against the Dutch fort at Quilon, and their factories of Porca and Quilon in the Travancore country. They were delivered up without resistance; and we are now in possession of all their settlements on the continent of India.



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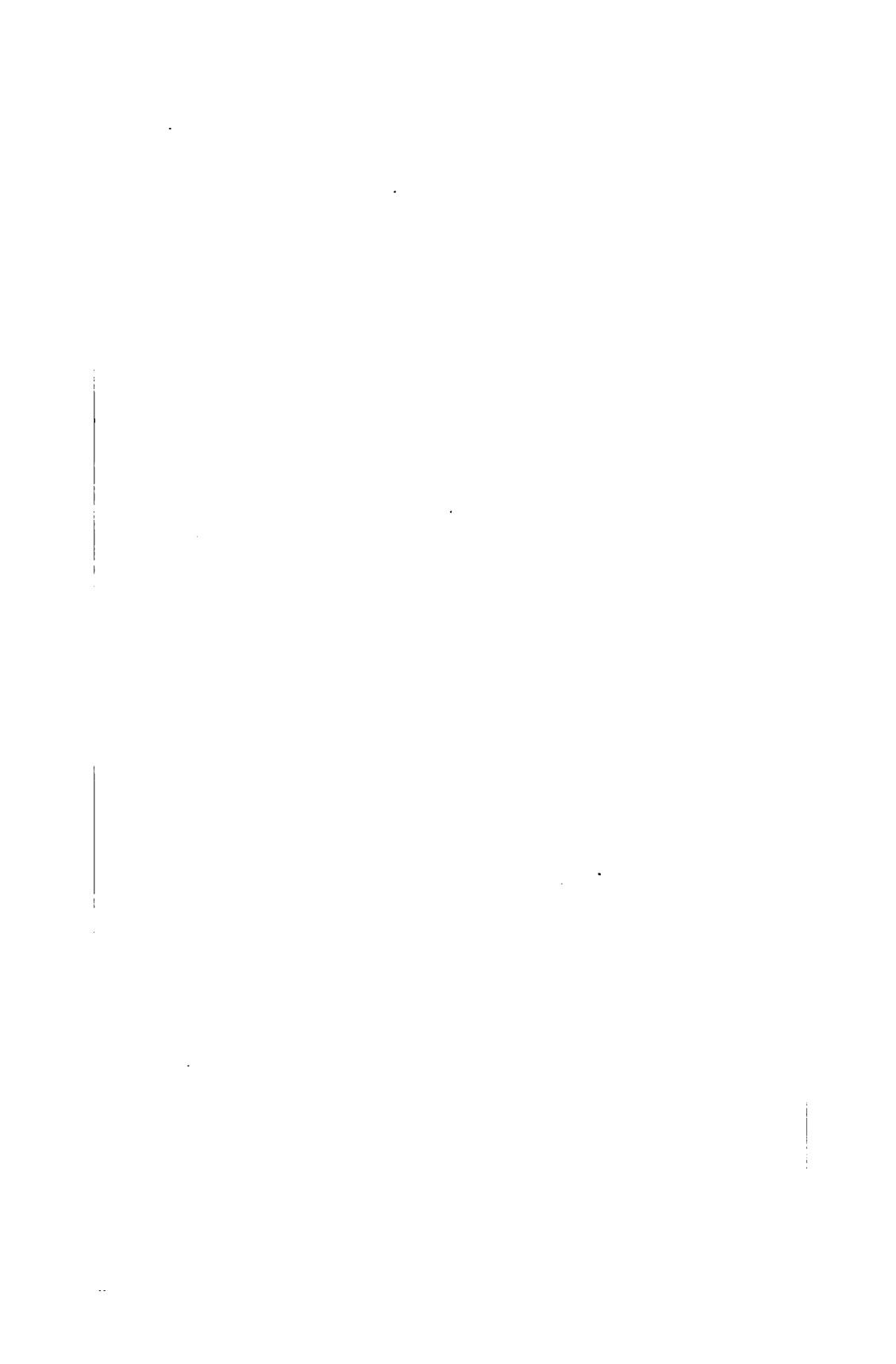
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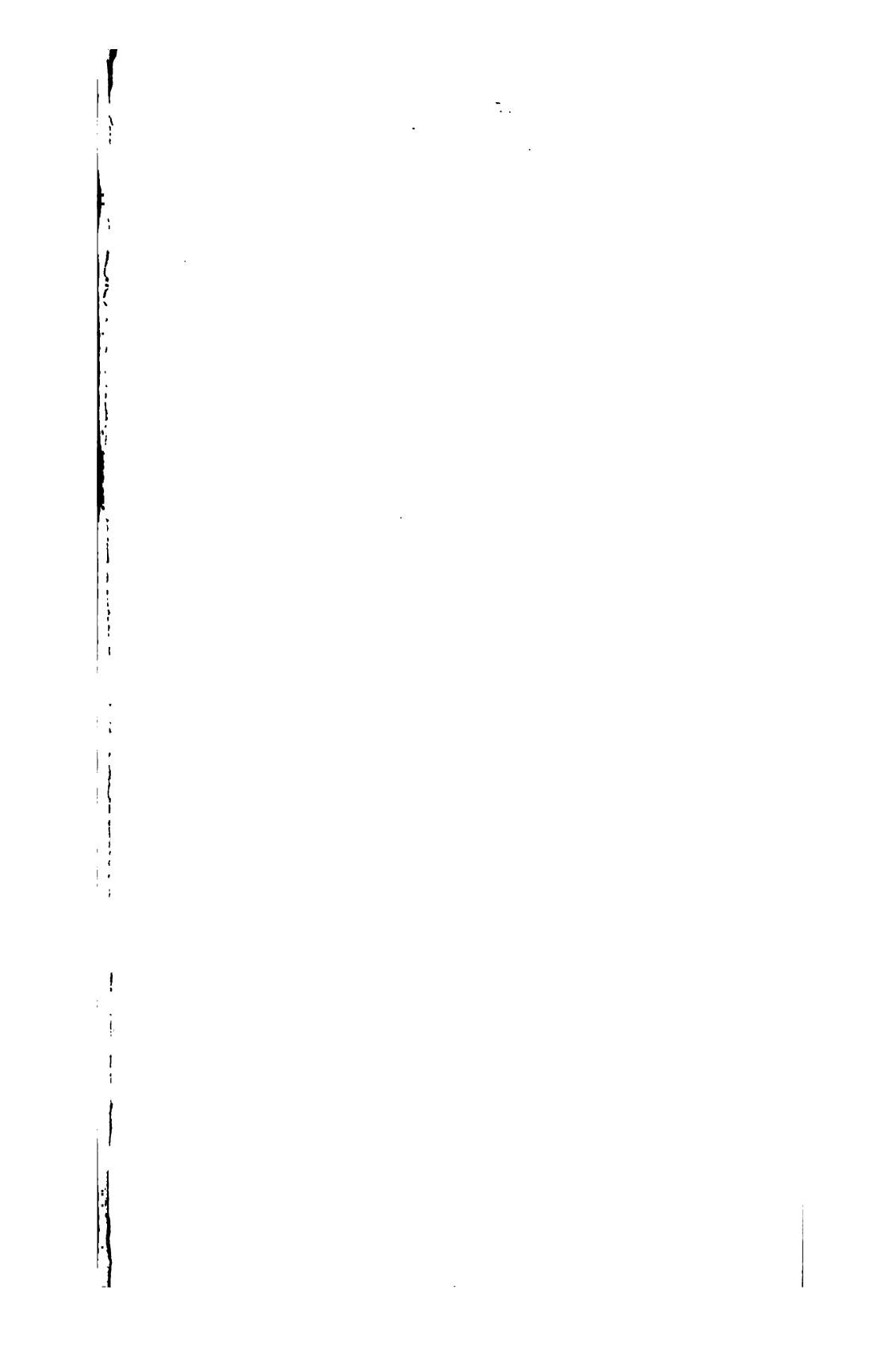
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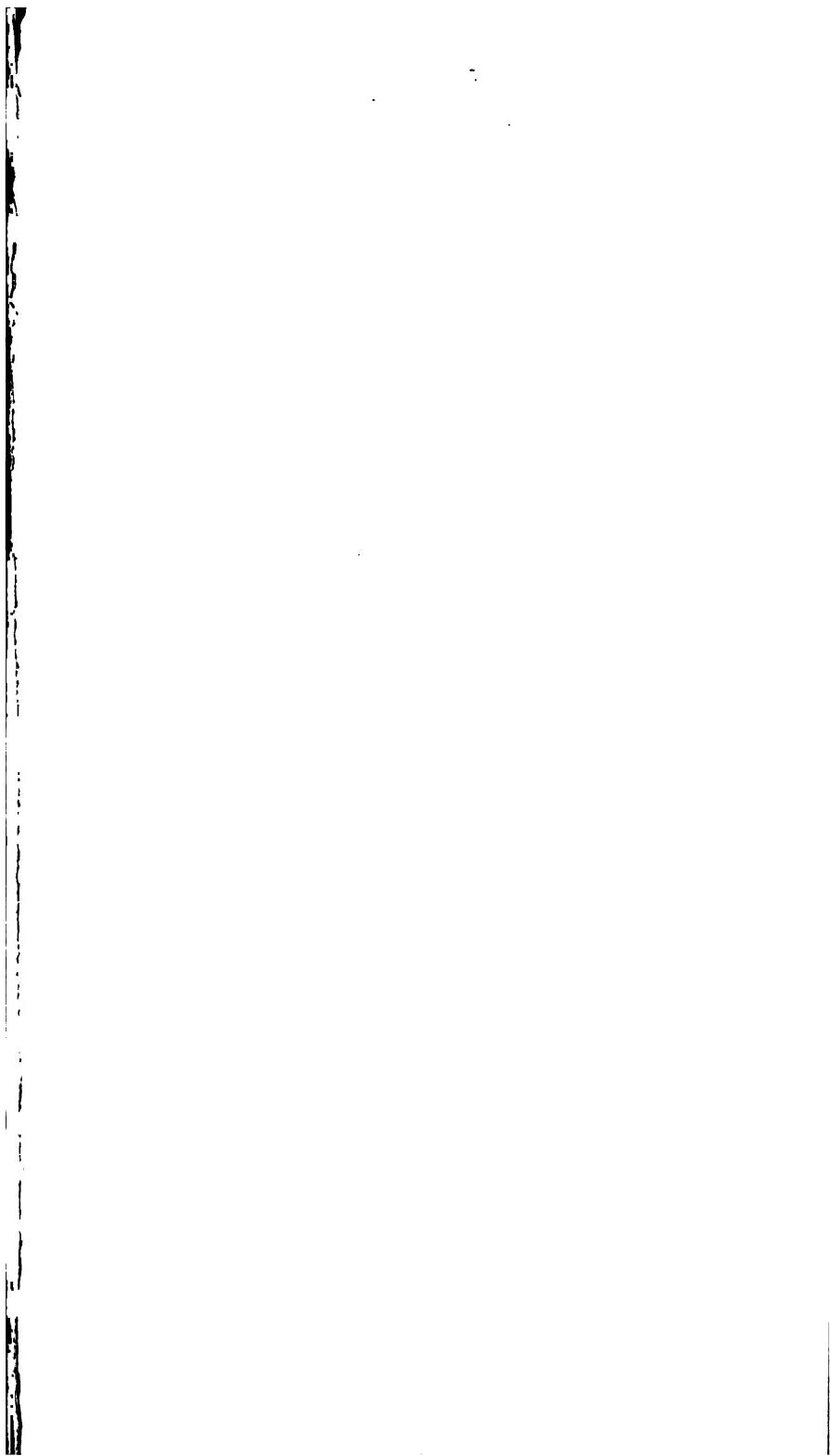
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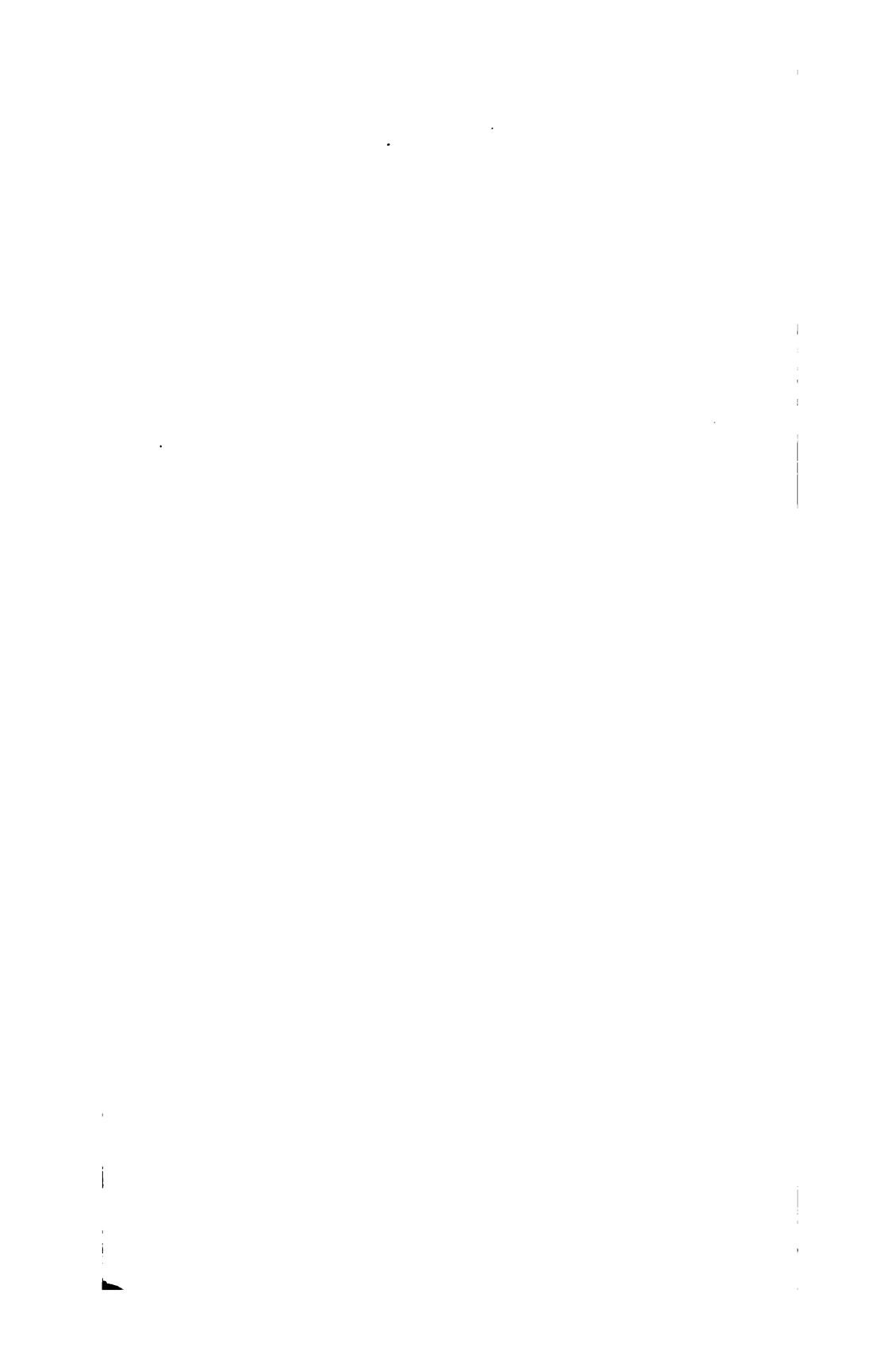
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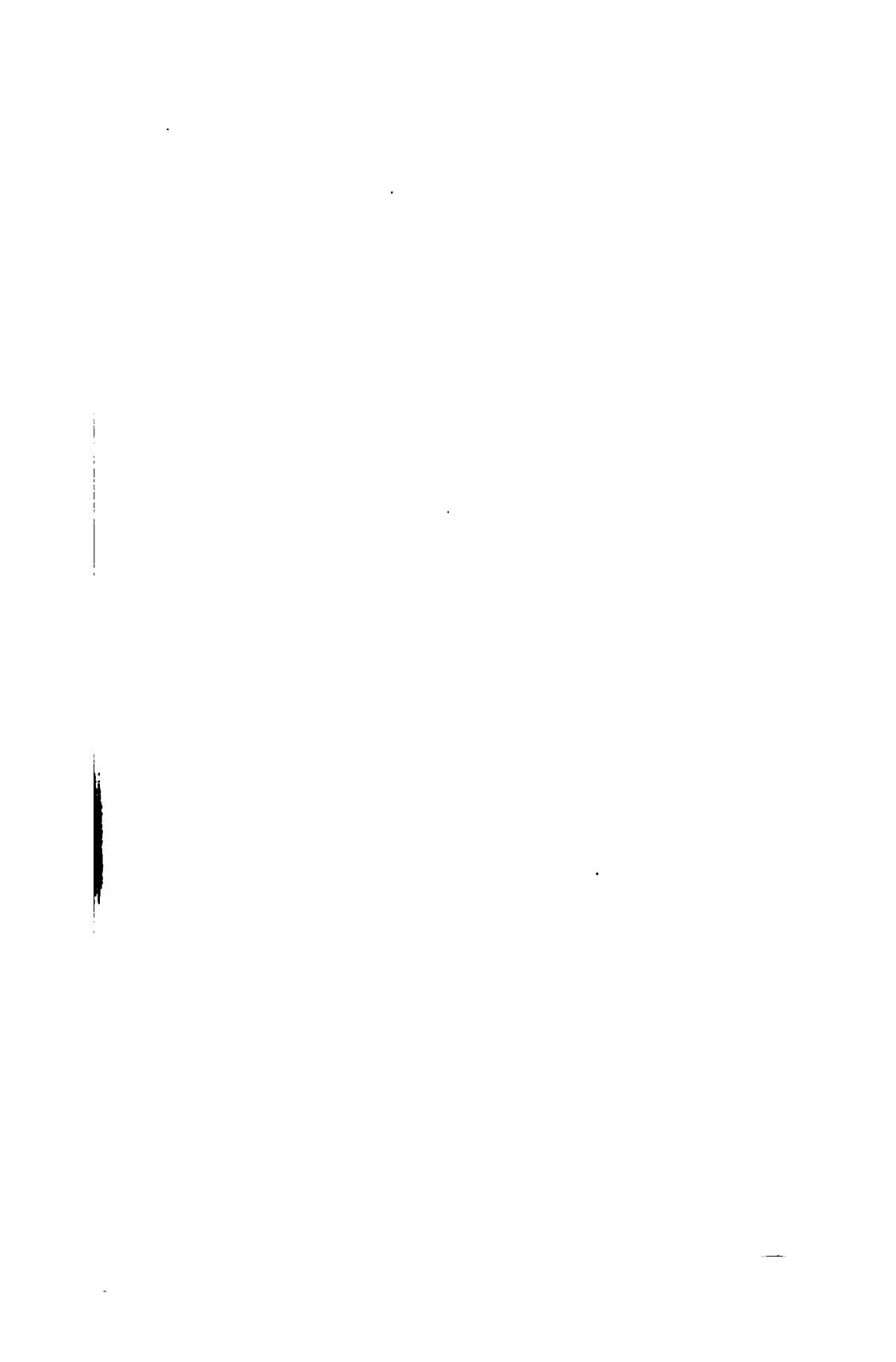








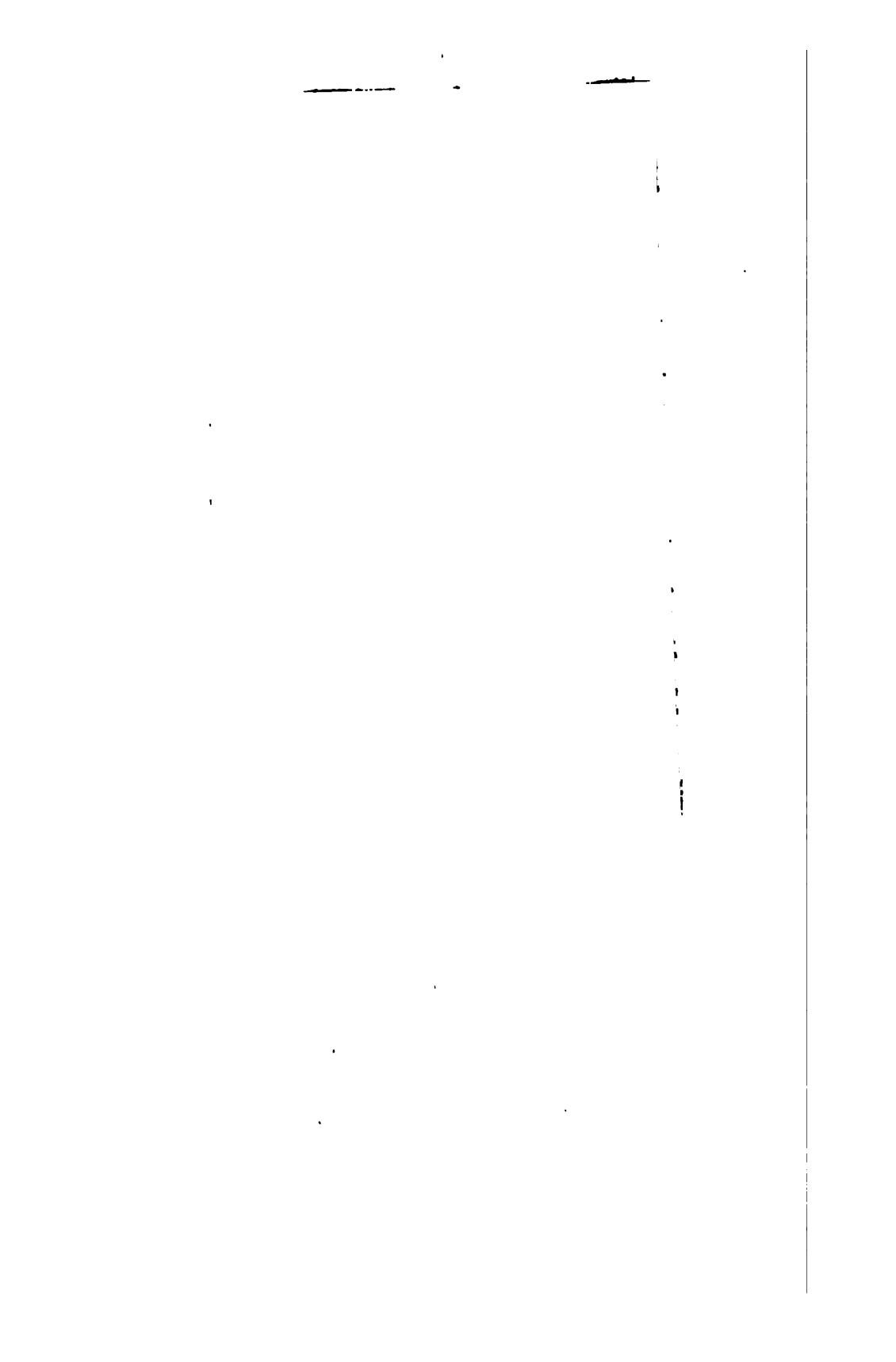






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